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## THE FUTURE OF SIAM.

THE future of Siam is a vastly more important question to Europe than it would seem at first sight. Siam is the largest and richest piece of the earth's surface remaining in the possession of a race not strong enough to defend it nor civilised enough to develop it. I remember well how the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs sneered as he spoke of the French name for their Eastern possessions. " 'Indo-China,' indeed," he said, " why you could lose all their ' Indo-China ' in Siam. It seems to me if that name belongs to anybody, it belongs to us." Now Burmah has gone, and Tongking and Annam ; Sumatra was thrown to the Dutch by the folly of a British Foreign Minister, whose weakly smiling face spoils the digestion of any Imperialist who essays to dine at the National Liberal Club ; no country but England will absorb the Malay Peninsula ; Korea is not worth having, except for strategic reasons, and it will ultimately be divided among Russia, Japan, and China ; Africa is practically parcelled out like an allotment ground. Of countries almost inevitably destined to fall under the dominion of other countries, Siam is at once the richest and the last. It is bigger than France ; it will certainly be one of the gold and gem-producing places of the earth ; cattle and rice can be raised in it in infinite quantities ; half the teak in the world grows there ; it is the real and the only key to the gates which enclose Southern China.

Colonisation and Imperial extension are, as Bismarck has said, nothing whatever but a race for markets, and Siam would constitute and open a new market richer than anything else could offer, except the annexation of China itself. Therefore I say the question of the future of Siam is a much bigger one for Europe than most Europeans imagine ; and since the colonial activity of France, as anybody

studying her colonies soon discovers, stops, and is likely to stop at ruinous tariffs devised in Paris, at printer's ink, and at tricoloured ribbon, and as Germany has no footing in this part of the world, while Siam adjoins British possessions, is surrounded by British ports, and 80 per cent. of the trade is in British hands, the question is one which concerns Englishmen most of all. A discussion of it is therefore something more than a socio-political study of a distant land and an unknown race.

The question of the future of Siam could not, under any circumstances, have been much longer delayed. If the action of Siam's neighbours had not precipitated it, then the process of her own development would have evolved it. By some mysterious law the touch of a civilised nation—even a mere frontier touch—has a disintegrating effect upon an uncivilised one. China may seem to be an exception for the present, but she is the only one. Personal liberty, the free movement of trade, the security of property and savings, the abolition of torture, the absence of imprisonment without trial and conviction, the power of the white man over the forces of nature—all these constitute a sort of contagion which makes its way with every individual traveller and trader across the frontier, and by-and-by permeates the life of the people. And it is as impossible for the one country to prevent the issue of this contagion as it is for the other to resist its effects. The "pitiless exigency of prestige," in Kinglake's fine phrase, is as much a physical fact as a moral obligation. The bacillus of civilisation had thus penetrated into the life of Siam, and there is nothing there, neither personality nor institution, of sufficient strength to resist its inroads. But the action of France has done in a day what natural processes might well have taken several more years to accomplish. Francis Garnier made many disciples, and they have explored in the distance, intrigued in the capital, played at trading expeditions, distributed tricolours, received the invaluable support of the Roman Catholic missionaries—for every French priest abroad is a political agent, often in spite of himself—they have made a vast and confident claim, with a calm disregard of historical and geographical fact; the frontier skirmish has been easily provoked—nobody should know better than ourselves how simple a matter of *mise-en-scène* this is; a French official has either been murdered or the news of such a murder has been invented; the "Siamese mandarin," an entirely imaginary personage, has been created to take the responsibility of the act; reparation has been demanded from the King of Siam, and in the meantime an island off the Siamese coast has been seized, and the French squadron in the Far East is not far from the mouth of the Menam. Two British men-of-war are also on the spot. The situation is acute.

The object of the French—that is, what they believe they have to

gain—is quite clear. All their action may be conveniently summed up—of course, like all territorial expansion, it is half automatic—as an attempt to realise the dream of the brave and ill-fated Garnier. The French empire in India, which Dupleix so nearly founded for them, came to nothing, and an ungrateful country recalled him in disgrace and allowed him to die at home in poverty if not in actual want, exclaiming, “I have sacrificed my youth, my fortune, my life, to enrich my country in Asia.” The French empire of the West, for which Montcalm fought so gallantly and for which he laid down his life opposite to his conqueror Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, has dwindled to a couple of rocky islands sticking up out of the sea near Newfoundland, and the use of the French language and the subsidising of Roman Catholic marriage under the British flag. But the dream of a gallant people, saturated with traditions of victory, has never completely faded, and the “gorgeous East” in southern Asia, unparcelled and to a large extent unexplored, promised in the eyes of a small but enthusiastic band of men the ransom of the two previous disappointments. And the more so because across the newly imagined empire was supposed to lie the way to the wealth of southern China. All this is easy of comprehension, and a conquering and colonising people like ourselves must infallibly sympathise with the movement. But what we also see without understanding it, is the French failure to learn the lessons of their own history. Every nation has its own capacities; but if there is one thing that may be confidently prophesied about the French it is that, as they have never succeeded in planting a successful colony, so they never will. Algeria comes the nearest to this, but the circumstances of a dependency, at the very door of Europe render the experiment a different and an easier one. Cambodia is literally nothing at all; Saigon, the capital of Cochin China and a place of enormous possibilities, is ruined; and even the *restaurateurs* and the *coiffeurs*—the two most flourishing classes of its little community—are leaving it, and its magnificent “palais du gouvernement,” the finest building in the Far East, will soon be nothing but a monument to failure. And Tongking, another country of which almost anything might have been made, is further from prosperity and peace with every administrative year that passes. All this is well if vaguely understood in France, and it is absolutely certain that a country which has been already within a few votes of the formal abandonment of Tongking will never support with troops and treasure enough the larger enterprise of the development of Siam. But France still goes on taking the preliminary steps one by one which—unless we interfere—can have no other theoretical result. Probably, except for the above qualification, she will take the final committing step and then some French statesman will join Jules Ferry, “le Tonkinois,” in his limbo, with

the title of "le Siamois." But it will then be too late for England to do anything, except at the risk of a European war, too high a price to pay for all the possible "pearl and gold" between Singapore and Seoul.

Very little is known in Europe of Siam. The books upon the country have greatly misrepresented it, and to anybody who knows the Land of the White Elephant the reception of certain Siamese officials and their suites—the titles of the latter being invented for the occasion—by European Sovereigns, and the turning out of Indian guards of honour to meet them, has been very amusing. Before speaking of the future of Siam, therefore, it is necessary to glance at some characteristics of the present. A volume could be, and ought to be, written upon this subject, but a cursory survey will perhaps show enough for the moment.

To begin at the top, everything in Siam depends upon the King, and revolves round him as the solar system round the sun. To the nobility he is the sole and arbitrary source of favour, which alone means office, which alone means income. To the people he is practically a god. In fact, there are no words which so well express the relation between King and people in Siam, as the sacred phrase, "to live and move and have one's being." And what is this King, his Majesty Phrabat Somdetch Pra Paramindr Mahah Chulalongkorn Pra Chula Chom Klao, and in what way is he using his almost divine influence to mould the future of his country? Personally, his Majesty is one of the most charming of men (and I pay him this tribute the more easily because I have had many opportunities of learning its justice), well-informed, kind-hearted, strong in character for an Oriental, and full of dignity, and he would be reckoned a handsome man and a gentleman anywhere. But there the praise must stop. His life is one uninterrupted act of self-indulgence. He was the father of two daughters before he was fifteen; his first wife is his half-sister ("in order that the royal blood may be preserved from the taint of alien contamination," is the deliciously inaccurate explanation of a recent writer upon Siam!); the number of "wives" and women in his palace is unknown; everything concerning them is euphemistically known in Siamese as *Kang Nai*—"the inside," and is a strictly forbidden topic of conversation. Since to have influence within the palace is the chief desire of every Siamese, every attractive girl has been thrust upon his Majesty by her father for the past twenty years. His children must number more than a hundred. The "inside" of the palace is not a suite of apartments—it is a town. The private personal environment of the King is not a household—it is a community. Every wife can load herself and her children to the ground with jewels; every one of them has a private treasure chest. Of the condition of his country—indeed, even of his own capital

—the King knows next to nothing. Whenever he goes out, the streets are levelled and swept; the soldiers and police don clean clothes and buckle on accoutrements and arms kept specially for such occasions. The police-boats are painted and anchored in rows; the canals are cleared of logs and rubbish; Bangkok puts on for his Majesty's eye an almost European air of propriety. When he has passed, the clothes and bright arms are locked up, and everything relapses into neglect and dirt. When the King visits his country palace at Bang-pa-in, fifty miles up the river, all his wives and children, with all their servants, and all the princes, go with him, and a thousand people follow in his train. The cost of all this is enormous. When the King's relatives are cremated, the ceremonial beggars description. The last royal cremation cost £80,000. But money in Siam flows as probably nowhere else in the world. The seven months' trip of the Foreign Minister to Europe, which resulted only in the abortive attempt to settle the boundary with Perak, cost £20,000. For a "procession" or a royal top-knot cutting no expense is too great, no trouble is too onerous, nowhere could energy be more abundant or more enthusiastic. I saw two or three processions before his Majesty, and "childish" is the only word that describes them. Yet for the army or navy, for the Education Department, for a political question with a foreign country, months and months may pass without a moment of the royal time being available. The comparative charms and the varying moods of "Phyllis, Charyllis, and sweet Amaryllis," constitute, *plus* the futile and incessant ceremonial, the beginning and the end of all royal things Siamese. The next generation will see not far from a hundred new royal princes in Siam, not one of whom can ever do a stroke of work for his living, or indeed will ever look for his maintenance, and that of his wives, and servants, and children, and horses, and steamers, elsewhere than to the public funds. What finances could bear this? Certainly not those of Siam. So far as the future of Siam depends upon royal guidance it is as hopeless as that of a man, blindfolded and fettered, walking the plank at midnight in mid-ocean.

Again, to come down a step, what of the princes in whose hands the actual government lies? The fact that the salaries they receive do not much more than pay for the clothes they wear, carries its own unmistakable inference. A whole street in Bangkok belongs to one of them, through whose hands the money for certain Government expenditure passes—or rather into whose hands it enters. But it will be asked, do not the contractors press for their money? Yes, a European firm once pressed for a large Government debt of thirteen years' standing. The only result was that they were informed that in future no Government contracts would be given to them, and this meant ruin. It is only the fear of breaking confidence which pre-

vents me from telling a score such stories. There are thousands of pounds of Siamese debts in London unpaid at this moment, as several Bond Street tradesmen could testify, and Singapore merchants will only do cash transactions with Siam. It is a literal and unexaggerated fact that most Siamese noblemen could conceive the principles of the differential calculus more easily than the idea that it is dishonourable to evade the payment of justly incurred debt and to appropriate to yourself that which belongs to and was destined for another. The Siamese princes are too much a part of the Siamese system to conceive a social future different from the past. A European education makes no difference to this. One of the king's half-brothers, a high officer of State, who spent ten years in Europe and was for a long time a shining light at an English university, and the private pet of the master of one of our most famous colleges, is the most bitter enemy of Europeans in Siam, and was recently compelled to apologise publicly for outrageously insulting the wife of a Foreign Minister.

As for the people—under different conditions no doubt they would be different. At present they are without rights, their personal liberty is at the beck of every nobleman, every single article they own or use, produce or sell, from fish-hook to coconut tree, is heavily taxed, and a quarter of all their working-time is claimed by the Government as enforced labour. Consequently, as a whole, they are lazy, unprincipled, and untrustworthy, and nearly all business is in the hands of Chinese. Justice is not an unknown quality in Siam; it does not exist. You might as well look for saccharine matter in salt, or silver in a pewter pot.

It will occur to most readers to ask, where, then, has been the influence of Europeans? This is an unpleasant question for a European to have to answer. There are, it is true, some Europeans who have rendered good and faithful service: men like Commodore Richelieu of the navy, Captain Schau of the army, and most of all Mr. R. L. Morant, the tutor of the Crown Prince, who have given their help honestly and without stint. And the missionaries have done good work in teaching English and curing the sick; although a large proportion of their male pupils aim no higher than a clerkship in a European store, and their female ones not seldom become the mistresses of foreigners. But it is a fact, too, that the Siamese who have been educated in Europe have set far from an edifying example to their fellows; and another, that no fewer than five persons, all of whom, I am ashamed to add, were Englishmen, improperly selected at home or palmed off upon the Siamese by the Indian Government, have been practically dismissed from important positions in the Siamese service on account of drunkenness. To-day there are one or two who creep on all fours before the King for the commercial advantage which accrues to the posture.

The administration of the Siamese provinces, again, is too bad to characterise. The expression used of a governor, *Kin Muang*, "to eat a province," exactly describes the state of things, and no other description is necessary. Consequently and naturally, the Karens on the north-west frontier are doing all they can to come under the administration of Burmah, and the simple Siamese expedient of branding its subjects on the arm with an elephant is hardly enough to prevent them; while Malays are fast migrating from Kedah and Patani and Kelantan into the Protected States of Perak, Selangor, and even Pahang.

During the last year or two efforts have been made to improve some of the more conspicuous blots upon Siamese public life. The educational department has been partly remodelled, thanks to the unremitting devotion of Mr. Morant, and several English ladies and men have gone out to Bangkok under Government contracts to direct public teaching. It is too soon yet to say what success they will have, but Siam is so utterly Eastern, its life is so dominated from the harem, its chief men are so incapable of struggling against the dead weight of public and private corruption, that any one who has seen Siam from the inside can hardly venture even to hope for any permanent reform. A new gaol has been built, but the whole system of arbitrary imprisonment and torture will be probably transferred to it. Slavery has been abolished in name, but it can never be abolished in fact, for the slaves have no means of supporting themselves outside their masters' houses. Every member of the Siamese upper classes can fetter his servants or throw them into prison without any kind of trial or permission being necessary. One morning I went to call upon one of the ablest and most enlightened of the Ministers, a man who has been to Europe, and who once actually got into serious trouble for trying to inaugurate a sort of woman's rights movement in Siam. I made my way by mistake into a part of his grounds where visitors were not expected, and I found a slave fastened down to the ground in an ingenious kind of pillory, in which he could not move hand or foot, while another slave tortured him with severe strokes of a bamboo rod at the word of a member of the family, in order to force him to confess to some misdeed. The appearance of any influential European in Bangkok is a godsend to condemned criminals, for no execution is allowed to take place when a European visitor might see it. A Minister of Justice has been appointed, but I believe the first holder of the office is the King's half-brother, who was educated at Oxford, of whom I spoke previously, so the value of the new institution to any suffering Siamese may easily be imagined. There has also been a wave of economy sweeping over palace affairs, but one of the first results of it was an order that the horses of the cavalry (perhaps a hundred) should in future go without shoes! Two Europeans have



been imported to take charge of the Mining Bureau—a long-needed reform, but one of them is a very young and inexperienced man, and it is impossible to expect that strangers to Siamese methods will be able to make much headway against the universal corruption and blackmail below them. Concessions have been lavished on royal favourites, who promptly sold them to some Calcutta Jew or Chinese speculator for what they would fetch; and even where they were given to respectable persons, who put them into the hands of responsible firms at home, and when everything was done with regard to them in such a manner that even the impassive Siamese Foreign Office was moved to write to the concessionaire thanking him for the honest and business-like manner in which he had conducted his affairs, and saying that he had set an example to all other people who might have dealings with his Majesty's Government, the corruption, and intrigue, and hatred of foreigners on the part of every subordinate official was too strong for anything whatever to be accomplished, and the whole affair was thwarted into utter collapse. The King probably does not know facts like these; if he did, I am convinced that he would interfere with startling severity. But it is impossible to communicate with him, and even if one could, from what I hear, it is now too late. His thoughts and energies have gone finally in another direction.

The advances which Siam has made in her internal communications must also be mentioned. Not very long ago there was hardly anything that could be called a street in Bangkok; now there are several good roads, and a prosperous tramway runs along the principal one. The electric light is also established with more or less success, and the telegraph is supposed to connect the capital with the most outlying provinces. I say "supposed," for the truth is that these reforms are due to the pressure of Europeans, either residents or concession-seekers, and the moment European influence is withdrawn they begin to decay. The Hon. G. Curzon, in an interesting but rose-coloured article, obviously based upon a very short stay in Siam (*Fortnightly Review*, April 1893), says: "The royal authority has been further consolidated during the present reign by the wide extension of the electric telegraph . . . whereby the outlying provinces and their governors are placed in direct and immediate communication with the capital." This is, no doubt, how it looks on the surface of things and on the map. Hear, however, what the British Consul-General has to say upon the matter in his latest report (published, like most of such documents, a year late):

"The telegraph lines have not been maintained in an efficient state during the year, and much inconvenience and loss has been caused by frequent interruptions of the international lines *vid* Tavoy and Saigon. The line to Chiangmai, too, has been subject to so many interruptions that it

would be almost better to have no line at all. . . . It may be said in favour of the telegraph department that Siam is a peculiarly difficult country in which to keep telegraph communication open. . . . These difficulties have, however, always remained the same, whereas the efficiency of the line has been constantly deteriorating, and this deterioration has been especially rapid of late."

And the Siamese Government has now gone in for railways. One of these, from Bangkok to Paknam, at the mouth of the Menam—the Piræus of Siam—has long been wanted, and is quite sure to pay its way, as it is within reach of constant European supervision and is inexpensively built. The other, which is being constructed—and there is striking testimony to the wealth of Siam in the fact that it has been financed by the King out of his own pocket, rather than allow European capitalists to get the hold upon the country which the control of a great railway necessarily bestows—will run first from Bangkok to Khorat, whence two theoretical branches will tap the eastern part of the kingdom at Champasak (Bassac), and the northern at Nong Khai. The idea is an excellent one, but it is certain that the traffic under Siamese direction will not pay for a very long time, and the upkeep of the line will prove a task too tiresome for any Oriental, and too costly for any private purse. Here, again, the fact is that railways have been forced upon Siam by the pressure of outside opinion, and as the Siamese never had the slightest intention of building the enormous line to Chiangmai, the great city of the far north, for which, however, they were not able to resist Sir Andrew Clark's desire to make a preliminary survey—for the King had reasons to be grateful to him for help given when he was Governor of the Straits Settlements—they decided to build one of their own, and chose the Khorat route.

Finally, the Siamese attitude toward reform in general is indicated by its attitude to all Europeans, whether official or unofficial. It thoroughly distrusts them all—in some cases, of course, not without cause. The Government is determined not to allow them to obtain any financial interests in the country. It will not sell them land, it will not borrow money from them, it will not meet them half-way in any commercial or diplomatic matter. Every one of the fine warehouses and mills which excited Mr. Curzon's admiration upon the river front of Bangkok is either owned by the Siamese Government or heavily mortgaged to them—I believe there is only one exception. Every British representative has come to loggerheads with the Siamese Foreign Office, and on the occasion of my first visit the British Chargé d'Affaires had not been able to see the Foreign Minister for months. He was curtly requested to put all his communications in writing. I had the pleasure of contributing to the relief of this particular misunderstanding. The fact, however, that for some time past the diplomatic relations between Siam and the

European Powers have been far from cordial, must not be laid too strongly to the charge of the Foreign Minister. Prince Devawongse is the ablest and hardest-working man in Siam, and his task of safeguarding his country's interests from two or three powerful nations and very possible enemies, without any material force whatever to back him, is that of a political Penelope. If the results are not satisfactory he may reply that the means are non-existent. It is fair to presume that the Egyptian houses erected from bricks made without straw were not left uncriticised by their occupants.

So much for the domestic conditions of the future of Siam. Now let us look at the external conditions. The French position and claims cannot be accurately explained without a good map, but they may easily be adequately summarised. The Mekong is a great river, interrupted frequently by practically impassable rapids, rising in the far north, and running first south, then east, then south, then east, and then south again. The French have long been dissatisfied with the narrow strip of Annam formed by the natural and historical boundary of mountains lying due north and south, parallel with the last reach of the river. They have, therefore, claimed the left bank of the Mekong as their boundary. Moreover, they have now practically secured the territory lying between the mountains and the river, and this, therefore, may be dismissed as a *fait accompli*. Siam is certainly not able to get it back again, and would willingly sacrifice it for the sake of peace; and no other country is likely to help her if she desired to resume her merely nominal control over it. It is of no particular value; the river is almost certainly not navigable; and we, at any rate, can be quite content to say of France, "Much good may it do her." The real difficulty begins when France claims the left bank of the Mekong *after it takes its first turn* (reckoning from the mouth) *to the west*. A large, valuable slice of integral Siam is here at stake, in the triangle formed by Chieng Kwang, Nong Khai, and Luang Prabang. And still worse is it for both Siam and England when France continues her claim to the left bank after the river again turns to the west from Luang Prabang. This not only takes off another huge slice, and cuts the line of communication with China, but it brings the French to our own frontier at Chieng Sen or Chieng Kong. If this claim were enforced, Siam would be completely encircled—except on the south—by England and France, an embrace which would inevitably draw closer and closer till the national life was constricted out of the unfortunate "Land of the Free," as the Siamese call themselves. And it is under these circumstances that British interests are involved in the territorial dispute. The attitude of England, it seems to me, is imposed by the geographical situation: no objection ought to be made to the Franco-Siamese boundary being fixed at the left bank of the Mekong, on the condition

that French territory never extends west of Chieng Kwang. This is practically the present situation, for France has already had an armed post there for a couple of years. She has also posts in the direct line north at Muang Theng and Muang Lai, and these are faced by Siamese posts at Muang Sai, Sobat, Sop Nao, Muang Hun, Muang Wa, and Muang Ahin. All these, under the settlement I have urged, would remain exactly where they are. But it must be quite clearly understood that except English influence there are only two considerations to stop France. The first of these is the inevitable guerilla warfare that would be carried on by the wild tribes beyond the Mekong. This may seem of slight importance, but it is precisely this which has prevented the pacification of Tongking and cost the French so very heavily in men and money. The second is the possible interference of Germany. The German Minister has been very active in Bangkok, and Germans have tried on several occasions to get a foothold in the Siamese portions of the Malay Peninsula. Of these two obstacles one is certain and the other perhaps remote, but France must take both into consideration. There remains Siam itself. At the very last interview I had with Prince Devawongse, the Foreign Minister, I asked him what Siam would do if the French pushed on and on, as it was certain they would—whether Siam would then, the policy of playing off one European power against another having broken down, cast off her distrust of us, and invite our assistance? He replied, "We shall fight." Of course I knew that the notion of Siam fighting France or anybody else was preposterous, and the Prince knew that I knew it. So he added, "That may seem incredible to you, but we shall certainly fight. We should have no more to lose by fighting than by not fighting, and a gallant resistance would draw the attention of the world to us and our just rights, and then perhaps they would not let us be eaten up by France. Believe me, we shall certainly fight." I believe, of course, that Prince Devawongse was perfectly sincere, but I cannot bring myself to believe that Siam will fight. She has almost nothing whatever to fight with.

What are her army and navy? The former is stated by the authorities to consist of 5000 men, all stationed in Bangkok or close by. A few of these, armed with the Männlicher repeating rifle, and admirably drilled by Captain Schau, are shown you on parade. It is certain, however, that one thousand of these would be nearer the mark than five thousand, and although they acted very well during the Chinese riots, it is almost equally certain that they could not be brought to face European troops. It is one thing to bayonet an unarmed Chinaman in a bamboo house, or to pot him as he swims down the river, and quite another to try conclusions with a *farang* soldier, who holds you in utter contempt and is backed up by dreadful

prestige. The navy has simply been allowed to lapse. Mr. Curzon's statement that "the navy, though small, is an efficient force, consisting of a small but well-handled flotilla of gunboats and cruisers," shows that he did not stay long enough to penetrate below the deceptive Siamese surface. Out of the dozen vessels moored in the river, perhaps two could with difficulty and much risk go to sea, and they are utterly ineffective. Of the new Armstrong cruiser I know nothing, except the fact of its existence. At the forts there are supposed to be ten 6-inch Armstrong guns on disappearing carriages, like the two at Hong Kong; but even if they are not disabled by rust, it would be safe to wager that, except the two European officers above mentioned, there is not an individual in Siam who knows how to fire them. No resistance worth the name could or would be made to a European force. A couple of hostile British or French gunboats in the Menam, and a thousand soldiers on shore, and the whole structure of Siam would fall like a house of cards, and the only difficulty would be to suppress the anarchy of the Chinese. The *corvée* abandoned, the crushing burden of taxation eased, the colossal royal extravagances curtailed, slavery abolished, not only in name but in fact, payment honestly and promptly made for everything taken, just laws simply administered to all alike, and the people of Siam would not wait to see their country developed by roads and railways, and its crops multiplied tenfold, to acknowledge the benefit of the new era. If one had to think only of the common people of Siam, there could be no hesitation in saying of the day when such things shall be, "Let it be soon!"

The decision of the future of Siam is for the moment out of her own hands. It may be that she will be permitted to go on her way for a while longer, though the development of events seems to be making this doubtful. Several years ago the French ambassador proposed to Lord Salisbury that an imaginary line of demarcation should be drawn down the middle of Siam from north to south, and that all to the east of it should be the French "sphere of influence," and all to the west the English one. So the French view of what should be Siam's future is not very obscure. The official English view is much less clear. For some time the British *mot d'ordre* was, "Nothing to offend Siam," but this was probably due to the wish of the India Office—more powerful in the East than all the other departments of State put together—to get the Salween boundary question settled satisfactorily. This is now done, and therefore a little more energy in Bangkok, and a little more consideration of British interests there on the part of the British representatives may, perhaps, be looked for without too great a display of optimism. If France does not push matters to extremes, the few men in Siam who alone could, under any circumstances, direct her future along the right

path, and keep her upon it, may have the opportunity of showing whether this is in their power—the King's own younger brother, Prince Bhanurangse Swangwongse, commonly called the Ong Noi; Prince Devawongse Varoprakar; Prince Narès Varariddhi, the Governor of Bangkok; and Prince Damrong. But if the French Foreign Office allows its hand to be forced by its officials in Cambodia and on the Mekong, then *à nous deux*. We are the great power in the whole East, and we must remain so. For the sake of peace and security for our present possessions, and for the sake of our future market, we must not allow Siam to be absorbed by France. If to prevent this it is necessary to "protect" Siam, we must be prepared to do so. Speaking for myself, though the attitude may be an unpopular one, I hold as an Imperialist and a believer in Englishmen above all other men, and in British rule above all other rule, that we should be justified in assuming charge of Siam for no other reason than to prevent France doing so. But of course we must be sure of her intention first. Our forefathers twice prevented her from founding a rival empire; we should not be less determined. Let the British tradition be once undermined, and the disintegration of the Empire is only a matter of time. It may be necessary, however, to act at any moment. It is denied that the French fleet in the Far East has been ordered to the mouth of the Menam, but France has certainly seized an island off the Siamese coast as a basis for future operations. Our own China squadron, much stronger than any force France has there, should not be far off, in case of emergencies; for Bangkok must not under any circumstances be overawed by France. And if it comes to action, there is a group of islands (which I will not mention) that we ought to annex instantly. They belong practically to nobody, and nobody would be injured by the seizure of them, while at such a moment they might be of the greatest strategic importance. The principal point, however, to bear in mind is that if Prince Devawongse adheres to the determination he expressed to me, a day or two at any time may bring us face to face with the problem of the future of Siam. It is fortunate for our peace of mind that our foreign policy is in the hands of a Minister as alert and as enlightened as Lord Rosebery.

HENRY NORMAN.

## THE TEACHING OF CIVIC DUTY.\*

IN Britain, as in most countries, each step in the extension of popular education has been due to some antecedent political change. Men have not received the franchise because they had been already sufficiently instructed to exercise it, but have been provided with the means of instruction after the franchise had been given, partly because they used their new power to demand those means, partly because it was felt that the education of the citizens had become more directly and pressingly needful for the welfare of the State. It was soon after the establishment of Household Suffrage in the boroughs by the Act of 1867 that Mr. Robert Lowe delivered his famous counsel, "Educate your masters." It was under the impulse of that Act that the reformed Parliament of 1868 passed the Elementary Education Act of 1870. In 1884 and 1885 we had in the County Franchise and Redistribution Acts two still more sweeping measures of Parliamentary reform, by which government of the country was fully, and as all are agreed, irrevocably committed to the hands of the masses of the people. That great change has been followed, as was to be expected, by a general stirring of the popular mind, by a desire to use the power thus gained to carry sweeping legislative measures and effect large changes in the social and economic sphere. Here, as in other countries, the air is now full of new schemes. Efforts are made in all directions; cries are heard from all quarters. The need for knowledge and judgment among the voters who have become the rulers is even clearer and stronger than it was in 1870.

Strangely enough, Mr. Robert Lowe, whose phrase became famous as the expression of what every one had begun to feel, was of

\* Abridged from an Address delivered to the London Association of Head Masters of Public Elementary Schools, December 1892.

all the British statesmen who have had to deal with education, the one who, despite his literary culture and his brilliant natural gifts, took the narrowest views of what education ought to be and might effect. His Revised Code did much to tie the teacher down to merely elementary subjects and to deprive him of due opportunities to train and widen the pupils' minds, and of the motives likely to stimulate him to use those opportunities. For the kind of training that would help him to bear his part in governing it made no provision. To teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, became nearly the whole of the teacher's function; and it is only by slow degrees that our schools have reverted to that larger and freer, but not yet sufficiently large and free, system under which they are now at work. It was a grave error to lay so much stress on these mere mechanical instruments of education, reading and writing, and to neglect the objects they were to serve. Reading and writing are no more education than the lane that leads into a field is the field itself; and you might as well try to feed a flock of sheep on the flints of the lane as send children away from school and hold them to have been prepared for their life's work with the mere possession of reading and writing. It is not the power of reading that makes the difference between one man and another so much as the being taught what to read and how to read, that is, having acquired the taste for reading and the habit of thinking about what is read. More and more is it our task to-day not to be content with having built schools, and gathered children into them, and compelled their attendance by law and relieved the parents from the payment of fees, but to widen the scope and deepen the grasp of the teaching given, leading the child to love knowledge, and forming in it wholesome tastes and high feelings. It is of one such kind of knowledge and one such group of feelings that I have undertaken to speak to-day—that which touches the relation to the community of the child who is to grow up into a governing citizen. But before we inquire how Civic Duty is to be taught, let us attempt to determine what civic duty means.

The French are fortunate in possessing a word *civisme*, for which there is no precise English equivalent, since "patriotism," as we shall see presently, has received a slightly different sense. *Civisme* is taken to include all the qualities which make up the good citizen—the love of country and of liberty, respect for right and justice, attachment to the family and the community. This is perhaps not too wide an extension to give to Civic Duty, at least in a free country, where the love of liberty is no less essential than the respect for constituted order. Or we may describe it as one aspect or side—the domestic side—of the love of country, a virtue generally thought of as displaying itself in services rendered to, and sacrifices made for, one's fatherland in struggles against external enemies, but which



ought to be extended to cover the devotion to all that can subserve her inner welfare. To desire that the State we belong to shall be not only strong against other Powers, but also well and wisely governed, and therefore peaceful and contented, to fit ourselves for rendering to her such service as our capacities permit, to be always ready to render this service, even to our own hurt and loss—this is a form of patriotism less romantic and striking than the expulsion of a tyrant, or such a self-chosen death as that of Publius Decius or Arnold von Winkelried; but it springs from the same feelings, and it goes as truly in its degree to build up the fabric of national greatness.

This home side of patriotism, this sober and quiet sense of what a man owes to the community into which he is born, and which he helps to govern, has been found specially hard to maintain in modern times and in large countries. It suffers from three difficulties. One is the size of our modern States. In small city republics, like those of Greece and Rome, or of the Italian Middle Ages, every citizen felt that he counted for something, and that the fortunes of the community were his own. When a riot occurred half the citizens might swarm out into the streets. When a battle was fought the slaughter of a thousand men might mean ruin or the loss of independence. The individual associated himself heartily with all that befell the State, and could perceive the results of his own personal effort. Now, in a vast population like ours, the individual feels swallowed up and obliterated, so that his own action seems too small a unit in the sum of national action to be worth regarding. It is like the difference between giving a vote in a representative assembly, where you are one of 670, or perhaps of only 356 persons, and giving a vote at a general election, where you are one of six millions. Another difficulty springs from the peaceful life which Englishmen and Americans are fortunately now able to lead. There is nothing romantic about the methods in which we are now called upon to show our devotion to the State. The citizen of Sparta, or the peasant of Schwytz, who went out to repel the invader, went under circumstances which touched his imagination and raised his emotion to the highest point. In the days when the safety of England was threatened, the achievements of Drake at sea, the chivalric gallantry of Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen struck a chord which vibrated in every English heart. To us, with exceptions too few to be worth regarding, such a stimulus is seldom applied. What can be less romantic, and to the outward eye and ordinary apprehension less inspiring, than the methods of our elections—meetings of committees and selections of candidates, platform harangues, and huntings up of careless voters, and marking crosses on bits of papers in hideous polling booths, with sawdust-sprinkled floors? Even the civic strife in Parliaments and County Councils, exciting as it often is, wants the

elements which still dazzle imagination from the conflicts of fleets and armies of the past. The third difficulty springs from the extent to which party spirit tends to overlay, if not to supersede, national spirit in those self-governing countries whose politics are worked by parties. To the ordinary citizen, participation in the government of his country appears in the form of giving a vote. His vote must be given for a party candidate; his efforts must be directed to carrying his party ticket. Each party necessarily identifies its programme and its leaders with the welfare of the State; each seeks to represent its opponents as enemies, even if it may charitably admit them to be rather ignorant than malevolent, still, nevertheless, enemies of the highest interests of the State. As a rule the men who care most about public affairs are the most active and earnest party men; and thus the idea of devotion to the whole community, and to a national ideal, higher and more enduring than any which party can present, is apt to be obscured and forgotten. We all admit in words that party and its organisation are only means by which to secure good government, but, as usually happens, the means so much absorb our energies that the end is apt to slip altogether from our view. These obstacles to the cultivation of civic duty are all obvious, so obvious that I should hesitate to repeat them to you were it not the case that some truths, just because they have passed into truisms, have ceased to be felt as truths. They are obstacles which will not disappear as time goes on, and party organisation becomes more perfect. All we can do is to exhort ourselves and one another to feel the growing greatness of the interests committed to our charge, and to remember that civic virtue is not the less virtue because she appears to-day in sober grey, and no longer in the gorgeous trappings of military heroism. Even at Trafalgar there was many a powder-monkey running to and fro between decks who saw nothing and knew little of the progress of the fight, but whose soul had been stirred by the signal of the morning.

You may ask me in what the habits of civic duty consist which the schoolmaster may seek to form in his pupils and by what methods he is to form them. The habits are, I think, these three—To strive to know what is best for one's country as a whole. To place one's country's interest, when one knows it, above party feeling, or class feeling, or any other sectional passion or motive. To be willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious trouble, for the well-governing of every public community one belongs to, be it a township or parish, a ward or a city, or the nation as a whole. And the methods of forming these habits are two, methods which of course cannot in practice be distinguished but must go hand in hand—the giving of knowledge regarding the institutions of the country—knowledge sufficient to enable the young citizen to comprehend their working—

and the inspiring of a love for the nation, an appreciation of all that makes its true greatness, a desire to join in serving it.

In speaking of the methods I come upon practical ground, and feel some diffidence in making suggestions to those who may, as practical teachers, be expected to know better than I can myself what it is possible to effect under the pressure of many competing subjects and with children, most of whom leave school before fourteen. The outline of such a course of instruction as I am contemplating would be something like the following. It is, and must be, an outline which includes only the elements of the subject, but you will not fail to remember that there is all the difference in the world between being elementary and being superficial.

The teacher must not attempt to give many details, or to enter upon difficult and disputed questions. But it is essential that whatever is given should be thoroughly understood, and so taken into the learner's mind as to become thenceforth a part of it. That abstract ideas and technical expressions ought to be avoided goes without saying. This, however, must not prevent us from trying to make the pupil understand the meaning of such terms as the nation, the State, and the law. You need not trouble yourselves to find unimpeachable logical definitions of these terms; that is, a task which still employs the learned. What is wanted is that he should grasp the idea, first, of a community—a community inhabiting a country, united by various ties, organised for mutual protection, mutual help, and the attainment of certain common ends; next, of the law as that which regulates and keeps order in this community; next of public officers, great and small, as those whom the law sets over us, and whose business it is to make us obey the law, while they also obey it themselves. With these conceptions in his mind, the pupil may be led to give substance and actuality to them by being referred to his own country, and applying to the nation of to-day what he has doubtless already learnt from his manual of British history. The names of Queen and Parliament are already familiar to him; it may therefore be explained to him what is the place and what the functions of the Sovereign, and what the powers of Parliament are, how it makes laws, of what parts it is composed, how it is chosen. Thus he comes to elections, and sees how the people, through the representatives whom they choose, are ultimately the law-making power. By this time he will have been led to ask what the Government does for us, and will be referred to the army, the navy, the post-office, the police, the maintenance of law courts, the relief of the poor, the public schools. As the police and the schools, though established by law, are managed by local authorities, he will pass into the field of local government, and will hear about school boards, town or county councils, magistrates and justices, and persons who administer the poor law. Not that the whole of this complex machinery

need be explained, still less that the pupil should be required to carry it in his memory, though he certainly ought to have some short and simple book so stating the facts as that he may be able readily to ascertain any particular point. What is really of consequence is that he should understand in a general way the nature and spirit of the system, the way in which the people exercise their power through their representatives and their officers, what the duty of the officer is, why we ought to obey the law, because it is our law, expressing the will of the majority, and the officers, because they are the ministers of the law, appointed to carry it out. Here again history may come in, and the learner may be reminded of times when it was necessary for the people to contend against their rulers for the right of making the law, and to resist the officer, because he was the minister of tyranny; as he may also be told of countries where to-day free government does not exist, and where in consequence the officer has neither the confidence of the citizen nor a due sense of responsibility to the community. It is fortunate for us that in all this field, and in every similar exposition of what is meant by Liberty with its rights, which also involve duties, and of Order with its duties, which also involve rights, the teacher is on ground so familiar and so uncontroversial that no suspicion of partisanship ought to attach to his explanations. The same remark applies to the United States, where the work of the instructor, if more difficult in one way, because he has to explain the complications of a federal system, and the working of a rigid constitution, is in another way easier, because the fundamental principles of the government are set forth explicitly in public documents, whose authoritative language he may employ. The American scheme of government is intricate, no doubt, but it is also symmetrical, and offers comparatively few of those contrasts between the form and the reality of things with which our British monarchical arrangements are replete, and which it is not easy to make young people comprehend.

It may be remarked upon these suggestions that the topics I have outlined for treatment are in no small degree abstract, and therefore above the comprehension of boys and girls of thirteen. I have stated them for the sake of brevity in a somewhat abstract form. But they all admit of, and of course they ought all to receive, concrete treatment. The pupil should be made to begin from the policeman and the soldier whom he sees, from the workhouse and the school inspector, from the election of the town councillor and the member of the Legislature which, if he be an American boy, he will see pretty often, and about which, if he be an English boy, he is likely to have heard some talk. The old maxim of Horace about eyes and ears ought never to be forgotten by the teacher either of geography or of history, or of elementary politics. An ounce of personal observa-

tion is worth a pound of facts gathered from books ; but the observation profits little till the teacher has laid hold of it and made it the basis of his instruction. I must therefore qualify the warning against details by adding that wherever a detail in the system of government gives some foothold of actual personal knowledge to the pupil, that detail must be used by the teacher and made the starting-point from which general facts are to be illustrated and explained. Above all, let the teacher never be satisfied with the pupil's giving him back his own words. Every good teacher will admit this if it be put to him ; but in topics which our books treat in an abstract fashion, the danger of resting in mere phrases is doubly great, even to the good teacher.

That current history—*i.e.*, the political events of the day, and newspapers their record, a record perhaps more vivacious than exact, but still the best we have—must be used to make the facts and principles of government real to the pupil, is too obvious to need enforcing. But I cannot leave untouched the question how far the teaching of elementary politics ought to be treated historically ; that is to say, be made a part of the teaching of the history of the country itself.

Now history is, of all the subjects which schools attempt to handle perhaps the worst taught. The difficulty does not lie in the suspicion of political partiality which may be supposed to attach to the teacher, for a sensible and careful man can easily avoid any such suspicion. Even if he has to explain to American children the causes which brought about the Civil War, or to English children the struggle over the Reform Bill, a little common sense and fairness will enable him to do justice to both sides. It is only where religion comes in, as in the times of Elizabeth or James II., that he has need to walk warily. No ; the difficulties of teaching history lie deeper. To know a multitude of facts and names and dates is not to know history, and the school-master may have all that the manual contains at his fingers' ends and yet be quite unable to give the pupils any real comprehension of the nature and significance of the events it mentions, unable to help them to realise the differences between the present and the past. A man may teach geometry tolerably well if he has a clear head, and knows thoroughly so much as is contained in the first six books of Euclid or some corresponding text-book. So one who understands the general principles of grammar may give sufficient elementary instruction in a language though he has not gone far in it himself, and has no large mastery of words or idioms. Many a governess who could not write a piece of Latin or French prose is competent to bring children up to her own point of knowledge. The same remark applies to some branches of natural science. But to teach history a man must be a historian—that is to say, must under-

stand the methods of history, must have the power of realising the dead past as a living present, must, in fact, have a touch of imagination as well as a vastly larger amount of positive knowledge than he will attempt to pile upon the memory of his class. Considering how unsatisfactory is the provision now made for the education, in history and the subjects cognate thereto, of the elementary teachers themselves in England and in many parts of the United States, one cannot expect these attainments to abound among them, and cannot therefore look for much successful teaching of history. Their want of success is not their fault, but due partly to the conditions under which they enter their profession, partly to the inherent difficulties of the subject. Hence, while heartily desiring to see history better taught, and to see it used to illustrate elementary politics, I look upon the latter subject as really an easier one than the former, and sufficiently distinct to deserve an independent place in the curriculum. This place it does now find in Switzerland, and to a less extent in France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in many States of the American Union. We may be told that in England no room has been left for it in the codes and schemes of study which now regulate our elementary schools. If so, so much the worse for those schemes, for the subject is not less essential than most of those which the schemes now include, and in the hands of an intelligent teacher, is not more difficult for boys of thirteen or fourteen. I have known instances where children even of nine or ten have so profited by the talk of their elders as to be intelligently interested in the political columns of a newspaper. As respects those who leave school before thirteen, we may point to the constantly expanding evening and continuation schools, places for which the subject is eminently suited. But it is not only in elementary schools that the need for introducing the subject exists. Boys leave our so-called "secondary" schools at sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, leave even some of the greatest and most costly schools in the country, having received no regular instruction in the principles and working of the British Constitution, much less in their own system of local government wherein many of them as local magnates are soon called upon to take part. It is otherwise in Switzerland, otherwise in the United States, where I fancy no boy passes through a high school without having been taught something about the constitution of his country and perhaps of his State also.

I must not forget to add that occasions will often present themselves in which lessons of direct practical value in economic and social matters may be given to advanced classes. When poor law administration is mentioned, the principles that ought to guide it may be explained; when school boards and municipal authorities are described, the reasons why the State deals with education and the functions which municipalities may discharge for the general

good of the community may be touched, stating of course the views on both sides where the points are debateable. Thus much may be done to set the young citizen to think in a reasonable way about our present problems in the sphere of government, and to save him from the danger of becoming entangled in mere abstract ideas and phrases, than which nothing is more mischievous in a democracy.

So far I have spoken of the instruction. I come now to the other and not less important side of the matter—the means of stimulating interest in public affairs and inspiring the sense of civic duty. Here we may depend, to some extent, upon the natural play of imagination and emotion so soon as the necessary basis of knowledge has been supplied. No rightly constituted mind can help feeling some pride in the constitution of his country and in her greatness, some interest in the vast issues which its representative bodies and executive authorities have to deal with. The more that knowledge can be combined with whatever tends to touch imagination and emotion, the better will the knowledge be remembered and the more powerfully will it work in forming the character. Hence the value of two kinds of reading: historical passages relating to great or striking persons or events, and pieces of poetry. The difficulties that attach to the systematic teaching of history do not attach to the reading of historical matter, whereof the more a boy reads the better. If well written historical narratives, fresh, simple, dramatic, were put into the hands of boys from ten years onwards, given to them not as task books but as books to read for their own pleasure, not only would a good deal of historical knowledge be acquired, but a taste would often be formed which would last on into manhood. Though the boy, however, ought to be tempted to read for his own pleasure much more than could be read in class, a skilful teacher will make great use of class reading, and will, by his explanations and familiar talk over the book, be able to stimulate the intelligence of the pupil, setting him to think about what he is reading—the habit without which reading profits little to any of us.

Next, as to poetry, which may do as much to form a patriotic temper as even the records of great deeds in history. For a country with two such histories as England and Scotland have, and for a country with a poetry even more glorious than its history, a people whose long succession of great poets no other people in the ancient or modern world can rival, it is strange that so comparatively little of our best poetry should run in a historical and patriotic channel. No poet has yet given to Britain her sixth book of the *Æneid*. There are some plays of Shakespeare, such as "King John" and "King Henry V.," though these are rather above the interest of boys of thirteen; there are several sonnets of Milton and his contemporaries, not forgetting Andrew Marvell on the death of Charles I., a few stray bits out of Dryden, an ode of Addison's and another of Gray's; there

are passages in Cowper and Scott, a very few noble lyrics of Thomas Campbell, several sonnets of Wordsworth, and some splendid ballads of Tennyson, foremost among them the tremendous poem of "The Revenge," together with some beautiful meditative pieces, such as "Of old sat Freedom on the Heights," and "Love thou thy Land."

This list contains many gems, but it is, after all, compared with the volume of English poetry, a short list, which even the inclusion of the work of less eminent singers, such as Wolfe's "Burial of Sir John Moore," Macaulay's "Armada," and a few of Dibdin's songs, would not greatly swell. Short as it is, however, we do not make half the use of it that we ought. Good poetry is the most pervading stimulus which literature can apply to the mind and character of the young: to carry it in memory is a perennial joy, to love it is to have received the best gift education can bestow. So as to poetry and patriotism. The imaginative mind transfigures history into patriotism. When it reads of a great event it dilates with the sense of what that event has wrought. When it sees the spot where some great deed was done it is roused to emulate the spirit of those who did it, and feels like Browning in the famous lines on the evening view of Cape Trafalgar and Gibraltar: "Here and here did England help me, how can I help England? say!"

The mention of Trafalgar reminds me of the opinion expressed by an eminent American man of letters that England has begun to forget her heroes and grow cold in her recollection of past exploits. Forty years ago, he says, men were stirred by the name of Nelson, now, a reference to him meets with no response. Is this so? Are we really ceasing to be patriotic? Has the vaster size of the population made each man feel his share less? or has long continued peace destroyed the interest in warlike prowess? or have the leading minds begun to be merely cosmopolitan? or are we too fully occupied with social changes, too sorely distracted with the strife of labour and capital, to reverence the old ideals? So much at any rate may be said, that in England the knowledge of and interest in the national history is less than in most of the free countries. It is less than in the United States. The Republic has to be sure no large store of patriotic poetry, even a smaller store (of indisputable merit) than England has produced since 1776, some few poems of Whittier—the ballad of "Barbara Frietchie" perhaps the best,—Bryant and Longfellow, with stray pieces from less familiar names. Walt Whitman has taken no hold of the people, and Lowell's Muse, thoughtful and dignified and morally impressive as she is, seldom soars into the region of pure poetry. But the interest of the American people in the events of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, and even in eminent statesmen, such as Jefferson, Clay and Webster, is far more generally diffused than any similar feeling



in England, where both intelligent patriotism and historical curiosity are almost confined to the small well-educated class. Among the Nonconformists there still lingers a warm though (as it would seem) steadily cooling feeling for the Puritan heroes and divines of the Commonwealth. But with this exception, the middle class, scarcely less than the agricultural peasantry and the city artisan, care for none of these things. This is less true of the smaller nationalities within the British Isles. In Ireland the misfortunes of the country have endeared to the people names like those of Sarsfield, Wolfe Tone, Emmett, and O'Connell. Scotland has been fortunate in having two national heroes who belong to such remote times as to be fit subjects for legend, while in the seventeenth century she produced, in the Covenanters, another set of striking figures, now, it is to be feared, beginning to be forgotten. Scotland was, moreover, favoured a century ago, with two great literary artists who, the one by his songs and the other by his prose romances no less than by his poetry, made her history, the history of a small, a poor, and for a long time a rude nation, glow with a light that will last for ages to come. Thus, even to-day, Wallace and Bruce, Bothwell Bridge and Culloden, are more vividly present even to the peasant of Scotland than Harold (son of Godwin) or Hampden and Blake, than Agincourt or Fontenoy, or perhaps even Salamanca and the Nile, are to the average Englishman. Scenery no doubt counts for something. In a small country with striking natural features, historical events become more closely associated with the visual impressions of the ordinary citizen. There is no place in England playing the same part in English history as Stirling Castle and its neighbourhood play in Scotch history. Here I am reminded of Switzerland, a country whose people know their own history better and love it more intensely than probably any other people in the world know or love theirs. The majestic mountain masses and narrow gorges of the older cantons of Switzerland have not only been one of the main causes in enabling a very small and once a very obscure people to conquer independence from powerful feudal lords and to maintain it ever since, except for one brief interval, in the face of the great military monarchies which surround it, but have also fostered the patriotic spirit of the natives by reminding them daily of the conflicts whereby their freedom was achieved. Like the Psalmist, they can say, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my aid." Just as in little Greece and Latium, one moves about with a constant sense of tiny republics on every fortified hill top and of armies traversing every valley, just as in little Scotland one passes on the railway from Blair Athol to Berwick-on-Tweed eleven famous battlefields, so in little Switzerland the sense of history follows and environs one at almost every step, and pervades the minds of a race specially familiar with their

own annals, specially zealous in commemorating by national songs, by the celebration of anniversaries, by the statues of departed heroes, by the preservation of ancient buildings, by historical and antiquarian museums in the cantonal capitals, the deeds of valiant forefathers. These things, coupled with universal military service and the practice of self-government in local and cantonal as well as in Federal affairs, have associated patriotism with the daily exercise of civic functions in a manner unapproached elsewhere. Not otherwise an imaginative or enthusiastic people, the Swiss have not only become penetrated and pervaded by patriotism, but have learnt to carry its spirit into the working of their institutions. There are some faults in the working of those institutions, but party spirit is among the least of them, and I doubt whether a system so highly democratic could prosper save in a land where the ordinary citizen has attained so strong a sense of the responsibilities which freedom lays upon him.

Some years ago, in a lonely mountain valley in the Canton of Glarus, I was conversing with a peasant landowner about the Landsgemeinde (popular primary assembly) which regulates the affairs of the canton. After he had given me some details, I asked him whether it was not the fact that all citizens had the right of attending and voting in this assembly, "It is not so much their Right," he replied, "as their Duty."

This is the spirit by which free governments live. One would like to see more of it here in London, where Parliamentary and County Council elections often bring little more than half of the voters to the polls. One would like to see more of it in the United States, where in many places a large proportion of the voters take no trouble to inform themselves as to the merits of the candidates or the political issues submitted to them, but vote blindly at the bidding of their party organisations.

This little anecdote of my Swiss friend illustrates what I mean in speaking of patriotism as the basis of the sense of civic duty. If people learn to love their country, if their vision is raised beyond the petty circle of their personal and family interests to appreciate the true width and splendour of national life, as a thing which not only embraces all of us who are now living here and grouped in a great body seeking common ends, but reaches back into the immemorial past and forward into the mysterious future, it elevates the conception of citizenship, it fills the sheath of empty words with a keen edged sword, it helps men to rise above mere party views and to feel their exercise of voting power to be a solemn trust.

"Love thou thy land with love far brought  
From out the storied Past and used  
Within the Present, but transfused  
Through future time by power of thought."

Into these feelings even the poorest citizen may now enter. Our British institutions have been widened to admit him: the practice of using the powers entrusted to him ought to form in him not only knowledge but the sense of duty itself. So, at any rate, we have all hoped, so the more sanguine have predicted. And as this feeling grows under the influence of free institutions, it becomes itself a further means of developing new and possibly better institutions, such as the needs of the time may demand. Let me take an illustration from a question which has been much discussed of late, but still remains in what may be called a fluid condition. The masses of the British people in these isles, and probably to a large extent also the masses of the people in our colonies, are still imperfectly familiar with the idea of a great English-speaking race over the world, and of all which the existence of that race imports. Till we have created more of an imperial spirit—by which I do not mean a spirit of vain glory or aggression or defiance—far from it—but a spirit of pride and joy in the extension of our language, our literature, our laws, our commerce over the vast spaces of the earth and the furthest islands of the sea, with a sense of the splendid opportunities and solemn responsibilities which that extension carries with it—till we and our colonies have more of such an imperial spirit, hardly shall we be able to create the institutions that will ere long be needed if all these scattered segments of the British people are to be held together in one enduring fabric. But if sentiment ripens quickly, and we find ourselves able to create those institutions, they will themselves develop and foster and strengthen the imperial spirit whereof I have spoken, and make it, as we trust, since it will rest even more upon moral than upon material bonds, a guarantee as well of peace as of freedom among the English-speaking races of the world.

From these dreams of the future, I return to say a concluding word on the main theme of this address—the political aspects of the teacher's function. The teacher has charge of the future citizen at the time when he is most impressionable; the only time, it may happen, in his life when he is free enough from the pressing cares of daily employment, to have leisure for thought about the functions to which the Constitution calls him, or to conceive a wish to understand the true bearing of those functions. On many, probably on most, pupils the teacher's efforts will make no great impression. But those most susceptible to the influence which stimulating teaching may exert, will be those likely in future to stir and guide their fellows, and on their guidance the beliefs and tendencies of their class will mainly depend. The dictum, Property has its duties as well as its rights, once received with surprise and even disgust, has become a commonplace. We now need to realise in the fulness of its application that other maxim, which Mazzini was never tired of enforcing, that Liberty also has its duties

as well as its rights, and will begin to be in danger if it forgets them: The tie of duty to the State, though it cannot be as close as that which binds us to family and friends, ought to be just as clearly recognised to be a tie of absolute force.

It is common to talk of ignorance as the chief peril of democracies. That it is a peril no one denies, and we are all, I hope, agreed that it has become more than ever the duty of the State to insist not only on a more penetrating and stimulative instruction, but upon the inclusion of the elements of constitutional knowledge among the subjects to be taught in the higher standards of our schools.

Democracy has, however, another foe not less pernicious. This is indolence. Indifference to public affairs shows itself not merely in a neglect to study them and fit one's self to give a judicious vote, but in the apathy which does not care to give a vote when the time arrives. It is a serious evil already in some countries, serious in London, very serious in Italy, serious enough in the United States, not indeed at Presidential, but at city and other local elections, for some reformer to have proposed to punish with a fine the citizen who neglects to vote, as in some old Greek city the law proclaimed penalties against the citizen who, in a sedition stood aloof, taking neither one side nor the other. For, unhappily, it is the respectable, well-meaning, easy-going citizen, as well as the merely ignorant citizen, who is apt to be listless. Those who have their private ends to serve, their axes to grind and logs to roll, are not indolent. Private interest spurs them on; and if the so-called "good citizen," who has no desire or aim except that good government which benefits him no more than every one else, does not bestir himself, the public funds may become the plunder, and the public interests the sport of unscrupulous adventurers. Of such evils which have befallen some great communities, there are happily no present signs among ourselves; though it is much to be wished that here in Britain we could secure both at municipal and Parliamentary elections a much heavier vote than is usually cast. More common in all classes is that other kind of indolence which bestows so little time and thought upon current events and political questions, that it does not try to master their real significance, to extend its knowledge, and to base its opinion upon solid grounds. We need, all of us, in all classes and ranks of society, the rich and educated perhaps even more than others; because they are looked up to for guidance by their poorer or less educated neighbours, to be reminded that as Democracy—into which we have plunged so suddenly that some hardly yet realise what Democracy means—is, of all forms of government, that which needs the largest measure of intelligence and public spirit, so of all democracies ours is that which has been content to surround itself with the fewest checks and safeguards. The venerable Throne remains, and serves to conceal the greatness of the transforma-

tion that these twenty-five years have worked. But which among the institutions of the country could withstand any general demand proceeding from the masses of the people, or even delay the accomplishment of any purpose on which they were ardently set, seeing that they possess in the popular House a weapon whose vote, given however hastily, can effect the most revolutionary change? I do not say this to alarm any timid mind, believing that our British masses are not set upon such changes, and are still disposed to listen to the voices of those whom they respect, to whatever class such persons may belong. The mutual goodwill of classes is still among the most hopeful features in our political condition. But it is well to remember that it is upon the wisdom, good sense, and self-restraint of the masses of the people that this vast and splendid edifice of British power and prosperity rests, and to feel that everything we can do to bring political knowledge and judgment within their reach is now more than ever called for. Let me express this trust in the majestic words addressed to the Head of the State by the poet whose loss we are now mourning, and than whom England had no more truly patriotic son :

“Take withal

Thy poet's blessing, and his trust that Heaven  
Will blow the tempest in the distance back  
From thine and ours ; for some are scared who mark,  
Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,  
Waverings of every vane with every wind,  
\* \* \* \* \*

And that which knows, but careful for itself,  
And that which knows not, ruling that which knows  
To its own harm : the goal of this great world  
Lies beyond sight ; yet if our slowly grown  
And crown'd Republic's crowning common-sense,  
That saved her many times, not fail—their fears  
Are morning shadows huger than the shapes  
That cast them, not those gloomier which forego  
The darkness of that battle in the West,  
Where all of high and holy dies away.”

JAMES BRYCE.

## ULSTER: FACTS AND FIGURES.

### A REPLY.

A CERTAIN Florimond de Remond, Councillor of Parliament for Bordeaux in the fourteenth century, has left on record the despair with which he "returned home, after having sent four or five sorcerers, male and female, to the stake, reflecting that it would be necessary to do it all over again next day."

We in Ulster are beginning to sympathise with the French Councillor. Times without number we have disposed of the attacks on our position within the Union, attacks made with a variety and ingenuity worthy of the best days of the conjuror's art, but the appearance time after time of some new professor renders it necessary that we should once more "do it all over again."

Our most recent assailant is Mr. Colclough, who in the June number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW sets up what he calls the "Ulster legend." He thus defines it: "Ulster, tried by every test of progress, wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, is far in advance of the southern and western provinces of Ireland. To which," he says, "is generally added as a corollary: Ulster is almost exclusively Protestant," and "Ulster is almost exclusively Unionist." The accusation against us which he founds upon our belief in these theses is, that we "insist upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom doing our bidding," and that we claim "to rule the destinies of the country."

An English Church curate of the last century, in days when apologetic sermons were in fashion, gave his parishioners a refutation of the doctrines of an imaginary Buddhist so conclusive to his own mind that he published it. In acknowledging a presentation copy his bishop added a little criticism. "Most forcible and convincing," he said, "but I think you might have set up a stronger Buddhist." If I may follow the bishop's lead, I would suggest to Mr. Colclough how

much more forcible and convincing he might have made his argument had he commenced by erecting an Ulster legend somewhat in accordance with fact. Whatever "irresponsible chattering" in the press or on platforms may write or say, no responsible authority in Ulster has ever put forward anything resembling Mr. Colclough's version of the Ulster legend.

The real claim of Ulster is that under precisely the same laws as those which govern the other provinces and cities of Ireland, Ulster and her cities have proved the possibility of establishing in Ireland a condition of mercantile and industrial progress, and of social contentment and prosperity, which not only compares favourably with corresponding conditions in other provinces, but is not unworthy of being classed with similar results in Great Britain. Ulster maintains that under the shelter of the Union, protected by British commercial laws, with the advantage of British fiscal legislation in which she shares, there has grown up in her midst the first really great development of trade and industry ever known in the history of the country. This is a fact visible to all men. Ulster claims that her industrial success has, within her own borders, mitigated the severity of the pressure of adverse economic conditions on a country mainly agricultural; that it has to some extent counteracted the influences of a bad land system; that it has lessened the flow of emigration and stayed the decrease of population. Instead of demanding "to rule the destinies of the country," she takes her legitimate position as an integral portion of the United Kingdom and, in harmony with the majority of the people of England, constitutionally claims that the conditions of her success shall not be ruined by splitting the United Kingdom into fragments, but that those conditions shall continue to be subject to a Parliament elected by the whole people of the whole realm, and an Executive responsible to it.

So much by way of clearing the ground. I now proceed to examine Mr. Colclough's methods of demolishing the Buddhist it has pleased him to create out of his imagination. As is not unusual with statisticians, his handling of figures frequently lands him in statements the inherent absurdity of which is their own answer.

Let me note, for instance (before dealing *seriatim* with his article), his conclusion as to the rank of Belfast among the trading cities of the United Kingdom. One of the statements by which he lowers it down to forty-first place is that "in 1891 the value of exports from Belfast was only £96,622." This figure is so supremely ridiculous that I should have thought it a printer's error but that Mr. Colclough uses it to place Belfast between Aberdeen and Wick. Some suspicion that his figures were wrong somewhere ought surely to have occurred to Mr. Colclough even while parading them. He would have learnt, for instance, from the Imports, that in this same year, in addition to

9833 tons of flax grown in Ireland, we imported over £2,000,000 worth of flax for the purpose of being manufactured into yarns and linen and afterwards exported. What became of this flax? Did he conclude that we ate it? Again, he would have seen from the items of the £96,622 (if he ever looked at them) that we exported "Linen Yarn and Manufactures" to the total value of £270 (!), and spirits to the total value of £70,565. Did he conclude that the linen industry of Belfast was a somewhat overrated business, and its whisky-drinking capacity strangely underrated?

The figures which he quotes are, however, those of produce *exported direct to foreign countries and British colonies*—a very inconsiderable portion of Irish trade. The total value of exports from Belfast can only be approximately reckoned; they are returned by the Harbour Commissioners in tons only. There are over 600 items, six of which I give here, themselves amounting to nearly £7,000,000 :

Exported from Belfast 1891.	Amounts.	Approximate value.
Whisky	23,847 tons ...	£600,000
Linen .	33,699 " ...	4,500,000
Live stock	155,548 head ...	700,000
Potatoes	30,590 tons ...	100,000
Bacon .	10,127 " ...	600,000
Eggs .	8,029 " ...	400,000

Of course, as most people know, Belfast produce intended for abroad is sent to Liverpool, Glasgow, London, &c., for transhipment. But the source of Mr. Colclough's blunder is easily found. Appended to the table in the "Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping," from which he gets this figure (£96,622) is a foot-note, saying that "the exports include foreign and British." The note is somewhat obscure, but means that the table which it annotates includes goods sent *from England to Belfast* for transhipment. Mr. Colclough has evidently understood the note to mean that the table includes the whole of the produce *sent to England* or abroad, but he thereby proves himself a hardly satisfactory public instructor on the issues involved.

Let me now go briefly through his other "facts and figures." The decrease in population since 1841, according to Mr. Colclough, has been "almost as strong and persistent in Ulster as in the Celtic and apathetic South." The following figures are the best answer :

	Population Ulster.	Population Munster.
1841 . . .	2,386,373	2,396,161
1861 . . .	1,914,236	1,513,558
1891 . . .	1,619,814	1,172,402
Decrease since 1841 .	766,559	1,223,759
Decrease per cent. )	32.4	57.3
1841-1891 . . .		

"The contrast is still more striking," he goes on, "if we confine ourselves to emigration." It certainly is :



Emigrants.	Ulster.	Munster.
May 1st, 1851 (first date of returns), to December 31st, 1884	880,352	1,021,582
1885	19,498	20,436
1887 (the year in which emigration was highest)	24,654	27,078
1891	13,264	24,678
Per cent. of emigration to population in 1891	0·8	2·1

That is to say, that in 1891 Munster, with a population nearly half a million less than Ulster, had 11,414 more emigrants.

"This system of depletion," the writer goes on, "is peculiar to Ireland. All the other countries of Europe, be they ever so poor, exhibit an increase of population." This is incorrect, whatever meaning we attach to the word "country." France lost more than 1,100,000 of her inhabitants between 1866 and 1876, and, though she just recovered them during the next ten years, it is notorious that her population has been stationary or decreasing since 1886. Three Prussian Provinces show a reduced population; in Posen and West Prussia the percentage of population to emigration is larger than in Ulster. Fourteen counties in England and Wales show a decrease during the last ten years, and ten of these (including the four English ones) also showed a decrease in the preceding decade. The rural districts in Scotland have decreased, on the mainland, 55 per cent. during these ten years, and among the islands, 341 per cent.

Mr. Colclough's remark that "Belfast has only increased its population by 22 per cent. during the last decade" (1) is inaccurate, and (2) shows a singular ignorance of comparative statistics. The increase in Belfast has been 23 per cent. (or 23·2 if we take the whole Parliamentary borough). In England, Liverpool has *decreased* by 6·3 per cent. during the last ten years. London has increased 10·4; Manchester 9·3, Leeds 18·9, Sheffield 14·0, Hull 20·2, Huddersfield 10·3, and so on. The increase in Dublin has been only 2·0 per cent. during the same period, or 2·1 if we take the Parliamentary borough, or 3·8 if we take Dublin *and all its suburbs*.

In dealing further with these figures of population and emigration Mr. Colclough now begins a system which is in great favour with Home Rule writers; he calculates percentages, increases, &c., "leaving out of consideration the city of Belfast."

The population of Belfast (which, by the way, has increased from 75,308 in 1841 to 221,600 in 1881 and 273,055 in 1891) appears and disappears among these tables in a manner which no one—not the writer himself—could intelligently follow. Assertions which include Belfast are founded on figures which exclude it and *vice versa*. Excluding Belfast, Mr. Colclough calculates that the counties of Antrim and Down have decreased by 22,509 and 24,182 in ten years.

That is quite possible; it is a phenomenon which may be seen in the neighbourhood of most big towns. But on the next page he states that these counties have *lost* this number of inhabitants: "Where," he asks, "are the staunch race of [Antrim and Down] farmers going at the rate of 22,500 and 24,000 per decade respectively?" To Belfast one would imagine (except the very small number who emigrated from these counties); but, as Mr. Colclough repudiates this simple suggestion, I abandon the problem. On a following page he says: "It is not only the Celtic and Catholic portions of Ulster that have suffered heavily during the fifty years. Within the last decade, to go no further, the *counties which show the heaviest actual loss are Tyrone, Down, and Antrim.* It is not the wilds of Donegal which have been swept bare, but the *Presbyterian and progressive counties of Antrim and Down.*" The italics are mine. These statements, which are repeated several times in a different form, entirely ignore the writer's exclusion of Belfast. The following are the real figures, towns inclusive, of the four counties mentioned above:

Population.	Antrim.	Down.	Tyrone.	Donegal.
1841 . . . . .	360,875	361,446	312,956	296,448
1881 . . . . .	421,943	272,107	197,719	206,035
1891 . . . . .	423,128	267,059	171,401	185,635
Decrease 1841-1891 .	—	94,387	141,555	110,813
Increase 1841-1891 .	67,253	—	—	—
Percentage of decrease 1841-1891	—	1.9	13.4	10.1
Percentage of increase 1841-1891	1.4	—	—	—

If I were to follow Mr. Colclough in excluding those portions of the province whose population, religion, and politics did not suit my case, I could raise the progress, wealth, and education of Ulster to a point where comparison with the South and West of Ireland would be ridiculous.

Let us now glance for a moment at the towns of Ulster and of its southern "rival," Munster. The following have a population over 10,000. Blanks indicate that the population is below that number:

ULSTER.						
	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Belfast . . . . .	75,308	100,301	121,602	174,412	208,122	255,950
Londonderry . . . . .	15,196	19,898	20,875	25,242	29,162	33,200
Newry . . . . .	11,972	13,191	12,188	13,364	14,808	12,961
Lisburn . . . . .	—	—	—	—	10,755	12,250
Lurgan . . . . .	—	—	—	10,632	10,135	11,429
Armagh . . . . .	10,245	—	—	—	10,070	—
MUNSTER.						
Cork . . . . .	80,720	85,745	80,121	78,642	80,124	75,345
Limerick . . . . .	48,391	53,448	44,476	39,353	38,562	37,155
Waterford . . . . .	23,216	25,297	23,293	23,349	22,457	20,852
Wexford . . . . .	11,252	12,471	11,673	12,077	12,163	11,545
Kilkenny . . . . .	19,071	19,975	14,174	12,710	12,299	11,048
Clonmel . . . . .	13,505	12,518	11,536	10,112	—	—
Queenstown . . . . .	—	11,428	—	10,334	—	—
Tralee . . . . .	11,363	—	10,309	—	—	—

Could figures tell more eloquently the progress of one province and decay of the other? In Munster one town only has increased its population in fifty years, and that by 293 inhabitants; while three have disappeared from the 10,000 list altogether! Yet the decrease of Ulster, according to the Home Rule argument, is "almost as strong and persistent" as that of Munster!

Mr. Colclough more than once refers to the Unionist policy, as "meaning the depopulation of Ireland." I always understood that our loss of population arose beyond all else from economical causes. In the middle of the last century Ireland had under 2,500,000 inhabitants. Through the stimulus to population created by the conversion of pasture lands into tillage (the result of a foolish system of bounties on corn) and by the rush of the inhabitants to the potato as a means of subsistence, the population doubled in fifty years, being 5,395,456 in 1805. Under the influence of the potato it became 8,175,124 in 1841, a result which the Duke of Argyll calls "an object-lesson in the breeding capacity of the human race which stands absolutely alone." When Mr. Colclough asks Belfast merchants whether "they would not do a more prosperous business if Ulster had to-day three-quarters of a million more inhabitants than she has," does he know our resources? Does he remember Professor Sullivan's statement that if the whole available mineral resources of Ireland could be extracted at once they would not exceed one year's output in Great Britain? Does he seriously desire that, without any increase in our resources, we should return to the over-population, pauperism, and terrible risks of fifty years ago?

If anything has been established by the Irish Registrar-General, Dr. Grimshaw, in his recently published "Facts and Figures about Ireland," it is the enormous accession to the standard of comfort of the Irish people accompanying the adjustment, painful as it has been, of population to the capabilities of the country.

I cannot do better than close this portion of the subject with a quotation from Dr. Grimshaw:

"Supposing agriculture had not become a decaying business, and that the main agricultural product of Ireland, the potato, had continued prolific and healthy, the population might have increased at the rate that it did prior to 1846; the result being that we should have a population now of over 13,600,000. What would be the state of the population supposing it to exist? Where would it have found occupation within the boundary of Ireland? Numbers of idle persons would have had to be maintained on the produce of the soil. Every rood of ground 'might have maintained its man,' but what a man! He would have no doubt possessed those 'riches' which consisted in 'ignorance of wealth,' but no other riches, physical or moral. . . . Broadly, the facts appear to me to be that the diminution of the population of Ireland is owing to the circumstance that Ireland was, and is, mainly dependent upon agriculture, which in Europe, not merely in Ireland, is not so remunerative as formerly; and that other sources of

employment were not open to the Irish people at home, owing to the absence of coal and other natural resources which are almost essential to the establishment of centres of manufacturing industry."

Let us now turn to the wealth argument. Mr. Colclough begins with the shipping of Belfast, and, taking as a basis for his calculations the direct shipping of Belfast with foreign countries and the Colonies, gives a long table showing elaborate and ridiculous comparisons with Dublin and Dundee. He asserts that in this respect Dublin, Belfast, and Dundee are "struggling hard with one another for the twenty-first or twenty-second place among the ports of the United Kingdom." I have already pointed out that Belfast has very little direct foreign trade; so that if we suppress the cross-Channel boats which ply between Belfast and England it is not surprising that Belfast comes only twenty-first. It would be as reasonable to say that London and Liverpool were "struggling with" San Francisco because those three ports did an equal amount of direct trade with the Sandwich Islands. The following table gives the total number of vessels with tonnage that entered and cleared in 1891 with cargoes and in ballast from and to foreign countries and British possessions and coast-wise. It is of course the only fair table by which one port can be compared with another. I insert Dundee to show the absurdity of Mr. Colclough's comparison:

Port.	Vessels cleared.	Tonnage.	Vessels entered.	Tonnage.
London . . .	23,552	7,850,755	51,632	13,216,946
Cowes . . .	20,609	1,724,341	20,905	1,733,337
Liverpool . .	16,979	8,435,551	17,645	8,623,332
Tyne Ports . .	17,051	8,397,153	16,779	8,054,053
Portsmouth . .	14,133	1,318,522	14,328	1,388,646
Cardiff . . .	13,474	6,938,371	13,383	6,611,768
Belfast . . .	10,184	2,135,194	10,304	2,161,155
Southampton .	10,145	1,703,296	10,391	1,764,468
Dublin . . .	7,377	2,187,171	7,496	2,187,859
Dundee . . .	1,199	527,879	1,287	581,862

Portsmouth and Cowes might very reasonably be omitted from this commercial list; and we then find Belfast "struggling hard" with Southampton for fifth or sixth place as regards the total number of vessels cleared and entered among the ports of the United Kingdom.

We come to the question of house accommodation. Examining the figures by which Ulster is alleged to be more badly housed than Leinster and Munster, we see that they are calculated in percentages which take no account of the fact that Ulster is much more densely populated than either Leinster or Munster. Neither do they take account of the chief cause of this density of population, which is that the progress of Ulster manufactures has concentrated masses of skilled workmen and labourers, not only in Belfast and Londonderry, but in busy industrial towns such as Ballymena,

Lisburn, Lurgan, Dungannon, Cookstown, &c., whose steady growth is one of the features of the life of the province. Mr. Colclough's first table gives per province *the percentage of families inhabiting houses of the different classes*. This is a method obviously unfair to the more thickly populated province, and yet we find that the percentages of families inhabiting houses of the lowest class is 2.2 in Ulster compared to 4.0 in Leinster and 5.6 in Munster. First class houses in Ulster are equal to those in Munster but inferior to those in Leinster, as we should naturally expect to be the case seeing that all the Government officials and a number of people of position who ordinarily gravitate towards the capital, have houses in Dublin. \* Do not the following figures \* furnish a remarkable picture of the comparative progress of our province in the comfortable housing of the people ?

	First class houses.		Second class houses.		Third class houses.		Fourth class houses.	
	1811.	1841.	1841.	1891.	1811.	1891.	1811.	1841.
Ulster . .	7,471	22,361	101,437	189,707	179,745	110,762	125,898	3,717
Munster .	10,392	16,603	65,024	110,485	125,108	67,959	164,113	7,361
Leinster .	20,052	27,072	74,488	113,624	131,998	61,882	79,921	5,036

In fifty years Ulster's first class houses have almost trebled, her second class houses have increased 85 per cent., and her fourth class houses have arrived within measurable distance of extinction. The reader can calculate and compare for himself the percentage for the other provinces.

And finally let us look at the biggest town in each province :

Number of inhabited houses rated at—

	Population.	£12 and over.	Over £1 and less than £12.	Over £1 and not exceeding £1.	£1 and under.
Belfast	273,114	7,343	26,797	7,190	17
Cork .	97,281	3,007	3,682	6,108	2,344
Dublin	269,716	16,845	8,362	4,531	322

I may here mention a further fact which accounts for the low percentage of good dwellings and large holdings in Ulster. Prior to the

\* A table compiled by the Census Commissioners. The fourth class comprises mud-cabins having only one room and window ; third class two to four rooms and windows ; second class five to nine rooms and windows ; and first class all houses of a better description.

introduction into the linen industry of power-looms (which have grown from 58 power-looms in 1850 to 26,590 in 1890), a large population both in Antrim and Down was supported by handloom weaving, the weavers securing a livelihood by the joint results of their loom and farming on a very small scale. Since the introduction of steam-power, these weavers have largely come into our manufacturing cities and towns, and as will be seen from figures which I give below, their small holdings are being consolidated, thus helping the increase of larger holdings now going on in Ulster.

In considering the comparative rateable value of holdings in each province, I must, at the risk of enforcing self-evident truth, emphasise the importance of remembering that density of population makes rateable value per head less. Ulster has an agricultural population of 1 to 5.1 acres, compared with 1 to 7.7 in Munster and 1 to 8.5 in Leinster. She has 172,975 agricultural holdings, of which 28,954, averaging £9 each, are in Donegal alone. But I wish to point out a further fact, namely, that only in Ulster of the three provinces have small holdings not exceeding an acre *decreased* during the last ten years (they have *increased* in Munster by 1718, and in Leinster by 810, while the decrease in Ulster is 449); and in Ulster alone of the three provinces have holdings above thirty acres *increased*. The increase in Ulster is 1359, the decrease in Leinster is 275, and in Munster 4.

The rateable valuation per head of each province is of course further complicated by the fact that most of the principal banks, railway companies, and insurance offices, and all the Government offices, have their headquarters in Dublin, with their officials resident there, and so swell the total by sums which it is impossible to extricate and apportion to the separate provinces. This fact helps to account, too, for the difference in income-tax returns between Leinster and Ulster. From another point of view income-tax is an unreliable test of wealth. A large sum of Irish money (the amount of which and the provinces to which it belongs are unknown) is invested in Great Britain, income-tax on the dividends being paid there. The existence of such wealth is, therefore, in no way disclosed by Irish income-tax returns. On the other hand, a considerable amount of English and Scotch money is invested in Irish undertakings whose headquarters are in Dublin, and whose income-tax assessments, though the capital may be English and Scotch, help to swell the Leinster figures. In this connection may be classed that portion of the National Debt payable in Dublin, whose interest, annuities, and expenses of management amount to £676,451, on which amount income-tax is payable in Dublin and credited to Leinster. The proportion of income-tax in each province is, therefore, as I have said, an unreliable test of comparative wealth, but it may be noted that Ulster comes second, nearly two millions ahead of Munster; and it is only by the device

of calculating "proportion per head of population" that Mr. Colclough can put her third.

But the final and conclusive *reductio ad absurdum* of this device is shown in Mr. Colclough's table giving the rateable value per head of all the counties of Ireland *exclusive of Parliamentary boroughs*. Down and Antrim by this method come thirteenth and seventeenth, County Dublin being fourth. Very possibly; but the population of the *Parliamentary borough* of Belfast live in it, and are, therefore, in Mr. Colclough's table, *excluded* from the valuation of Counties Down and Antrim; whereas nearly 75,000 of the population of Dublin *Parliamentary borough* live outside it in suburbs, and are therefore *included* in the valuation of County Dublin. Meath, which heads this list with a valuation of £7 2s. 3d. per head, and is noted as a county of very large grazing farms, is about the same size as Down. The former, being a pastoral district, has a sparse population of 76,987; the latter (exclusive of the Down portion of Belfast) has a population of 208,995. And here I will make Mr. Colclough a present of a suggestion which he will find very valuable when he wishes to carry his argument one step farther, and prove Leinster and Munster to be more prosperous than any English districts. The rateable valuation per head in Meath is considerably more than that of a large majority of the English counties, and more than double that of Lancashire; while the rateable valuation per head in County Tipperary is more than that of either Lancashire, Essex, or the West Riding of Yorkshire. Nobody among the Gladstonian party knows what a political day may bring forth, and Mr. Colclough may live to thank me for pointing out to him what he himself would style this "twaddle about the prosperity of" —Lancashire and West Yorkshire.

Mr. Colclough gives us another table (towards the end of which the Ulster counties come, as usual, in a forlorn group), showing the number of ratings over £20, and their number per thousand of the population. By this table, too, no doubt, as we have just seen, Meath can be proved to be a place of more wealth and importance than industrial Lancashire! But politically this is a serious outlook for us Ulster people. We understood that the Second Chamber of the Home Rule Parliament, which is to be elected on this franchise, was one of the Ulster safeguards. Now it appears that in respect of this franchise we are, as usual, nowhere beside Tipperary, and helpless if our rulers decree the building of a "new Belfast." And yet Mr. Colclough is surprised that we are Unionists!

There is one set of figures, however, which he omits, and the omission of which I note with surprise, as they are usually supposed to be a fair test of wealth. I refer to the statistics of pauperism, which are as follows:

	Average daily number of paupers in workhouse 1891.	Number of persons relieved, indoor and outdoor, during the year ending September 29.			Poundage of expenditure on Poor relief. 1891.
		1887	1889.	1891.	
Ulster .	8,510	89,098	81,226	72,648	Os. 8½ <i>d.</i>
Leinster	14,041	192,422	185,355	150,092	1s. 3¼ <i>d.</i>
Munster	14,344	190,290	177,268	156,221	1s. 9½ <i>d.</i>

The poverty-stricken province of Ulster has, it appears, less than half the number of paupers which are maintained by her rich superiors! Mr. Colclough will, no doubt, calculate these figures per head of population. He will then tell us that while pauperism costs each inhabitant of Ulster 1s. 11*d.* per head, it costs the people of Leinster no less than 5s. 4*d.* per head, and the people of Munster the same amount per head. He will also inform us that while the average daily number of paupers in the workhouse represents in Ulster 1 in every 190 of the population, it represents in Leinster 1 in every 85, and in Munster 1 in every 82. And where is wealthy Meath? The poor-rate in the £ is double that of despised Down.

The "legend that Ulster is overwhelmingly Protestant and overwhelmingly Unionist," is only found among the fairy stories of Mr. Colclough and his friends. At the same time it is worth noticing that during the last ten years the Roman Catholics in Ireland have declined 10·4 per cent., the Episcopalians 6·2 per cent., and the Presbyterians and Methodists only 3·7 per cent.

"If we take the whole of Ulster," says Mr. Colclough, "leaving out only (!) the Parliamentary borough of Belfast, we come to the startling conclusion that the Roman Catholics are in a majority. If we leave out the two counties of Antrim and Down," and so on. To which I might reply that if we left out Donegal and Monaghan, Ulster would be as overwhelmingly Protestant as the legend represents. But these feats of arithmetic are not very difficult and not very instructive. The Unionism of Ulster is also, it appears, as shaky as her Protestantism; for "out of 33 constituencies 14 are overwhelmingly Nationalist." "Overwhelmingly" is a word of fairly recognised meaning, and this statement is simply not true. Six of these 14 Nationalist seats were won by majorities under 1000; in one case the majority was 208, and in another 163. In five cases there was a total poll of over 6000. I gather that when Mr. T. W. Russell is elected by a majority of 372 on a poll of 6500 it is a narrow victory. When Mr. Reynolds (Anti-Parnellite) is elected by 208 votes on a poll of 6600 it is an "overwhelming majority." If I were to adopt the writer's specific of eliminating inconvenient factors from the problem, and were to deduct the eight Nationalist members of the



three non-plantation Ulster counties (Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan), the rates of Unionist to Nationalist members in the six plantation counties would be, if not overwhelming, the decisive one of 19 to 6.

One word about the education question. Ulster is third in a table of Mr. Colclough's showing percentages of people who can read and write. But the real domicile of ignorance in our province, and the responsibility for it, may be seen from the following table. The figures given represent the proportion of illiterates to the total number of each denomination in Ulster :

Roman Catholics . . . . .	24	per cent. illiterate
Episcopalians . . . . .	11½	" "
Presbyterians . . . . .	5½	" "
Methodists . . . . .		
Other demominations . . . . .	4½	

Some further details of this may be interesting :

ILLITERATES PER CENT. OF EACH RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION.

	Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	Other denominations
Antrim . . . . .	15·8	10·0	5·3	4·7	2·4
Down . . . . .	21·2	10·5	5·5	5·1	5·1
Armagh . . . . .	26·8	15·3	6·1	6·7	5·6
Londonderry . . . . .	21·9	12·1	6·2	3·8	3·5
Tyrone . . . . .	23·4	15·5	7·0	4·4	5·1

The space at my disposal as well as the nature of Mr. Colclough's arguments prevent my discussing here the political aspect of the Ulster question. I may, however, ask this question : Suppose he has made good all his contentions, granted that he has demonstrated to a certainty the inferiority of Ulster in wealth, progress, and social comfort, what argument in favour of Home Rule has he thereby gained ? On the contrary, seeing that the overwhelming preponderance of Leinster and Munster opinion—financial, industrial, and commercial—is Unionist, it follows that the greater the intrinsic value and weight of the interests maintaining that opinion, the more powerful does the combination appear which stands by Ulster in resisting the new policy. Ulster entertains no jealousy of the prosperity of her sister provinces. She rejoices to think that all that is best in that prosperity is on her side in battling for the unimpaired maintenance of the conditions under which it has been attained.

No reasonable man can doubt that, as a result of this war of statistics, the true "legend" of Ulster holds the field. She has shown that it is possible under the constitution of the United Kingdom to form, maintain, and develop conditions of social well-being exactly analogous to those prevailing in Lancashire or Lanarkshire. She claims that in the following of her example by the other provinces lies the true solution of the Irish question. She would sum up the Ulster legend in words once uttered in my hearing by an eminent member of the present Cabinet, than whom no leading statesman knows our country better : "If all Ireland were Ulster there would be no Irish question."

THOMAS SINCLAIR.

## MY TESTAMENT.

Paris, Whit-Sunday, 1893.

**T**HIS is my testament.

The days of our years, says the Psalmist, are threescore years and ten. I have completed threescore and six. I await, therefore, on the brink of the tomb, the sentence of God, the Judge of all.

At eighteen I tore myself away from all my dreams, from all I cared for in this world, and became a priest. At thirty I left my chosen priestly home, in the grave and sweet society of St. Sulpice, and became a monk. Twelve years later, restored from many fatal though sincere illusions, I closed, in the very meridian of its splendour, my career as a preacher, and deliberately descended from the pulpit of Notre Dame to enter on a hand-to-hand conflict with the worst of Cæsarisms, that of the Papacy, and the worst of illusions, that of monastic perfection.

I was excommunicated; but I remained a Catholic. The Pope might cut me off from the visible Church over which he presides, but not from the Church invisible, whose Head is Christ.

Step by step, I went the whole way in the vindication of Christian liberty; and three years after my excommunication I married, while still remaining a priest. It was the most logical, the most courageous, and, I am almost prepared to say, the most Christian act of my life.

These things succeeded one another in a broken, painful, and often paradoxical sequence; but in reality their evolution was firm and progressive as the development of conscience and the purposes of God. Were it all to begin again—the same outward circumstances, the same inward experiences—I would act again exactly as I did act. I can stand with confidence at the bar of the Supreme Judge to answer for it all. My faults are elsewhere; they have been very many, and for them I invoke the infinite clemency of God; but here I appeal to His justice alone.

My whole life has been given to two sacred causes, which I have

never been able to separate—that of my country and that of the Church. I have passionately loved my country; but true patriotism has nothing in it of envy or self-love; I have loved her in that Europe of which she is a province, as Europe itself is a province of the world. I am too Christian, too Catholic, to be other than cosmopolitan. Even after the war of 1870 I am cosmopolitan still.

That awakening of the nationalities which was the enthusiasm of my youth, and which was to some extent the work of my country, has turned against us, I hope, only for a time, and through the misuse of it by statesmen, some of them short-sighted and some insincere. These are the men who have led Europe—the metropolis, as yet, of civilisation and of Christianity—to the verge of ruin, as Montesquieu foretold a century and a half ago: “*L’Europe périra par les hommes de guerre.*” War between the nations and war between the classes, militarism and socialism, a double barbarism compared with which that of the fifth century was an idyll, and from which nothing but a miracle of wisdom and moral courage can save us.

The vaunted panacea of the Republic has not saved France; and Providence, in allowing that admirable form of government to last so long while achieving such meagre results, seems bent on destroying the sort of superstition of which it was the object. The Republic is now no longer a creed any more than it is a heresy. In England and in Italy, for instance, constitutional monarchy is preferable to it. It is all relative. There is nothing absolute in these matters but liberty under authority, and progress with order. But in France, at the present time, nothing but a well-understood and well-administered Republic can secure these two great ends of government.

Since the collapse of the Empire, and the events which have brought each of the monarchical parties in its turn into deserved discredit, and proved to demonstration the incapacity of all their various pretenders, the Republic is, I do not say the only durable government for France, but the only possible government, the only barrier that can be raised against the threatening forces of anarchy on the one hand and the reactionary movement on the other; the only agency through which there is any chance of obtaining those reforms which have been so repeatedly promised and so long postponed.

Not that I believe in a Positivist and Atheistic Republic—no; not though the Pope himself has just contracted an alliance with it. The Pope and the Czar cannot fill the place of God and the human conscience.

It would be very sad for those who love her to see France survive herself much longer in this way. Is it her destiny, then, to be like the Rhine, which, after growing to a majestic river, perishes in a swamp?

But the worst culprit, after all, is not the country but the Church. The Church might have saved both France and the world, because

she has the Gospel which contains the promise of the present life as well as of that which is to come. Instead of this, what has she done? She has never ceased dreaming of the temporal power and promoting clerical reactions, including that which she is concealing, not very cleverly, just now, under the mask of the Catholic republic and of Christian socialism. She has stifled in the soul that worship of the Father "in spirit and in truth" which her Divine Founder bequeathed to her as the very essence of His religion, and she has taxed her ingenuity to fill its place with puerile performances, with grotesque legends, and with pilgrimages popular, alas! in proportion as they are pagan.

"Sauvez Rome et la France  
Au nom du Sacré-Cœur!"

They have saved nothing of the kind. They have helped to lose all, by aggravating to an unheard-of extent the two great evils which are always begetting one another, and by which we are eaten up already—fanaticism and irreligion. "Ye have a zeal of God," I may say to my co-religionists, as St. Paul said to his, "but not according to knowledge; and through you that Name is blasphemed which should be glorified throughout all the earth."

I have never abjured Catholicism; I have never replied by anathema and insult to the insults and the anathemas which have been heaped upon me. I have hoped against hope. I have said to myself that perhaps some day there will arise a successor of Pius IX. and of Leo XIII., who will be as superior to the opportunism of the second as to the intransigence of the first; a true reformer, who will take the Church's transformation in hand, beginning with the Papacy, and who will be the herald and architect of the new era. It would be a miracle, I admit. But by how much I reject the false miracles by so much I implore the true. And should it please Almighty God, in whose hand are all the hearts of the sons of men, to raise up such a Pope, the world would have seen no greater man since prophets and apostles walked her soil, nor any day so great since the day of our redemption.

But as yet the night is long; it even darkens round us, in spite of some deceptive gleams; and we vainly cry to the sentinel of our Israel, "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

Enthusiast or diplomatist, the sentinel sees nothing. It is not on eyes fast bound by the infallibility of the past that the light of the new dawn can break.

For myself, I have laboured all my life in this deep darkness of the night, guided by that faint glimmer which is never quite extinguished in the hearts of the faithful. Since, as before, that Vatican Council, I have belonged to the selfsame cause—the cause of Catholic

conservation, but also of religious and social progress. It has pleased God to employ me in the foundation of two churches, one in Geneva, the other in Paris. This last I have just handed over to the Archbishop of Utrecht, thus contributing to the plantation, on French soil, of an Episcopate of which Rome herself does not dispute the apostolical succession, and which commands respect by its virtues as well as its doctrine.

The Church of Utrecht bases itself upon the ancient Catholic faith, and repudiates the charge of Jansenism. I do the same. Admirer as I am of our great school of Port-Royal, I do not ignore its defective points. Its Christianity was of too rigid and sombre a type; it departed from that fine maxim of St. Thomas Aquinas: "Grace does not destroy nature; it perfects it."

These Dutch priests are not coming to Paris to found an annexe to their own Church, but to aid us with disinterested zeal in the restoration of the ancient Church of France, to which they are attached by their dearest traditions. They are prepared to withdraw as soon as we have a French Bishop and are strong enough to stand alone.

God grant that the Parliament and the Government of that day may be able to abolish, or at least to modify, the concordat by which we are fettered, and to give the Gallicans and Liberals, who form by far the largest party among the Catholics, the constitution of a really national Church!

For the rest, whatever now becomes of me, my work is done; I shall not have lived in vain. Set free from pastoral cares, I should wish, if there yet remain to me some few years of action on this earth, to consecrate them freely to the preaching of Catholic reform in France.

And here let it be observed that it is no mere question of the rejection of a few recent or even ancient dogmas, as contrary to history and common sense as they are to the Gospel; nor yet of the acceptance of certain important reforms in liturgy or discipline, such as liberty of confession for the laity and liberty of marriage for the priesthood. It is no question of the re-introduction—as impossible as it would be unsatisfactory—of the Gallicanism of Bossuet, nor even of that which inspired the Councils of Constance and of Basle; nor of that Gallicanism, more ancient and more radical still, which preceded the false Decretals. The Roman Catholics profess to take us back to the Middle Ages—a very great epoch indeed. The orthodox Protestants content themselves with the sixteenth century, which was great also in its way. But the Catholic Reformers cannot dream, for their part, of any looking back, as if Christianity had spoken its last word in those seven venerable Eastern Councils, and as if Byzantium could be allowed to take the place of Rome with an alternative infallibility and an alternative immobility. Woe to the

Churches that look behind them, like Lot's wife. Like her they will become—if they have not become already—mere monuments of death.

In another sense, of course, we do and must hold to the past—firmly, reverently, ardently, by the divine tradition of our origin. We find our starting-point in the Judæo-Christian history, and our *point d'appui* in the faith which it has handed down to us. To this we must ever hold fast; but let us remember that our destination is elsewhere, in the great future which opens before us, and which alone gives meaning and value to the past.

Not to the first Christians—simple and unlettered men—not even to the Apostles, who were of their number, would God reveal the truths which men of their stamp were not fitted to receive. Jesus Christ expressly said so; and He added that the Spirit should guide His Church into all truth, and should show her things to come. Upon which St. Augustine, that past master of orthodoxy, observes that it would be “absurd temerity” to maintain that the Eternal Truth could not communicate itself to man more fully than it has hitherto done.\*

Its new communications cannot, of course, contradict the old. Truth does not contradict truth, even in surpassing it; but it explains and completes it.

For myself, the more I consider it, the more I am persuaded that Catholic Christianity is approaching a transformation. It seems as if the Lord were saying a second time, as once to the prophet, “Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.”

We shall keep with religious reverence the oracles of the prophets of Israel and the apostles of Christianity, the teachings of all the inspired saints of the two Testaments; but we shall no longer confound the Word of God with the human alloy from which a sound exegesis is separating it every day. Doubtless God has spoken to men, but He has spoken to them by men, and by men of a rude race and of early or even barbarous times. In no other way could He manifest Himself in this lower world. He has regard to the laws of history, the laws of the human soul; they are His laws. And it is of such a revelation as this that St. Paul, himself one of its most illustrious organs, does not hesitate to say: “We know in part and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.” “When I was a child, I thought as a child, I spoke as a child . . . but when I became a man I put away childish things.” And again: “The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.”

Nor is the Biblical revelation the only revelation, though it be the

\* Quoted by Père Lambert (Dominican) in a work now unfortunately scarcely to be had—“Exposition des prédictions et des promesses faites à l'Église pour les derniers temps de la Gentilité,” Paris, 1806, vol. ii. p. 349.

highest. God, as the same Apostle asseverates, "has not left Himself without witness," even in the hearts of those nations whom He has left to walk in their own ways; and there is something of Him in all the great religions which have presided over the providential development of humanity. It is not true that all religions are equally good; but neither is it true that all religions except one are no good at all. The Christianity of the future, more just than that of the past, will assign to each its place in that work of "evangelical preparation" which the elder doctors of the Church discerned in heathenism itself, and which is not yet completed. It will beware of pronouncing on these rough sketches of religion a hard and unmerited reprobation. Through all these divisions, all these conflicts, it will yet work out that luminous synthesis of truth which has nothing in common with the impure and confused amalgam of pantheism or indifferentism. Then, and only then, the human race will become one flock, under one Shepherd, the Word Incarnate, Jesus Christ.

Science, again, must not be ignored. It also is a revelation, at once human and divine, and no less certain than the other. The clergy of the various Churches have been slow to take account of it, and have thus helped to keep up between faith and reason a groundless and fatal antagonism. It is important, therefore—it is even urgent—that we should correct what is scientifically defective in our teaching, and wipe out the blots of human ignorance from our catechisms, our sacred biography, our theological treatises, so as to bring them abreast of the ascertained results of historic and pre-historic science, of geology and astronomy, of moral and political philosophy.

I will give two instances, taken somewhat at random, to illustrate what I mean. Theology must still teach the creation of man and the world as a fundamental dogma, but it will no longer fix its date, with Bossuet, at B.C. 4004. It will no longer despise the chronologies of the East, nor ignore those palæontological discoveries which have shown us in the Quaternary strata, myriads of ages back, the vestiges of our race. It will be in no hurry to close the door against the grand hypotheses of Darwin, hypotheses which science has not indeed fully confirmed, but which she certainly has not disproved; and while, with the book of Genesis, it still points to the dust of the ground as the original material of man, the orthodoxy of the future will not forbid us to believe that, before it took the form of man, that material passed, beneath the continuous creative breath of God—with whom the history of the universe is marked by progress, not by time—through all the transformations of the inorganic and organic world.

And in the same way we must keep ourselves from any misunderstanding of the Fall.

Man is a fallen divinity, still conscious of the skies. The remem-

brance is also a hope; for the lost Paradise points, through redemption, to the Paradise regained. Such is the Christian dogma, the only answer to our modern pessimism, with its blasphemy and its despair. But we cannot forget that, in the view of God's justice as of man's, transgression is essentially and exclusively personal; we shall teach no longer the arbitrary imputation of the sin of one man to all men; we shall no longer insist that these first pages of Genesis are a strictly historical narrative. We shall see in them rather a beautiful symbol by which God would make us understand the moral deterioration of the primitive generations of mankind, the heredity which reproduces the parent in his offspring, and the solidarity which makes of a multitude of individuals one collective being, with common responsibilities and a common destiny.

It is not until we have entered loyally and resolutely on this path of interpretation, that the doctrines discarded to-day will become potent over the minds of men. Then, no doubt, will be realised the daring forecast of Joseph de Maistre: "Religion and science, in virtue of their natural affinity, will meet in the brain of some one man of genius—perhaps of more than one—and the world will get what it needs and cries for: not a new religion, but the revelation of revelation."

Once again. There is nothing, in such a hope as this, of the vulgar deism or the superficial rationalism which seems to satisfy so many minds in our day. Our hopes are the hopes held out by Christ and the prophets when they speak of the fuller manifestation of the Spirit in the latter days. They are hopes that spring from the very heart of Christianity, which is the religion of progress because it is the religion that recovers, elevates, transforms; and also because it is the religion of the Word—that is to say, of the infinite and personal mind of God in immediate communication with the limited but growing mind of His creature. "This," says St. John the Evangelist, "is the true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us"; and to us He has given power "to become the sons of God."

In the beautiful words of Anselm, "faith seeks to understand." But if man would understand better and believe better, he must act better. When he comes to grasp the gospel in all its meaning, as practical as it is sublime, Christianity will penetrate his heart, not only as a doctrine but as a life; he will realise a progress, both spiritual and temporal, for which those who went before him had nothing but distrust and reprobation. The domain of redemption will enlarge before his eyes till he sees in the great achievement of the Cross the fulfilment of the Redeemer's words, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all unto me." The souls of men will rise again from the abysses of those social hells of vice and ignorance and misery which we once thought eternal. The publicans and the harlots will go before the Pharisees into the kingdom of God. The



sick will be healed and the dead raised, and to the poor the gospel will be preached. We shall have no more frontiers traced in blood ; no more nations lifting up sword against nations ; the peoples of the earth will live as brethren, distinct, but side by side. The world will see at last one universal brotherhood of men beneath the universal Fatherhood of God.

The Christianity of the future will reconcile more and more, in human life, those elements which are all equally necessary, and which have hitherto been too much divided. It will reclass the links of close alliance between nature and grace, between labour and prayer, between action and contemplation ; between the body, despised and accursed in the name of the soul, and the soul of which it bears the imprint and is the organ ; between family life, depreciated as an ignoble and inferior state, and those highest aspirations of genius and sanctity which have sought to express themselves in an unnatural and irrelevant celibacy.

In one of those ancient books of which I spoke just now, and which also have their share of divine inspiration, the *Zend-Avesta*, there occurs this passage : "The holy man is he who has made himself a habitation on the earth where he may cherish the sacred fire, his wife, his children, and his healthy flocks. He who produces corn out of the earth, he who cultivates the fruits of the field, he it is who cultivates purity ; he advances the law of Ahuramazda more than by the offering of a thousand sacrifices." And in the most recent and in some respects the strangest of religions, in that Positivism which contains so much that we cannot afford to despise, Auguste Comte has indicated, not indeed without exaggeration, the part to be played by capital in the society of the future, when it has been taken from the service of a selfishness which dishonours and corrupts it, to fructify the otherwise futile labour of the toilers in our cities and our fields.

"In each republic," says the Positivist Catechism, "the government will naturally belong to the three principal bankers, and by preference to men representing respectively the interests of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture."

There is nothing foreign to the spirit of Christianity in all this. The Church has long been awaiting her millennium, the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth ; she still prays for its coming in her daily prayers : "Thy Kingdom come ; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." And in the psalms she has inherited from the elder Church, she celebrates her earthly prosperity as the image and foretaste of eternal felicity.

"Blessed," she sings, "is every one that feareth the Lord ; that walketh in His ways.

"For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands ; happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.

"Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house ; thy children like olive plants round about thy table.

“The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion; and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life.

“Yea, thou shalt see thy children’s children, and peace upon Israel.”

If this is socialism, then every true Christian should be a socialist. Such a socialism as this destroys neither property nor religion, neither the family nor the country. On the contrary, it reconciles the interests of earth with those of heaven, the duties of the life that now is with the hopes of that which is to come; and, binding together in one chain the human destinies broken by the accident of death, it makes the whole universe, of which our earth is such a little part, one city of God, and of all spirits.

To sum up. It is not to politics, and it is not to science, and certainly it is not to the interests of men or the utopias of dreamers, that we must look for the salvation of France or of the world. Our salvation must come from Christianity alone. But to work this miracle, Christianity must regain its true character; it must be the religion of the gospel, the religion of justice and of charity. It must tear itself free from the superstitions which degrade it, from the sects which rend it into fragments, from the clergies and the governments who enslave and exploit it.

Moral and social renovation, by means of religious renovation, this is my last hope, my last word—*novisisma verba!* France, the soul, and God—in these I sum up all that I have believed, all that I hope, all that has been the joy of my life and will give me strength to die.

These are the thoughts that I leave to my son, who will be, I trust, the inheritor of my spirit even more than of my blood. “Oh happy, if there be any of my race that shall behold the glory of Jerusalem!”

I leave them to my wife, who has been—I bless her for it—the companion of my apostolate even more than of my earthly life.

I leave them to all the members of my spiritual family, to my hearers, my fellow-workers, my friends, to those who have known and loved and served with me the Christian’s God.

And I leave them, also, to those who have not known Him; to those who, having failed to find Him through the misfortune of the times, and through our fault, the common fault of us all, have none the less sought in the uprightness of their heart, under whatever name of Truth or Love or Duty, Him whom St. Paul did not hesitate to announce as “the unknown God.”

For all sincere souls will meet at last in one common worship, and, here or elsewhere, there will be but one flock under one Shepherd.

This is my testament.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

## THE SPENCER-WEISMANN CONTROVERSY.

### I.

I HAVE just received, through the kindness of Mr. Herbert Spencer, a reprint of his articles on the above subject. As the pamphlet is sure to have an extensive sale, I should like to furnish a postscript to my own article (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April), so that in future editions of the former Mr. Spencer may have an opportunity of re-considering what he has said with regard to the latter.

Only two points in my article are noticed in Mr. Spencer's reply—viz. (A) the principle of Panmixia, or Cessation of Selection; and (B) the influence of a previous sire on the progeny of a subsequent one by the same dam.

#### (A)

Mr. Spencer says that he is still unable to perceive in Panmixia a separate or independent cause of degeneration. He still maintains that it is but another name for "the Economy of Nutrition," coupled with "the selection of fortuitously arising variations" on the side of dwindling, when an organ has ceased to be of use and becomes detrimental ("Reversed Selection"). Moreover, he still maintains that such is the meaning assigned to the term Panmixia by Professor Weismann. "While I cannot admit my failure to understand Weismann, I confess I do not understand Dr. Romanes," he writes, and then adds, "the three things [*i.e.*, Panmixia, Economy of Growth, and Reversed Selection] are aspects of the same thing." Here, however, the question ceases to be whether or not Mr. Spencer has understood Weismann; it becomes a question as to whether he can have read any of the passages in Weismann's writings where Panmixia is alluded to. For instance, to give only one quotation from each of the volumes of Weismann's "Essays on Heredity." The italics are mine.

"The process by which the degeneration of superfluous organs takes place may fittingly be called *universal crossing* (Panmixia), because it implies that not those individuals only in which any particular organ is best developed survive and propagate their species, but that survival is quite independent of the efficiency or non-efficiency of the organ."

"This suspension of the preserving influence of natural selection may be termed Panmixia, for all individuals can reproduce themselves and thus stamp their character upon the species, and not only those which are in all respects, or in respect of some single organ, the fittest. In my opinion, the greater number of those variations which are usually attributed to the direct influence of external conditions of life are to be ascribed to Panmixia. For example, the great variability of most domesticated animals essentially depends on this principle" (vol. i. p. 91; vol. ii. p. 21).

Many more quotations to the same effect might be given, but I have chosen these two because in the first the principle of natural selection, and in the second the principle of economy of growth, are excluded—there being no such economy in our domesticated animals, as Darwin, Weismann, and Spencer are agreed in holding.

Thus it is unquestionable that Weismann's view touching the independent character of Panmixia, or the Cessation of Selection, as a cause of degeneration is the same as my own. But, of more importance than any question of individual views, is that concerning the truth of this theory. Mr. Spencer confesses to not having understood my previous exposition upon the subject. Therefore I will now supply a brief illustration, which may have the effect of rendering more clear (a) the necessarily independent character of Panmixia as a cause of degeneration; and (b) the necessarily ubiquitous character of its operation in all cases where degeneration is concerned.

Draw a straight horizontal line, and on each side of it construct an equilateral triangle, having the straight line as a common base. Then fill each of the triangles with an equal number of dots, so distributed that every dot in the one shall correspond to a dot in the other as regards the distances of the dots from the common base of the two triangles. Lastly, let the dots represent the variations in the size of any given organ among individuals of the same species. The horizontal line will then represent the average size of the organ in the species as a whole, while the dots in the upper and lower triangles will stand for the *plus* and *minus* variations respectively. Now, during this state of matters, or so long as the sustaining influence of natural selection is present, there are no individuals born outside the upper triangle, while a more or less considerable number are always being born outside the lower one, down each side and beyond its apex. These excessive *minus* variations, however, are steadily eliminated by natural selection, with the result of maintaining the average size of the organ at the level of the horizontal line. But as soon as the cessation of selection sets in, these excessive *minus* variations are no longer eliminated: they are allowed to

survive, and so to assert their influence on the next generation. After a number of generations, therefore, the average size of the organ must necessarily be depressed. In our diagram this result would be represented by first drawing a larger triangle round the lower one, so as to include all the superadded dots beneath the original average-line, and then drawing the new average-line at a suitably lower level than the original one.

I can scarcely suppose that any one who will take the trouble to follow these directions will experience any difficulty in understanding the principle of the Cessation of Selection as held by Weismann and myself. Nor can I suppose that any one who understands this principle will doubt that it is a *vera causa* of degeneration, entirely distinct from Natural Selection on the one hand and Economy of Nutrition on the other, yet necessarily operative in all cases where the earlier stages of degeneration are concerned. In point of fact, as stated in my previous article, no one who has taken the trouble to understand the theory has found it possible to question any of these statements. The only question is as to the *amount* of degeneration which can be effected by Panmixia alone. On this subordinate point I disagree from Weismann; but, as it does not concern the present discussion, I need not here deal with it.

## (B)

With regard to the influence of a previous sire, I ventured in my article to show that, even supposing it to be a fact, the phenomena concerned would not constitute any valid evidence against Weismann's theory of germ-plasm, and, of course, still less would "they prove that while the reproductive cells multiply and arrange themselves during the evolution of the embryo, some of their germ-plasm passes into the mass of somatic cells constituting the parental body, and becomes a permanent component of it," with the result that the phenomena in question "are simply fatal to Weismann's hypothesis." For a much simpler and more probable explanation is to be found in supposing that the unused germ-plasm of the first sire may survive the disintegration of its containing spermatozoa in the Fallopian tubes of the female, and thus gain access to the hitherto unripe ova *directly*, instead of first having to affect the whole maternal organism, and then being *reflected* from it to them. I showed, at some length, how immensely complex the mechanism of any such process would necessarily have to be; and for the purposes of exposition I employed the terminology of Darwin's theory of Pangenesis. Mr. Spencer now says: "In response, I have to ask why he [I] piles up a mountain of difficulties based on the assumption that Mr. Darwin's explanation of heredity by 'Pangenesis' is the only available explanation preceding that of Weismann? and why he presents these difficulties to me, more

especially; deliberately ignoring my own hypothesis of physiological units?" Now my answer to this is very simple. I do not hold a brief for Weismann. On the contrary, I am in large measure an opponent of his views; and my only object in publishing my previous article was to save the theory of use-inheritance from what seemed to me the weaker parts of Mr. Spencer's advocacy, while thus all the more emphasising my acceptance of its stronger parts. Therefore, the impression which he seems to have gained from my attempts at impartiality is entirely erroneous. Far from "deliberately ignoring" any of his arguments or hypotheses which seemed to me at all available on the side of use-inheritance, I everywhere endeavoured to make the most of them. And, as regards this particular instance, I expressly used the term "gemmules," instead of "physiological units," simply because I could not see that, as far as my "mountain of difficulties" was concerned, it could make one atom of difference which term I employed. It now appears, however, that, in Mr. Spencer's opinion, there is some very great difference. For, while he allows that the "mountain of difficulties" which I have "piled up" against his interpretation of the alleged phenomena would be valid on the supposition that the ultimate carriers of heredity are "gemmules," he denies that such is the case if we suppose these ultimate carriers to be "physiological units." For this statement, however, he gives no justification; and, as I am unable to conceive wherein the difference lies, I sincerely hope that in any subsequent editions of his pamphlet Mr. Spencer will furnish the requisite explanation. Gladly substituting the words "physiological units" wherever I have used the word "gemmules," I am genuinely anxious to ascertain how he would overcome the "mountain of difficulties" in question. For I do not regard the subject as one of mere dialectics. It is a subject of no small importance to the general issue, Weismann *versus* Lamarck; and, therefore, if Mr. Spencer could show that the phenomena in question make exclusively in favour of the latter, as he alleges, he might profitably inform us in what way he supposes them to do so.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity of explaining that my former article was written in Madeira, where I did not receive a copy of Weismann's most recent work, entitled "The Germ-plasm," until the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for April was being printed off. Thus, I was not then aware that in this work Professor Weismann had fully anticipated several of Mr. Spencer's criticisms—including this matter of the influence of a previous sire. Here he adopts exactly the position which in my article I surmised that he would; so that, to all who have read "The Germ-plasm," it must have appeared that I was prophesying after the event. Hence the need of this explanation.

GEORGE JOHN, ROMANES.

## NOTE.

At the suggestion of Dr. Romanes a proof of the foregoing pages was sent to Mr. Spencer. In response Mr. Spencer writes :

“(A) I did not suppose the hypothesis of Panmixia to be that which Dr. Romanes describes, because I assumed that, as a matter of course, the *plus* and *minus* variations of an organ on each side the average, when natural selection ceases to operate upon it, will be equal, and will mutually cancel. But the hypothesis, as explained by Dr. Romanes, implies that there will be ‘excessive *minus* variations,’ not counterbalanced by excessive *plus* variations. Why so? If there are not excessive *plus* variations, the hypothesis of Panmixia is valid ; but where is the proof that there are not ?

“(B) Mr. Darwin’s hypothesis of Pangenesis implies not only that the reproductive cell must contain numerous kinds of gemmules derived from different organs, but that the numbers of these gemmules must bear to one another something like the proportions which the originating organs bear to one another in size. The conception involves many different *kinds*, whose numbers are in many different *proportions*, and I supposed the difficulty alleged was, that for the influence of a previous sire to be communicated from the growing foetus to the mother would imply not only the transfer of the various kinds of gemmules derived from him, but also maintenance of their numerical proportions, and that again these gemmules, diffused throughout the maternal system, would have to be transferred in these proportions to the subsequently formed ova. No such difficulties arise if the units conveying hereditary characters are of one kind only.”

## II.

THE question as to whether characters acquired by the parent are transmitted to the later begotten offspring is one that “the man in the street” would answer by an emphatic Yes ! And many a good story is told based on the popular belief that this is an essential doctrine of Darwinism. The proof of this transmission would render far easier the explanation of some of the difficulties that beset the student of life. If, however, we are to seek scientific foundations of

this belief in direct objective proof, we find it hard to reach firm bottom; and while Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin first developed the strong inductive evidence in favour of the doctrine, August Weismann from the other side really cleared the ground, and mapped out its exact points in that workmanlike fashion which is a necessary condition for a truly scientific edifice. In a remarkable series of essays he showed and insisted on the unsoundness of much of the evidence accepted till then as valid for the transmission of characters acquired by the individual to its offspring; notoriously in the case of mutilations.

Now really the question of the inheritance of mutilations is beside the case, as was shown some years ago by W. J. Sollas and myself. For the organism if it survives a mutilation repairs it to the best of its ability; and the character acquired in consequence, to be transmitted to the offspring, is *the power to repair mutilation*, not the actual loss of substance (W. J. S.); while the tendency to transmit the mutilation itself would be so ruinous as to rapidly extinguish any unhappy race in which it was largely developed (M. H.). Obvious as this argument is, it took Weismann's strenuous attack on Lamarckism to elicit it from its defenders. Small wonder then that in his zeal Weismann went further, and resorted to the most wire-drawn special pleading,\* rather than admit that there was a gleam of good evidence on the side of the defence.

Now the inductive evidence for Lamarckism is so strong, its explanation of variation so elegant and easy, that one would rather have expected cautious Englishmen at least to reserve judgment for a while. And Weismann for years added to the difficulties of his own side by putting forward, with modifications from time to time, the theory that variation is due to the blindest chance—a pure card-shuffling business in fact—a view publicly abandoned within the last few months only. Yet we find that some of the most prominent of our biologists (especially the zoologists) have taken up that extreme attitude of discipleship which consists in following in turn each and every dictum of the master\* as infallible until he withdraws it—to accept his next new doctrine with an equally firm faith. So loudly have they trumpeted forth their belief as to deafen the ears of well-informed statesmen like Arthur Balfour and logical physicists like Karl Pearson to the very existence of arguments and pleaders on the other side.

A fair man who is inclined to accept one side is bound to inquire the

\* Perhaps even worse special pleading is to be found in Mr. Wallace's article (May number of the *Fortnightly Review*). One of his arguments amounts to this: Any change in the offspring produced by altered conditions in the parent is limited to characters that are "not fixed and inherited"; for fixed inherited characters cannot be altered by changed conditions in the parent; therefore, no experimental proof can be given of the transmission of acquired characters. This reasoning is rather circular than straightforward.



more anxiously and conscientiously into the arguments against it. The strong inductive grounds for Lamarckism, and my early veneration for the names of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, led me to inquire the more closely into Weismann's case. And the scientific facts on which he based many of his theories are of a class which have always had a peculiar fascination for me, involving the most minute changes in the cell demonstrable to our senses, where one is brought as it were into the very shrine of "Natura naturans." In the following paragraphs I shall give as briefly as possible the results of this study of Weismannism.

In his essay on "Heredity" in 1883 Weismann first published the views on the Continuity of the Germ-plasm, which have been so recently discussed here as to absolve me from detailing them; his denial *in toto* of the inheritance of acquired characters, mental or physical; and his enunciation of the doctrine of "Panmixia," or degeneration of organs which natural selection no longer preserves. From the continuity of the germ-plasm, and its relative segregation from the body at large, save with respect to nutrition, he deduces *a priori* the impossibility of characters acquired by the body being transmitted through the germ-plasm to the offspring. Throughout the essay he applies like a touchstone a canon nowhere expressly stated, which, however, it is easy to pluck out and set forth: Where we find no intelligible mechanism to convey an imprint from the body to the germ, there no imprint can be conveyed. We may well hesitate before adopting this canon; and an example is not far to seek to justify our caution. Romanes has just shown how valid is the general belief of breeders in the evil of allowing a pure female to breed with a male of another strain, lest the offspring by a subsequent union with a male of her own kind show a taint of the former cross. Now, strange as it may seem to the uninformed, there is as little (or less) obvious mechanism here to convey the taint as there is to convey the impression of an acquired character from the body to the germ-plasm. Indeed, before Romanes' convincing essay, Weismann had already tried to explain away the recorded facts on this point, with the same sort of special pleading as he applies notably to the experiments of Brown-Séquard on the inheritance of acquired nervous characters. If we reject the canon in the one case we must in the other. Possibly the mechanism in either case may be far too simple for our understanding, hampered as we are by a luxuriously complicated body, brain, and mind. So the raw servant-girl, freshly apprenticed from a great workhouse school, might well doubt the possibility of washing a handkerchief in her master's cottage for lack of the appliances of a steam laundry.

The rejection of the inheritance of acquired characters set the great zoologist of Freiburg to seek out some other possible source of

variation. But we shall see that his quest has proved vain. From 1886 to 1892 he upheld an original theory of variation which he developed with exquisite ingenuity and an erudition of wonderful depth.\* But it was based on facts recently discovered, imperfectly known, limited for the most part to the Metazoa or Higher Animals. The facts and conclusions were shown to be inapplicable to the Protozoa and Protophytes, and could only be applied to the Higher Plants by straining them to the utmost; and it is not strange that most botanists have maintained great reserve about these theories when they have not rejected them at once. From time to time, as new facts in this region were ascertained, the theory was shifted from its original foundations and stayed up afresh. "Amphimixis," published the winter before last, professed, indeed, in its preface to be "the keystone of the arch of the theory of heredity."† It must have been very tantalising for those who accepted it as such to read scarcely a year later, in the preface to the "Germ-plasm, a Theory of Heredity":—"I did not for a moment suppose that in doing so [*i.e.*, publishing 'Amphimixis'] I had propounded a complete and elaborated theory of heredity as some of my readers had thought to be the case." The fact is that if we regard the "shuffling" Theory of Variation and the Continuity of the Germ-plasm as the two piers of the arch, it had been shown late in 1891 that the stability of one of the piers could only be maintained at the expense of the other, the one theory contradicting either the other theory or the facts of nature. And, like a wise engineer, Weismann has striven to replace the faulty structures by sound ones in his new book, the "Germ-plasm."

We therefore now turn to Weismann's last conception of the germ-plasm and his present theory of variation. Each of the reproductive cells of an organism is supposed to contain in its nucleus a number of "ids," and each id represents the personality of an ancestral member of the species or of an antecedent species. All these cells possess the same number of ids, constituting a group which is characteristic of the individual; for while the several ids of a group may and often do differ from one another, the several groups are absolutely alike in all the reproductive cells. In the final cell-divisions which produce the sexual cells, male or female, the group divides into half-groups containing possibly dissimilar sets of ids. The sexual cell has then only half the ids of the parent, and the fusion of two such cells in fertilisation produces the initial cell of the offspring furnished with its full quatum of ids. This process, comparable to one mode

\* Yet surprisingly narrow in many ways. Thus, in his effort to show that sexual reproduction was the source of specific variation, and that this was its sole function, he has ignored even Darwin's work on the physiological advantage of crosses to the individual in all his essays during the period I refer to.

† English edition of the "Essays on Heredity," vol. ii. 1892.

of shuffling cards, is still invoked by Weismann to explain variation *within the species*, as well as the phenomenon of atavism or reversion to ancestral characters. Now in the reproductive cells each id, after growing to twice its pristine size, divides into two halves identical with each other and with the original id, and one daughter id so formed goes to one of the daughter cells and one to the other, so that the daughter cells possess groups of ids identical with one another, and with the group of the parent cell. In the embryo, however, the cells that go to build up the body are supposed to divide somewhat differently, the ids dividing into *dissimilar halves*, each half-id having dissimilar elements; and it is these elements that determine the character of the cells they are distributed to. Individual variations are due to that id whose elements determine each special organ respectively. In this conception Weismann postulates that nuclear division must be of a different type in the development of the organs of the body to that shown in the reproductive cells. For this assumption there is one faint spark of evidence in the Roundworm, *Ascaris*, as observed and interpreted by Boveri; but elsewhere all observation goes far to absolutely negative the assumption. Thus, if we are to accept Weismann's canon, that no explanation can be valid if it assumes an undemonstrable mechanism, Weismann's last theory of the development of the body with its manifold organs from the simple fertilised egg, must sink to the same limbo to which he has condemned Lamarck's doctrine of inherited variation.

Weismann's new theory of specific variation hangs on to his general theory, and must fall with it; but taking it on its own merits, it entails conclusions that are, to say the least, most remarkable. Differences of climate and nutrition are supposed to act on the reproductive cells within the body; so that they may influence some of the elements of some of the ids of some of the reproductive cells. We may pass by the obvious difficulty in understanding the very partial effect of external causes acting differently on the elements of the ids, all equally sheltered and shut in by the nuclear wall and surrounding cytoplasm; yet to the histologist this is a real and valid difficulty. But we will follow up the theory to a conclusion, invoking only one axiom, which would be accepted by all those "pure Darwinians" who hold that Charles Darwin himself bowed the knee on occasions before another shrine. Let us see. Changes of climate and nourishment alter the elements of some of the ids of an organism and so determine new variations in the offspring. AXIOM: *All tendencies unfavourable to the race are eliminated, all tendencies favourable are retained and intensified by natural selection.* Therefore, variations induced by change of climate and nourishment will be changes favourable to the race under the new conditions: that is to say, *changes of*

*climate and nourishment in the parent will produce adaptive changes in the offspring.*

Again, any individual exposed to changes of climate and nutrition must be modified so as to do this without serious injury, if it is to produce offspring—that is, it undergoes “adaptive modifications.” *Ergo, organisms that themselves resist alterations of climate and nourishment produce offspring endowed with adaptive modifications analogous to those which their parents have undergone—a very Lamarckian conclusion!* All neo-Lamarckians cite the case of cereals raised in the far North, where summers are short, whose seed sown in southern latitudes ripens for harvest earlier than seed grown where summer is longer. And this case might be taken as an exemplification of the proposition in neo-Weismannism which we have just worked out.

For the strenuous insurgents against Lamarckian traditions

“C’ n’était pas la peine assurément”

to overthrow Darwin in favour of Weismann, who so far has been the only author who has attempted a detailed solution of the question of heredity and variation without utilising the Lamarckian doctrine. We see that his theories have been shifted as often as a house in a Western city; that their positive objective basis is still as weak as ever; that they are condemned by the canon under which their author condemns Lamarck’s doctrine; and yet that they involve a truly Lamarckian view of variation under one set of causes. During his ten years’ campaign Weismann has, it is true, won brilliant successes in the field, which have invested him with rare prestige; but he has been forced from one set of outworks after another; and now his main camp is pitched on ground commanded in part by the enemy. Is not this full justification for those biologists who refused to surrender the position occupied by the older evolutionists, and fortified with consummate skill by Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, at the first summons of the hostile general?

MARCUS HARTOG.

## UNDOING THE WORK OF THE REFORMATION.

**I**N July 1892 I wrote a paper in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* on "Sacerdotalism." In that paper I proved beyond all question, from the whole of the New Testament, from the authoritative documents and formularies of the Church of England, and from the evidence of some of her greatest divines, that English Presbyters are in no sense of the words sacrificing priests; that to those whose faith is derived from the teaching of Christ and His Apostles the whole system of sacerdotal tyranny—which for centuries proved itself to be an intolerable evil to the Church and to the world—is nothing less than a daring usurpation. My paper aroused the sneers and even the vehement abuse of the Ritualist organs; but there was not one serious attempt to refute it, and it has brought me the earnest gratitude of thousands of English Churchmen, who are profoundly discouraged as they watch the systematic and, alas! too successful attempt to repudiate in the Reformed Church of their fathers the very truths on which and for which it was founded. How can they be otherwise than sick at heart as they note the re-introduction of those deadly errors—yes, even of the "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits"—from which we were delivered at the Reformation, by the battles and the martyrdoms of those who sealed with their blood their "death-defying utterance of truth"?

The time has come when it is the plain imperative duty of every true member of the English Church to reassert, at all costs, the principles—the scriptural, the primitive, the historic principles—the assertion of which is the sole reason why their Church, as a Reformed Church, has any title to exist. If there be no valid eternal differences between the doctrines of the Church of England and those of the Church of Rome, and if there was no necessity for the Reforma-

tion to repudiate and condemn the ceremonies which were the outward expression of those doctrines, then every English Churchman is the member of a schism, and only makes himself ridiculous and inconsistent if he loftily condemns as guilty schismatics his Nonconformist brethren.

Now, in this respect the Romish priests and their spokesmen are infinitely more consistent than our Anglican Ritualists. The Church of Rome has always recognised, and Ritualism has learned from Rome, the strategic value of unproved assertions. Roman controversialists, like the clergy of the Greek Church, scorn the notion that the English Church is anything but a schism. To them the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, our whole Bench of Bishops, and all our clergy—however much any of them may, in the false and baseless Romish sense, call themselves “priests”—are “simple laymen.” Ultramontanes exult in all the principles laid down by St. Augustine in his treatises against the Donatists. They hold that schism is a deadly and inexcusable sin, and that schismatics are either outside the pale of salvation, or must be dubiously handed over to “uncovenanted mercies”:—and that Anglicans are such schismatics both the Roman and the Greek Churches unflinchingly maintain.\*

Above all, the Romanists laugh to scorn the pretence that Anglicans can accept all the essence of their teaching, and mimic even to absurdity their ritual, and become a feeble echo and a pale reflex of Rome in everything but name, and yet claim to be in any sort of independent union with them. It is now notoriously a common practice of Anglican “priests”—many of whom derive their stock-in-trade of catchwords and formulæ from Romanising manuals—to ignore the clergy and the churches of their own communion on the Continent “as schismatic,” and to “go to mass” in Romish churches; yet these very same men have no abuse too unchristian for a learned and large-minded English Bishop, who, in full agreement with the Bishop of London, and in direct accordance with the opinion and practice of all the leading High Church Anglicans of past days, did not hesitate to kneel in Holy Communion with Protestant Dissenters! In these days a man who openly professes and fearlessly maintains the truths which are the sole *raison d'être* of our existence, is denounced by crowds of false Churchmen as being “no Churchman.” It makes no sort of difference in this idle taunt that his views are those of all the Apostles, of all the primitive Fathers, of the Prayer-book, the Rubrics, the Articles, the Homilies, and of every authoritative document and every authoritative theologian of the Church to which he belongs.

I. There is, for instance, no shadow of even possible doubt what is the teaching of the Bible, of the Prayer-book, and of the Church of England about the clergy. The setting up of the Presbyterate as a

\* See the *Dublin Review* for May 1893 on “St. Augustine and the Donatists.”

sacrificial priesthood; the pretence that the ministry is vicarious, not representative; the assimilation of the English clergy to the "massing priests" of the Middle Ages; the claim that our presbyters perform acts of sacrifice as substitutes for the people—are demonstrably unjustifiable. To the proofs that they are so no attempt of an answer has been, or can be, given, except on premisses which our Church has deliberately rejected. The claim of priestcraft robs Christians of the most inestimable privileges of freedom which Christ purchased for them with His own blood. It is bringing back the deadliest virus of Romish error, and thrusting a class and a caste between the soul and its free unimpeded access to God. Dr. Arnol̄ said that "to revive Christ's Church is to expel the Anti-Christ of priesthood." The severity of the expression will show what myriads of true uncorrupted Churchmen still hold. They will not bow their free necks and their free consciences to what History has shown to have often been the most blighting, debasing and intolerable of all encroachments. The tyranny of priestly usurpation, where it can assert itself in anything more than pretence and clamorous assertion, has always proved to be more ruthless than the tyranny of either kings or mobs. I for one should prefer to have lived in the days of the Red Terror in Revolutionary France than to have been under the execrable tender mercies of the "religious" spirit established in Spain by the monster Borgia, and in the Netherlands by the monster Alva, whom Pius V. approved and blest. From that tyranny of a corrupt and apostatising religionism we were saved in England by the blood of our martyrs, by the defeat of the Spanish Armada with its priests and thumbscrews, and by that "bright and blissful Reformation"—as it was called by the noblest of Englishmen—by virtue of which alone we can be members of the English Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, on May 5th in the Upper House of Convocation, said that "it is of great importance, *never more so than now*, to recognise that the Reformation of the Church of England was one of the greatest historical events—the *greatest historical event, I think*—in the history of the Church, and that it was conducted by persons of very high capacity and the very largest knowledge." He said still more recently, "The Reformation brings back the Church of God to the primitive model," and yet ' *I never take up books or magazines upon such a subject at present but I see a silly carping at our Reformation.*' Here then we have remarkable testimony that it is the cue of professed members of a Reformed Church—in her pay and under her shadow—to belittle, misrepresent, and to defame the rock whence they were hewn and the hole of the pit whence they were digged!

Now the quintessence of the whole retrograde and anti-scriptural system lies in the pretence that the word "priest" in the English

Church means anything but presbyter; that it is the equivalent of *ιερεὺς*, and not of *πρεσβύτερος*. Events have proved the wisdom of Hooker's opinion that "presbyter" is a truer, more Christian, and more fitting name for English ministers than the misinterpreted and much-dishonoured name of "priest." The Magna Charta of the Reformed Church of England is the Sixth Article, which points to Scripture as the sole final and supreme authority on matters of doctrine. And the voice of Scripture on this matter is absolutely decisive. It cuts away the very taproot of the whole sacerdotal system. The Lord Christ was not a priest by birth, and never in His life on earth performed a single priestly function. If He is, in the one nameless Epistle of the New Testament, called our "High Priest," it is by way of Jewish analogy, in virtue of the sacrifice of Himself once offered; and the title is only given Him in the letter which most overwhelmingly disproves and excludes the further existence of any earthly priesthood or any other sacrifice. The Apostles give to themselves and give to Christian ministers ten separate names; but the one name which they NEVER give to themselves, and the one name which they most absolutely withhold from presbyters—even when, as in the pastoral epistles, they are specially writing *to* them and *about* them—is the name of "priest." The name "priest" does not so much as once occur in all the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul; not once in the Epistles of St. John; not once in the Epistles of St. Peter; not once in the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude; *nor once of Christian ministers in the whole New Testament*. Priesthood indeed occurs once in St. Peter, and once in a quotation by him, but only (by analogy, and from the offering of purely *spiritual* sacrifices\*) of *all Christians alike*; and thrice in the Apocalypse, but each time of *laity as well as presbyters*. All Christians are, as Justin Martyr says, an *ἀρχιερατικὸν γένος τοῦ Θεοῦ*. "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?" asks Tertullian. Now all this may be nothing to Romanists, who set up their own infallibility; but Ritualists, who still nominally belong to the Church of England, and therefore presumably do not throw overboard her most essential opinions, can only writhe in vain round this transfixing spear-point of the doctrine of the Apostles. It is a self-refuting absurdity on their part to pretend that they can claim, and parade, and revel in *the one title* which neither Christ nor His Apostles, nor His Evangelists even remotely sanction. Nothing can disprove Bishop Lightfoot's conclusions that "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS NO SACERDOTAL SYSTEM, AND INTERPOSES NO SACRIFICIAL TRIBE BETWEEN GOD AND MAN." No amount of sophistry, no masses of casuistry, no

\* The only sacrifice—except that one sacrifice of Christ once offered (Heb. vii. 27)—which the new Testament and the Church of England recognises may be seen in Rom. xii. 1; Heb. xiii. 13-16, Phil. iv. 18; 1 Pet. ii. 5. "Litabilis hostia," says Minucius Felix, "bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera sententia; *hec nostra sacrificia.*"



number of reams of Jesuitical special pleading, can impair, in the mind of any plain man, the indisputable fact that Papists and Ritualists select, as the keynote of their whole system, the one term which the New Testament most absolutely ignores, and the one title which the whole system and reasoning of the New Testament most decisively rejects and condemns. The author of sacerdotalism is not the Divine Founder of Christianity, or any of His Apostles, but that one of the Fathers (Cyprian) whose writings are the most jejune and Judaic, and whose Scriptural exegesis is the most hopelessly without insight, consistency, or value. The acceptance of the doctrine is demanded neither by Scripture nor by reason, but only by what Professor Lee called "Popish esoterics."

How significant, then, in the light of this fact is the remark of Ritualists like Lord Nelson and Lord Halifax that I am an unfair representative of the Church of England "because I do not believe in the priesthood," or something to that effect—repeated by the myriad-fold babble of Ritualistic correspondents in clerical journals. These false assertions are to me personally a matter of supreme indifference; but such language is *ominous* when addressed, as in this instance, to one whose views on the subject are exactly those of the Church of England. For I hold precisely the same view of the priesthood as was held and proved by Richard Hooker, whom High Churchmen taught me in my youth to regard as the one truest and soundest representative of the theology of the Church of England; identically the same view as that of Bishop Lightfoot, the most learned prelate of modern times; identically the same view as that of every single great divine of the Church of England from Bishop Jewel down to Bishop Harold Browne. Of what conceivable importance do Lords Nelson and Halifax and the *Church Times* suppose their opinion to be, as compared with the consensus alike of the New Testament, the Prayer-book, the entire formularies of the Church of England, and the unanimous voice of all her great divines from the first until yesterday? The personal remark is to me nothing; but the sign of the times is of the darkest significance.

If by "a Churchman" be meant, not a Romanist, but one who faithfully holds the doctrines of the "Reformed Church" to which he belongs, as expressed by all its recognised formularies and exponents, the lack of churchmanship is with Lord Halifax and the members of the English Church Union and of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and not with me. It is they, not I, who are "no Churchmen."

II. The doctrine of Sacerdotalism is always allied to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Transubstantiation is one of the heresies which the Church of England at the Reformation most decisively and most emphatically repudiated. She might well do so. It is a late and

gross corruption of crude materialism, not formally accepted even by the Church of Rome till the Lateran Council of 1215. The argument for it, such as it is, ignores the whole analogy of the faith. It is based like some inverted pyramid upon the crumbling apex of an utterly misinterpreted metaphor, a metaphor the perversion of which might well have seemed utterly inconceivable to any one who has even the most distant familiarity with Semitic modes of thought and expression. I cannot conceive any doctrine more essentially antagonistic to all that is pure, noble, and divinely spiritual in the gospel of Christ, than this attempt to localise and materialise the Presence of God. As yet, I believe, most Ritualists avoid the word Transubstantiation,\* but they teach practically the same thing under various thin disguises and verbal jugglings. For a time they avoided the word "Mass," which had no possible charm beyond the fact that it was Romish; but they now openly boast that they have both the word and "the thing." Yet "the thing" practically means Transubstantiation and nothing less; and to teach it in the Church of England is not only heresy, but a direct defiance of her most explicit teaching.

From what I know of a considerable number of the clergy, and of the manner in which they express themselves, I do not think that I do them injustice when I say that I doubt whether they are at all accurately acquainted with the doctrine of the Church of Rome, or are aware how far they go even beyond it. Certainly in the phrases which the most ignorant—who are usually the most extreme of them—employ, they go beyond even the Romanist doctrine which is (according to Cardinal Newman) that "Our Lord is *in loco* in Heaven, not in the same sense in the sacrament. He is present in the sacrament only in substance (*substantive*), and substance does not require or imply the occupation of place. Our Lord, then, neither descends from Heaven upon our altars, nor moves when carried in procession. . . . We can only say that He is present *sacramentally*. The mixture of His bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim." He quotes Cardinal Bellarmine as saying, "*Per substantiam non occupat locum*"; and Billuart, "*Christus non est in sacramento ut in loco*." If ordinary Ritualist preachers and writers are aware of all this, they use language which studiously serves to disguise their knowledge.

What else can it be called but the doctrine of Transubstantiation

\* They are, however, apparently, trying step by step to introduce it.

"When we separate from the notion of substance everything gross and material, we may regard the term Transubstantiation as a convenient definition of the results of consecration which the Articles do not exclude" (Address of Rev. A. L. Lewington to C.B.S. St. Margaret's, Stretton). The same gentleman also maintains that the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements is "objective." If the prevalence of this teaching is denied we can furnish the amplest proofs of it from the manual of the "Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament."

when a dignitary of the Church of England gets up in one of her great cathedrals, as I am credibly informed, and says, "My God is lying on yonder altar" ? \* I will not pause to point out that Christianity has no altar but the cross, and no sacrifice but that of Christ once offered ; to talk of "God lying on an altar," I believe in my utmost soul to be an expression from which, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul would have revolted with horror and indignation as an abject heresy, as they would certainly have condemned the adoration of the elements—now openly recommended—as a degrading idolatry.† Here, again, there is no possibility to hesitate or to doubt respecting the doctrine of the Church of England. It is, and always has been, absolutely and transparently clear. She rejects Transubstantiation, formally, expressly, unmistakably, indignantly ; she rejects no less clearly Luther's doctrine of Consubstantiation ; she rejects also Zwingle's doctrine that the Lord's Supper is a commemorative act alone ; she teaches with absolute precision that the Lord's Supper is not a sacrifice : that the Lord's Table is not an altar ; that the Body and Blood of Christ are received spiritually alone, and only by the faithful ; that the Presence of Christ is in the heart of the true worshipper, and not, in any sense of the words whatever, in the hands of the priest, or locally on the Lord's Table ; that there is no Presence whatever *extra usum*. Yet, in spite of the clearness of this her Scriptural teaching, and in spite of the consensus of every one of her formularies, and of all her greatest divines, every error of the Church of Rome on this subject is now taught in the Church of England openly and unreprieved. It is the keynote of a namby-pamby book of Ritualism for children published by the curate of a London church. Like other manuals of the kind, this book contains much which is in the last degree unscriptural and perverse. It is only too well calculated to make children first Pharisees and then Romanists. Have we in truth come to this—that in these days the grossest Romish superstitions can be ostentatiously taught in the Reformed Protestant Church of England as "Catholic." truths, no matter how decisively they are condemned alike by the spirit and by the letter of her entire teaching ? It is generally supposed that Convocation, in some sort, expresses the voice of the Church ; but Convocation never opens without the Latin prayer,

\* God does not lie on altars, but

"Prefers before all altars the upright heart and pure."

He is not manipulated into material substances by the thaumaturgy of priests, but dwells spiritually in the souls of His worshippers. His presence is never in any sense an objective or corporeal presence in bread and wine, but is purely spiritual and purely sacramental in the life of the worshippers. It is an idolatrous apostasy to connect Him with a material idol. To exclude the possibility of such material perversion our Lord taught, "The flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."

† The objects of the C. B. S., as stated in their "Manual," are "*The propagation of belief in the Mass and the Real Presence, together with the advocacy of the Masses for the Dead and the Repeared Sacraments,*" in the very teeth of Articles xxviii. and xxxi.

which—so far from calling the Reformation a *Deformation*—states that “*ad amussim SANCTÆ REFORMATIONIS NOSTRÆ, errores, corruptetas, et superstitiones olim hic grassantes, omnemque tyrannidem Papalem, merito et serio repudiavimus.*” Is the state of opinion in the Church so torpid, is episcopal discipline so null, or so misdirected, that any ignorant youth from a theological college can now teach in the Church of England pulpits the worst of these errors, corruptions and superstitions unimpugned? If so, let her look to it, for evil is before her!

III. Auricular Confession is the natural result of sacerdotal encroachment and sacramental materialism; and if the once-Protestant laity of the Church of England can look on unmoved and see this practice—which has in all ages been prolific of the worst evils—reintroduced among them, it can only be either because they have been driven into contemptuous indifference by having been first betrayed, and then reduced to helplessness, or because they look elsewhere than to the Anglican Church for freedom and for truth.

For of auricular confession there is not the faintest vestige in the New Testament. It was absolutely unknown to the primitive Church. It was absolutely unknown to the Fathers, even amid the dense overgrowth of sacerdotal usurpation and corruption in the fourth century. It was a gradual innovation of the darkest part of the Dark Ages, and I have no hesitation in saying—and am perfectly prepared to prove, to any extent—that it has been stamped by age after age with the just stigma of indelible abhorrence. The evidence comes, in generation after generation, from Romanists themselves. Their greatest divines show that it has constantly produced the deadliest and most execrable abuses. I should be sorry to stain this page with the horrible evidence of these abuses, even in modern countries and modern days; but if any one dares to doubt my statement, the dark and damning proofs are superabundantly at hand. Where the system exists, there is no sure safeguard—there never has been any safeguard—against such abuses. They have been admitted by Council after Council, by Pope after Pope, by writer after writer; by Alexander IV., by Pius IV., by Paul V., by Gregory XV., by Benedict XIV. They were pointed out by Abélard, by St. Bonaventura, by the learned and saintly Jean Gerson, by Savonarola, by Cardinal Cajetan, by Erasmus. They have been revealed to a horrified world in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Italy, and in England. The paper laid before the Council of Trent by a Romish archbishop contained revelations of the system as damaging as could have been written by any Protestant. As late as 1867 the Congregation of the Inquisition at Rome saw reason to issue an inquiry about these perils, and, although the details are always studiously hushed up, enough has been demonstrated before courts of justice, even in living memory, to

\*show that the same causes lead, in many instances, to the same results.\*

Now it is worse than preposterous to argue that this dangerous practice can be based on the pretence of any inherent priestly power to absolve sin. None but God can say *Absolve te*. A minister may use the formula in a *purely declarative and hypothetic sense*, which has not the smallest particle of validity apart from that sincere repentance, which, as all Scripture tells us, is, and always has been perfectly efficacious, through Christ, without any priestly absolution whatever.† And it is equally futile to dwell on the natural and wholesome impulse of the struggling and penitent soul to unburden itself from the load of a guilty conscience, and to seek remission, in extreme cases, by the consolations of the Gospel. Every clergyman who has made it felt by his readers or hearers, that he is trustworthy, and able to comfort and advise, has probably received voluntary confessions from sinners. It is the privilege of every member of a religious community to seek religious help and counsel from his spiritual pastors. In that way, never seeking it, never urging it, never inviting it, I myself have heard, and frequently hear, many a tale of sin and woe outpoured to me by men with whom I have prayed, and whom I have advised, and by God's grace been enabled to help. But this differs *totò cælo* from auricular confession. It is utterly different from telling young women and others that "they must never go to mass" (as it is now called) "without confession"; ‡ that they "must kneel before their priest as a culprit before his judge"; that "the priest as far as his priesthood is concerned, is Christ Himself"; that "the priest washes and cleanses the soul, he restores it to health pure and white." It is inconceivably different from putting into the hands of ignorant servant girls English translations of Popish books on the confessional;

\* Even in England at this moment the details of a case are before me in which a servant girl has been invited to confession by her Anglican "priest," against the will of her parents, with results which even ten years ago would have made England ring with indignation. "The Priest in Absolution," issued by the Ritualistic Society of the Holy Cross, was described by Archbishop Tait as "*a disgrace to the community*." Bishop Wilberforce called the system of confession "one of the worst developments of Popery, a sort of spiritual dram-drinking, fraught with evil to the whole spiritual constitution."

† The Præ-Communion address tells the people that if their conscience cannot otherwise be quieted, and they need further counsel and comfort, "they may come to some discreet and learned minister, that, *by the ministry of God's word*," they may receive the benefit of absolution. The Rubric in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick rightly recognises that power to pronounce a (hypothetic) declaration of absolution which was given by Christ not "to priests," but "to His Church"; and how little final is the "I absolve you," is proved by the fact that the absolution is immediately followed by a prayer for forgiveness.

‡ Even Romish writers—such as St. Bonaventura, Cajetan, and Erasmus—admit that confession is not necessary. "For confession to a priest," says Bishop Lloyd, of Worcester (1693), "the necessity of it was unknown to the Fathers of the Primitive Church. Nay, above a thousand years after Christ it was held disputable in the Roman Church." "To be placed under the obligation of going to a priest to confess," wrote Bishop Marsh . . . "is such an insult on a rational being, that even the prejudices of education are hardly sufficient to account for the patience with which the servitude is endured" ("Comparative View," p. 197).

from such travesties and misrepresentations of truth as the sentence that, Christ Himself received confessions, amongst others from *the woman taken in adultery, who remained with Him in the Temple!* It is inconceivably different from teaching our fellow-sinners to say, and to say repeatedly, "For these and all my other sins . . . I most humbly ask pardon of God, and of you my spiritual father penance, counsel, and absolution."

Again, it is worse than unavailing to quote John xx. 23 as though it gave any power to any priest to say "I absolve thee," otherwise than in a purely conditional and declarative sense. On this point it will be enough for most English Churchmen if I quote the authority of our greatest and most learned living theologian, the Bishop of Durham. "The commission" (to remit and retain sins by virtue of the gift of the Holy Ghost) "*must be regarded properly as the gift of the Christian society, and NOT as that of the Christian ministry. . . . The gift and the refusal of the gift are regarded in relation to classes, and not in relation to individuals.*" "It is impossible to contemplate an absolute individual exercise of the power of 'retaining.' So far it is contrary to the scope of the passage to see in it a direct authority to the absolute individual exercise of the remitting."

Also, it should be observed that the ignorant and indiscriminate abuse of auricular confession, which may be made in unscrupulous hands an instrument of the most intolerable and dangerous tyranny, is even more perilous in England than it is in the Church of Rome. For in the Church of Rome there is, I believe, some limitation put on the right to hear confessions. How are we to assume, in the face of fact, that all "priests" have that gift of "spiritual discernment," without which the pretence to absolve becomes not only baseless, but pernicious? But in the stress of unrestrained licence to which we have now been reduced and betrayed by supineness in the defence of truth, any silly youth who has barely scraped through a poll degree, and who may have shown in his ordination examination an incredible ignorance of the most elementary facts of Scripture, scholarship, and theology, thinks himself at liberty, as soon as he enters a parish, to pose as a confessor, and to tell men and women, whose very shoes he is not worthy to tie, that they are to come and kneel to him "as culprits before their judge." He will indeed find few—and none of any manliness and intelligence—to adopt such abject thralldom to one who may be immeasurably their inferior in the most elementary Christian graces; but he may do—as has been done a thousand times—quite infinite mischief to himself, and to weak and miserable souls. Not to dwell on his utter unfitness to dabble his unspiritual hands

"In the dark dissolving human heart  
And hallowed secrets of this microcosm,"

such a youth, in his self-sufficiency and blindness, may hopelessly poison the peace of families; may

“Divert and crack, rend and deracinate  
The unity and wedded calm”

of households; may subtly alienate the love of wives from their husbands; may sow discord between the daughter and her mother; may, in sheer incompetence, and without consciously wicked intentions, reduce the whole religious state of the silly and the impressionable to a chaos of hysteric falsities by teaching for doctrines the deceits of men. Bishop Wilberforce, all his life long an acknowledged leader of the High Church party, declared to his clergy with passionate emphasis four days before his death that the system of auricular confession was baneful to the person confessing; baneful to the person receiving the confession; and, above all, baneful to the society in which the practice prevailed: but now the Ritualists are patronised by many bishops in their worst excesses, and all over the country the interests of the Evangelical laity are being trampled down with a contemptuous *insouciance* which in many cases is really shocking. These innovators of yesterday have utterly abandoned Hooker, and gone immensely farther than great old Anglican divines, like Bishop Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor, and even Archbishop Laud. They have even left far behind such Anglican leaders as Keble, Bishop Wilberforce, and Dean Burgon. Dean Burgon told them that they were “Sectarians and Separatists,” who “as a party would have been disowned by churchmen of every age and every school.” Bishop Wilberforce, in his last public speech, described the growth of Ritualism “not as a grand development, but as a decrepitude”; “not as something very sublime and impressive, but something very feeble and contemptible.” And already, like a swarm of locusts, Ritualistic practices have settled on every green field. In twenty years, if things are suffered to go on at the present rate—if the cause of the Reformation is on every side abandoned and betrayed—the Church of England will be Romish in everything but name. Lord Halifax will have had his ardent wish that there be restored “those *filial relations* that formerly existed between the successors of Augustine in the See of Canterbury and that chair which is now occupied by the successors of St. Gregory the Great”;\*—in other words, the Church of England will have finally undone the work of the Reformation, and will have been insidiously seduced back, step by step, into the corrupt bosom of the Church of Rome. And this is a consummation which Lord Halifax tell us he “ardently desires”—yet the certainty of being abused and slandered to death, and the sure loss of all chance of promotion and preferment, is to deter Evangelicals from speaking out!

\* Expressed at the Leicester Church Congress, September 1880.

This hardly resembles the "ardent desire" of our homilies: "The Lord defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into the vineyard again to the disturbance of the silly poor flock."\*

And what will come of this? What *has* come of absolute and unquestioned Roman supremacy, and abject submission to it, and the abandonment of Christian truth and Christian freedom to

"That grim wolf with privy paw"

which now, much more than in Milton's time,

"Dally devours apace and nothing said"?

We have object-lessons enough all over the world from Mexico to Great Britain. Will any one compare Romish Ireland to Presbyterian Scotland in progress, in education, in freedom? Is Romish Connaught to be matched with Protestant Ulster? Is the black decrepitude of Spain in the sixteenth century with the lurid balefires of Elizabeth or of Cromwell? In Switzerland will you compare the Popish cantons of Lucerne and the Haut Valais with the Protestant cantons of Berne and Geneva? Bossuet taught that not to hear mass on Sundays, and not to confess and communicate at Easter, were mortal sins and merited eternal damnation, and were irremissible but by confession and absolution. What then must be the spiritual condition of at least 30,000,000 Roman Catholics in Romish France? In spite of 50,000 priests and a whole army of "religious," they never dream of communicating or confessing either at Easter or any other time. Why? Because they have been driven into incredulity by superstition. If Sacerdotalism, Transubstantiation, and the Confessional, re-introduced by Ritualists into our Reformed Church, are to pervert Protestant England—to which, and to Protestant America, Romish bishops in France constantly appeal as examples of respect for religion—how is it that they have been so deadly a failure throughout the Roman Catholic world? Why is it that, in the third generation, the Romanists lose almost all hold over Romish immigrants? Why is it that, in Romish France, the artisan has already lapsed altogether from the faith, and the peasant is daily following the example? Why is it that in multitudes of French villages scarcely any but women and children go to Mass, and only 100,000 out of the 2,000,000 inhabitants of Paris? And how is it that out of ten millions of these "Catholics" five or six millions

\* And the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference hardly share this "ardent desire." They say that reunion with Rome is only possible "on condition of a complete submission to her claims of absolute authority, and the acceptance of those other evils, both in doctrine and in discipline, against which, in faithfulness to God's Holy Word, and to the true principles of the Church, we have been for three centuries bound to protest." Moreover, the American Bishops unanimously agree that by her two last "infallible" decrees Rome has cut herself adrift from all Catholic unity.



deliberately vote for atheists, or agnostics, as their representatives? If Romanism, under the name of Ritualism, triumphs in England, we shall see the same results. Already numbers of Evangelical laymen—grieved, abandoned, insulted in clerical newspapers, and despondent almost to death—have had their allegiance to the Church of their fathers rudely shaken and impaired; already many of them are being driven to worship in other religious communities, because they will not tolerate a Romish Church of England. Already multitudes, and even whole congregations, refuse to subscribe to diocesan funds which they fear may be expended in the promotion of Romish innovations. A few years ago many of them would have fought, heart and soul, as one man, to arrest the peril of Disestablishment; now they will scarcely lift a finger to avert the overthrow or humiliation of a Church which, in their opinion, is turning its back on the very principles of its foundation. For the same reason thousands of Nonconformists, and nearly all the Methodists, would now vote as one man for Disestablishment, which, even twenty years ago, they sincerely opposed.

But there is another class—a class unhappily of disastrous and ever-increasing magnitude—which will never accept such a form of religion as Rome or the Ritualists offer. It is not averse to the simple gospel of Christ, but it is now being driven into indifference. There are thousands in England, where fifty years ago there were only scores, in the Upper Classes, who now devote their Sundays exclusively to worldly amusements, who rarely enter a church, and scarcely ever dream of partaking of the Holy Communion. In the working-classes such men may be counted by millions, and their numbers will steadily increase as Ritualism increases. England may be driven by Ritualism into infidelity, but I believe that she will have to reel back into barbarism before she becomes Romish, or again accepts the form of religion which the Spanish Armada would have forced upon us with stakes and implements of hellish torture. On the day on which I write Bishops and Churchwardens are assembling to denounce the Welsh Suspensory Bill. But what is the cause of the Nonconformist animosity to which the Welsh Suspensory Bill owes its origin? The Nonconformists in Wales feel no hatred towards Evangelical Christianity, but, according to the Archdeacon of Llandaff, they cannot bear with a Church in which “they believe that ‘the mass’ is being made the centre of religious worship; that ministers have, in practice, become sacrificing priests; that Sacerdotalism with its train of dangerous error has become the prominent power of our churches; that the private Confessional is being made the door of full membership.” “The Welsh nation,” says the Archdeacon, “does not want a Church that busies herself in drawing narrow lines of demarcation. It wants a Church that can appreciate Christian virtue, and Christian work wherever these are to be found. When it finds

such a Church it will not refuse to cherish it."\* Disestablishment will be one of the first consequences of the triumph of Ritualism; and immediately after Disestablishment will come the necessity for, and the certainty of a NEW REFORMATION to re-establish the truths which Ritualism endeavours to overthrow.† Of one thing the bishops, and the Ritualist clergy, and the members of the English Church Union, may rest assured. It is that, even if they re-establish the Inquisition in all its terrors, and not in its present milder forms, as they are exercised in the *Church Times* and similar "religious" newspapers—

"Fagot and stake were desperately sincere,  
Our cooler martyrdoms are done in type—

there are—in spite of this tyranny—myriads of Englishmen, and not a few even among the clergy, who will not stand a Church of England which shall tend to become Romish in all but name, or perhaps Romish even in name. The days of disruption are being hastened on with giant strides. May God avert the unspeakable evils which they will inevitably bring in their train!

F. W. FARRAR.

\* Speech of the Archdeacon of Llandaff at Neath, April 25, 1893.

† Dr. Pusey was not usually regarded as "a rabid Protestant." Pope Pius IX. compared him to the bell which is always ringing the people to the church, but does not itself go in. Yet Dr. Pusey, preaching before the University of Oxford in 1838, said that the Church of Rome "had incurred the Apostolic curse," and "showed herself the descendant of them which slew the Apostles." "There is not," he said, "an enormity which has been practised against people or kings by miscreants, in the name of God, but the divines of that unhappy Church have abetted or justified." As she has never confessed and repented these crimes, and boasts that she is infallible and unchangeable, I cannot understand the "ardent desire" of Ritualists for reunion with her.

## WINCHESTER COLLEGE, 1393 AND 1893.

ON Saturday, March 28, 1393, the Warden, two Masters, and seventy Scholars, who were to form the first members of "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre," after being received by William of Wykeham in his episcopal palace at Wolvesey, marched in procession across the road now called College Street, and took possession of the new buildings which he, the greatest architect of his age, had erected for them. Thus, the earliest of our public schools was opened; and the foundation of our public school system laid.

Yet, William of Wykeham himself would have been not a little astonished at hearing that in founding Winchester College, he was the indirect parent of Harrow and Cheltenham; and even more so if he could know that he was credited not only with having founded the first public school, as we now understand the term, but with having been the originator of English schools in general.

At first sight, no two bodies, both being schools, could be more unlike each other in all essential particulars than that which marched into Winchester College in 1393 and that which celebrates its 500th anniversary in July 1893.

It is indeed nothing less than the difference between a home for paupers and an "Academy for Young Gentlemen"; between a seminary for Catholic priests and a training-school for all the professions; between a school for instruction in Latin grammar and a school which professes to give a modern liberal education. Yet, as in the education, so in the College itself and those who frequent it, there is not so much difference as appears.

Theoretically, our youth is now drinking in the fairy tales of science, along with those of Ovid and Homer, and cultivating its literary faculties on the masterpieces of modern literature and the history of the

ancient world. Practically, the public schoolboy has only a very distant nodding acquaintance with fairy tales of science, or even of modern poets. He is mostly grinding at his gerunds and worrying at his irregular verbs, much like his predecessors; and the modern public school primer differs from the "old Donatus" in being more pretentious, not in being less puzzling.

So it is with the College buildings. "Chapel," indeed, has been twice at least gutted, and on the last occasion transformed out of all recognition from the dignified arrangement of a college chapel into an inferior imitation of a tenth-rate parish church. The original school-room, after being supplanted for an imposing but not beautiful erection of the seventeenth century, which in its turn has given place to ampler and not more beautiful class-rooms, has had a passage cut through it, and the rest of it, after being used as a dormitory, is now a study for a few boys. The original fellows' chambers have become college bedrooms, and the scholars' chambers are turned into day preparation rooms. The Warden's lodgings are deserted for a more sumptuous Warden's house. The ancient meads are now only an inferior practice-ground, forming but a minute part of the splendid playing-fields which the last head-master, Dr. Ridding, conferred on the school. The scholars have become little more than a sixth part of the whole school; and the fellows have given place to a curious compound entitled a governing body. Yet while the old Hall remains almost as the Founder left it, and the kitchen with all its ample proportions uncurtailed, reminds us that a school, like an army, "goes upon its stomach," we can still feel that the same *genus loci* presides as when the first College dinner was eaten in 1393. And as long as to outward view "Chamber Court," with its great gate on one side, and hall and chapel on the other, remains in all essential features as it was 500 years ago, the scholars of to-day (though dressed in black—expressly forbidden by the Founder) may be still felt to be the legitimate descendants of William of Wykeham, and the school to be the same school which he founded.

The question here considered is, what he did found or intend to found. On paper, as we have said, it is clear enough. We have only got to turn to Wykeham's Foundation Charter in 1382, and the elaborate statutes of 1400, to see what he professes to found. Undoubtedly that was a seminary for converting promising paupers into performing priests. It is indeed not conclusive that he founds the School "in the name of the highest and undivided Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the praise, glory, and honour of the name of the most glorious Crucified, of Mary His mother, and the most glorious Patrons of our church of Winchester, the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Blessed Birinus, Eddi, Swithun, and Athelwold, confessors and bishops of the same church of Winchester." That is perhaps

common form, and means no more than prayers in the House of Commons, grace before a City dinner, or the dedication of a volume of sermons. So, too, when Wykeham says he has founded the College for "the maintenance and elevation of the Christian faith, the advancement of the Church, the honour of divine worship, hoping thereby to do service to God," he may be only repeating a formula. There is more in the Papal licence which he says he had got; for the licence of the King only was needed for a secular corporation. But he specifically states that his perpetual college is to be for "poor and necessitous scholars, *clerics*, living college-wise therein" as "collegial and collegiate persons," or, as perhaps we ought to translate it, "parsons." Even the word "*clerics*" may perhaps not be regarded as conclusive. Was not Henry II. himself called a "*cleric*," and, in much later days, did not every one who could read get "benefit of clergy"?

The statutes are more explicit. Wykeham now adds to the Warden, who was to manage the property, and the boys, and their masters, ten "Perpetual Chaplains or Priest-Fellows"; and three "removable hired chaplains" (*conductitivi*); "conducts" similar people are called at York in 1547, and at Eton still. All the scholars were to receive the first tonsure, which marked them out as professed ecclesiastics; they were to have no defect in body, birth, or breeding, which would render them "unable to take holy orders"; they were to wear the clerical long gown and hood, and not to wear parti-coloured or other clothes "unbecoming the clerical order." Their prayers and psalms for the soul of Wykeham and others are elaborately prescribed. They do not indeed have to attend the services in chapel at the canonical hours—that is the business of the Fellows and Chaplains—except on Sundays and Saints' Days. But the Founder's kin, scholars above fifteen, and the more advanced scholars, equally with the Priest-Fellows, are to occupy stalls in Chapel. The Warden is, like a canon, to wear "the surplice and amice of grey." The Fellows and Chaplains, like cathedral priests, furred amices, and the masters and scholars, surplices. "Scrutinies or chapters" are to be held thrice a year. All servants are to be males, as no female ought to come near an intending priest.

All these provisions are significant enough. They one and all show that the Founder was founding an ecclesiastical establishment. But the full object of the College at Winchester can hardly be appreciated without reference to the College at Oxford, for which it was expressly declared to be the nursery. For the scholars of Winchester were intended to become in their turn scholars of New College. The Warden and two Fellows of New College were to come (and they still come) every year to Winchester to hold a scrutiny or visitation, and after it to form an examining body with the warden, sub-warden,

and Head-master of Winchester, to test the boys in literature, grammar, and conduct, and elect the best to scholarship at New College. We are therefore thrown back on the statutes of New College to find out the "final cause" of the foundation of Winchester College. These statutes were perfectly clear :

"In the first place, that the Holy Scripture or page, the mother and mistress of all other sciences, may spread its tents more generously than the rest . . . and chiefly, that Christ may be more fervently and frequently preached; above all, that sacred theology may flourish . . . also to alleviate, if we cannot wholly cure, the universal disease of the clerical soldiery which, through the dearth of clergy, caused by plagues, wars, and other miseries of the world, we have seen deeply stricken. . . . For this, in truth, in our small way, we willingly spend our labours."

In other words, Wykeham's Colleges were founded to provide educated priests to fill the gaps in the ranks of the clergy caused by the Black Death. Mr. Rashdall, writing on the history of New College in the volume of Oxford Colleges recently edited by Mr. Clark, describes this as mere mediæval rhetoric, the repetition of a formula used after the Black Death, which took place in 1348, and could not affect an institution founded in 1382. The Black Death, however, of 1348, which certainly destroyed half the clergy, recurred in 1361, when it destroyed a still larger proportion of the higher orders, for it killed three bishops as against one in 1348. There was another outbreak in 1368-9, the most pertinent proof of the effects of which is that in the appointment of the Head-master of York Cathedral School in that year the term of office was expressly altered by the Dean and Chapter from the ancient period of three years extendible to five years, to an unlimited time, "because of the late Death and the rarity of Masters in Arts." In 1375 "the mortality was so swift that the Pope at the instance of the Cardinal of England granted plenary remission to all dying contrite and confessing their sins," without the intervention of a priest. In 1379 there was a plague in the North, when the Scots invaded England, and in spite of their prayers to "God and Saint Mungo, Saint Ninian, and Saint Andrew, to be shielded from the foul death that Englishmen were dying of," were invaded by it in their turn. Or take a test nearer Winchester College. The monks of St. Swithun's, the Cathedral Monastery, numbered sixty-four in 1345. In 1387 there were only forty-six. Where the Head-master's house now stands there was a hospital for women called the Susterne Spital, or Sisters' Hospital, supported out of the revenues of the Cathedral Monastery. The normal number of brethren and sisters there was twenty-one. In 1352, three years after the Black Death, there were only six. In 1353 there were only ten. In 1386 they had only risen to sixteen. Now 1380 was the date of the licence in mortmain to found New College and of the Founder's Charter.

Therefore so far from the reference to the plague being a mere rhetorical phrase, the plague was in sober truth the immediate cause of the foundation of our first public school.

What do we mean by a public school? Certainly, not simply a school which is open to the public or supported out of public funds. That is a description which would apply only to a public elementary school. Nor can it be defined as a school under public control or regulated by public authority. That definition would include nearly all the grammar schools, and exclude the majority of the so-called public schools. It would include Cheltenham Grammar School and exclude Cheltenham College. Nor is it an adequate definition to say that a public school is a school which was included in the Public Schools Act of 1867, the Reform Act of Public Schools. These schools were only seven, Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury. But a definition which includes Westminster and Shrewsbury, but excludes Marlborough, Cheltenham, Wellington, Clifton, Haileybury, cannot be considered satisfactory. One characteristic of a public school apparently is that boarders must be the preponderating—they need not be the sole—element in the school. It was because they had few or no boarders that St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' schools, which were originally included in the Public Schools Commission, were excluded from the Public Schools Act, while Manchester Grammar School, one of the largest schools in the kingdom, which wins almost more University scholarships than any other school, was never included in the Public Schools Commission at all. Even to be a large boarding-school is not necessarily to be a public school. Giggleswick and Sedbergh have never been reputed public schools, while Uppingham and Bradfield have trembled, or are trembling, on the verge. What is the difference? It is much to be feared it is merely one of money. The boarding fees at Giggleswick are low, and therefore it has not attracted the richer classes. Uppingham under Thring did succeed in attracting the notice of the upper classes; and Bradfield under Dr. Gray is doing so. The only working definition of a public school then, which can be reached, is that of an aristocratic or plutocratic boarding-school. In fact, a public school is an "Academy for Young Gentlemen."

It is a long stride certainly from a seminary for converting young paupers into priests, to a boarding-school for the "Upper Ten" or the "Un-submerged Tenth." Yet this is what Winchester very shortly became, and it is not as a mediæval Barnardo but as founder of the first aristocratic boarding-school that the name and fame of William of Wykeham have been kept green. To a certain extent he appeared to aim at both the pauper seminary and the aristocratic academy. From the very first he expressly included his own relations.

Not indeed that Wykeham's relations were any very aristocratic people to begin with. Though his mother, Sybil, was "gently born," his father was "plain John" Long, a yeoman and poor at that; too poor to pay for his son's schooling. William of Wykeham was the Cubitt or Freake as well as the Gilbert Scott of his day, and he combined the parts with those of an Eldon and a Bishop Wilberforce, and accumulated "out of the goods which God had given him" an enormous fortune. Consequently his family rose as rapidly in the social scale as those of brewers or speculative builders now. At Winchester they had special privileges. A boy who was Founder's kin was admitted as late as he pleased, was kept as long as he pleased, that is, up to twenty-five years of age; might wear what he pleased, including pointed shoes, wholly forbidden to other scholars; need not do more than he pleased as he had an absolute preference for election to New College; and might almost be as rich as he pleased—that is to say, he might possess twenty marks a year, the value of an extra fat living in those days. As he was only obliged to take the tonsure a year after he was fifteen, he might receive his whole school education without ever becoming a cleric at all. The Founder's kin also had special tutors allotted to them, and clothes at the expense of the College. Three of these young gentlemen, two of them sons of the High Sheriff of Hampshire, were admitted on the opening day. In process of time they nearly swamped the school, and called for the interposition of the Visitor.

But this was not the only aristocratic element introduced. The Founder, while forbidding outsiders generally, specially provides in the Statutes that "sons of noble and powerful persons, special friends of the College, to the number of ten, may be taught and instructed in grammar in the College, without imposing any burden on it." In other words, a limited number of boarders or "gentlemen-commoners" were allowed. A commoner did not mean a common person as distinct from a nobleman; but a person who had his "commons" with others; in Latin, a "commensalis" or "sharer of a table." According to Mr. Kirby's "Annals of Winchester College," all dining in Hall, from Warden to choristers, were "commensales," and one "outsider" (*extraneus*) appears in 1395 in the first "*Liber Commensalium*" kept by the steward of Hall. By 1402 there were eight commoners and in 1407 eleven. From then onward the full number of ten appears to have been maintained, two or three of them at a time having their commons with the fellows, and the rest with the scholars. Sometimes there were more than ten; in 1473 there were fourteen, in 1500, thirteen.

Besides these "commoners," strictly so called, there was another class—town-boys, or day-boys—from the very first. Within twenty years after the opening of the College—viz., in 1412—Wykeham's



successor in the bishopric—Cardinal Beaufort—exercised his visitatorial authority against the “outsiders” or strangers. He recited the Statute against “outsiders,” and says, “yet, nevertheless, a single master, as we are informed, is continually instructing and educating in grammar 80 or 100 strangers in our College,” and he forbids him to admit any beyond the statutable number of ten. In 1629, Archbishop Abbot, writing to the College about a complaint they had made as to an ex-usher having set up a rival school in St. John’s Hospital in the town, says specifically :

“As I do now remember, such was the respect borne unto the College and School near Winchester, that whereas King Henry VIII. in the new founding of his Cathedral churches, did erect particular schools and scholars in other places, as at Canterbury, Worcester, and elsewhere; in contemplation of that famous school at Winchester, he did erect none there, but left the education of the youth unto that which was founded by that worthy and revered man, Bishop Wickham.”

Abbot had been Master of University College, Oxford, and would have good opportunities of knowing. Further, in 1571, the then Bishop of Winchester, in an Injunction to the College, speaks of the “oppidan or commensal, as they call them,” as a recognised part of the School. Thus, day-boys, or town-boys, were continued in spite of Cardinal Beaufort’s injunction, which was probably rather directed against the Head-master’s teaching them all himself, than against their being taught at all.

These “outsiders” gradually became “insiders.” Soon after 1571 larger provision for commoners boarding in College was made in what is now the Second Master’s house. In 1690 there were seventy commoners. In 1720 the old Sisters’ Spital was converted into a Head-master’s boarding-house, and from that time the out-boarders, and the town day-boys alike, disappeared. Long before that the aristocratic character of the School had become fixed. Under the nomination system, College had become as aristocratic and exclusive as commoners.

Indeed, it is doubtful how far, except on paper, it was ever intended for the really poor—the necessitous pauper, or even the labouring classes. It is true that in his foundation deed Wykeham talks of “poor and necessitous” scholars, and of the College as founded for charitable purposes. But, in assigning his reasons for the foundation, he uses much milder phrases. “There are,” he says, “and will be hereafter, as there is every reason to believe, many poor scholars who suffer from a want of money, and from poverty, and whose means are barely enough to continue and advance them in the art of grammar”; and so he founds the College for them. In the Statutes they are significantly distinguished from the choristers, who, though they may be taught with the scholars, are

to be fed with their broken victuals, and to act as their servants. The use of the phrase "poor and indigent" was a necessity. The larger part of the original endowment of the College, as of all colleges and other ecclesiastical foundations of that time, was derived from the appropriation of churches—that is, the lands and tithes which formed the endowment of rectories. This process had been carried so far, particularly in the case of monasteries (which did not even decently endow vicars to do the parish work), that it was expressly forbidden by Canon law, unless where the inmates of houses to which the churches were appropriated were in such stress of poverty that they could not be supported without them. As usual, the lawyers were too strong for the law. The only result of the enactment was that henceforth benefactors of old, or founders of new, foundations had to insert words in their deeds protesting the poverty of the recipients of the churches they gave. It was probably to meet this law that many grammar schools before Wykeham's time were placed in, or connected with, hospitals for the poor. It is certain that it was one reason why Wykeham talked so much about the poverty of his scholars in the Foundation documents. Unless where some exceptionally promising boy was caught up by a patron and sent to school, the labouring classes were not educated at all. They were serfs, and as late as 1397 Parliament petitioned that the sons of villeins should not be allowed to go to the Universities. Moreover, in an age when social distinctions were far more marked than now, it is highly improbable that Wykeham would have sent his nephews to herd with young paupers, and still more improbable that "noblemen and special friends of the College" would have paid for their children doing the same. The middle classes and the upper classes who subscribe to Dr. Barnardo, or the Gordon Boys' Home, do not think of sending their children as commoners to share the privileges of education with their inmates. So that, after all, one is left to doubt whether the class from whom scholars were drawn was greatly different then and now.

If Wykeham, then, was not bringing learning within the reach of classes hitherto excluded from it, what was the new departure that he took, and how far does he deserve the credit of originality? His foundation is often spoken of as if it were a heaven-sent miracle—as if a boarding-school for the education of youths was a new creation, nothing like which, or even approaching it, had gone before—the invention of Wykeham's own pure brain, a kind of academical Athene sprung full-armed (with the *arma scholastica*) from the head of an episcopal Zeus.

It is, perhaps, a poor compliment to Wykeham's sagacity or worldly wisdom to think any such thing. Anyhow, it is an absurdity. There were schools in England in plenty before his time; boarding-

schools too, and those founded by bishops. Indeed, the bishops' schools were the cradles of English learning. But, oddly enough, those who know there were grammar schools before Wykeham seem to think that they were wholly or almost wholly monastic. Even Canon Moberly, in his excellent "Life of Wykeham," seems to think Wykeham's new departure consisted in making an establishment of secular clergy instead of monks, and depicts him as anxiously considering whether his Colleges should be monastic or secular. He even represents him as taking over and maintaining "the Priory School." Yet in view of the history of education and of William of Wykeham himself it is impossible to conceive that he ever for one moment contemplated, or could have contemplated, a monastic foundation. The first Schools of England were the archiepiscopal schools of Canterbury and York. Not less celebrated had been the Cathedral School of St. Swithun's, Winchester, when the cathedral was in the hands of secular Canons, before it was handed over to monks. But whatever it had been, it certainly was not flourishing in the days of William of Wykeham. Dean Kitchin, in his recently published volume of accounts of the Cathedral Monastery, shows that the Priory—probably a mere School for novices—had dwindled down almost to nothingness. In 1381 there were only three, in 1389 only two, boys in the school. It is often stated that Wykeham himself was educated at this School. But the best evidence is against it.

The story depends mainly on the romance of an Elizabethan writer who wrote when the true history of the monasteries was beginning to be forgotten, and they were being credited with all sorts of good deeds they never performed. Wykeham was a secular clerk, and he owed nothing to, and probably knew little of, the monasteries, till, as Bishop, he was brought into collision with them to rebuke their declension from the path of their own rule and profession. On the other hand, he had every opportunity of knowing all about the constitution and practice of the great institutions of the secular clergy which really did keep public grammar schools. The holder of eleven Canonries all at once, in as many Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and the holder of many more at different times, the Archdeacon of Lincoln and Provost of Wells was likely to be better aware than some of his historians that they and not the monasteries were bound to afford and did afford education to all who chose to come. As a Canon of St. Paul's, and still more as Dean of the then Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, a great part of which he rebuilt, he must have known well enough that St. Paul's Cathedral Grammar School was a great popular institution; and that its Chancellor exercised jurisdiction over all London schools except the great school kept in his own church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which as a "peculiar" was under its own Chancellor.

He also held various Canonries in Salisbury Cathedral from 1363 to 1366, at a time when his principal work lay at Windsor in that diocese. He is described as Canon of Sarum when he first took Holy Orders and was ordained Sub-deacon in 1362. It is certain that he actually visited Salisbury from time to time. He could hardly do so without seeing St. Nicholas Hospital by the Bridge, and by St. Nicholas Hospital the College of the Valley-scholars of St. Nicholas. This was a very remarkable institution, no less than the first recorded University College in England. Its foundation by Bishop Bridport in 1261 was older by three years than Merton College, the oldest college at Oxford. Curiously enough its early history was very much the same. Merton's House of Scholars was founded at Maldon in Surrey, where certain bailiffs and priests were settled to manage the property and pray for the Founder's soul, and apply the income for the support of scholars living at Oxford University. By 1274 Merton House was transferred to Oxford itself, and became Merton College. The College of the Scholars of the Valley at Salisbury was not thus divided at first; for the Warden, who managed the property and the scholars in the schools alike, lived at Salisbury, and the Cathedral records show that in 1278 the Chancellor of the Cathedral (who still maintained his statutory grammar school) asserted his authority over them as the Chancellor of Notre Dame at Paris asserted his over Paris University, or the Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral appointed his deputy over Oxford University. In 1325 the majority of the scholars were sent to Oxford, where they lived in Salisbury Hall. The College at Salisbury seems to have become practically a nursery for a few scholars probably attending the Cathedral Grammar School at Salisbury, and so remained until the Reformation. No person—at all events, no Canon—who visited Salisbury could possibly escape the knowledge of this almost unique institution. But it was probably even more owing to his experience as Archdeacon of Lincoln that William of Wykeham evinced a desire to found a great school for the secular clergy. At Lincoln he would have found a flourishing Cathedral Grammar School with a boarding-house for eighteen scholars attached. At Oxford, then, in the diocese of Lincoln, the Archdeacon must have been struck not only by the splendid foundation of Merton College but by its later imitations of Exeter and Queen's College. He would have known also of the more ancient but less well-endowed foundations of University and Balliol; all for the secular clergy. On the other hand, he would have noted the very inferior imitations of Merton College promoted by the Regulars: Durham Hall, for the Northern Benedictines, mixed with Seculars; Gloucester College, for the Southern Benedictines; Canterbury College, founded only in 1361 and mixed with Seculars, with Wycliffe for Master. If he contemplated these

institutions at all he must have noted the unimportant part they played in the University, and may well have thought, with Bishop Oldham afterwards, that the day of the monks was over. When, as Bishop of Winchester, he visited or inspected the monasteries he found the monks not even able to understand their service books and making terrible false quantities, and had to order not only Selborne Priory but great foundations like the Cathedral Monastery and Hyde Abbey to find a grammar-school master to instruct the novices and others in elementary subjects and literature. As an Anti-papalist and (as Canon Moberly has well shown) by his utterances on the Sacrament almost a Wycliffite in religion, if not in politics, he must anyhow have sympathised with the Seculars. But in truth the question as to which side he would take could hardly have occurred to him. He was a secular of the Seculars himself, and could no more have founded a monastic institution than Professor Thorold Rogers could have founded a theological college.

Now Merton, Exeter, and Queen's, the three chief colleges at Oxford, all maintained or were connected with grammar-schools for boys. At Merton the Founder's Statutes provide for a grammar master to teach boys brought up in the College, with special provision for Founder's kin. At Queen's College, founded in 1340, under the special patronage of the very Queen Philippa whose secretary Wykeham himself was, the scholars, now called Tabarders, were originally schoolboys in the grammar-school kept in the College. Exeter College, however, was even more important, as perhaps containing the first hint of the new departure taken by Wykeham in regard to Winchester. For Bishop Stapledon, the founder, had also founded a grammar-school at Ashburton, his birthplace; and had begun to found one at Exeter, which was completed by his successor, Bishop Grandisson, in St. John's Hospital there, specially for the training up of boys to be priests, and to feed his "Hall of Logic" at Oxford. The Bishop's words are curiously like Wykeham's, that, "as it were, a universal disease has crept in that rectors of churches and others having cure of souls, and the rest of those in the priesthood, who have not drunk a foundation of grammar" (they mixed their metaphors even then), "on account of the deficiency they suffer in that, are rendered useless, or at least less useful, for the higher sciences."

Nor is this all. *Noscitur a sociis*. Who were the people whom Wykeham had to assist him in the foundations he designed? As early as 1369, when he was already starting a school at Winchester, he was employing John de Buckingham to buy land for New College at Oxford. In 1373 the same person witnessed an agreement made by Wykeham with one Herton, who may be considered the earliest Head-master of Winchester School, if not of Winchester College, to teach the boys he was maintaining at Winchester. The other witness

to the same deed was John de Campeden. Both witnessed the Founder's Charter 1382. Campeden also delivered seizin of the site of New College to its first Warden in 1379, and negotiated the purchase, or at least made the schedule, of the suppressed Alien Priors purchased for the endowment of the College in 1393. He was the principal Commissioner when the College was sworn to the Statutes in 1400, and an executor of Wykeham's will. Campeden is described as Canon of Southwell—that is, Southwell Minster or Collegiate Church, Notts, of which Wykeham at one time held the richest Canonry, that of Dunham. The Grammar School, then, can be traced from 1230 to the present day. Campeden had been a Fellow of Merton, and was Bursar there. John de Buckingham is described as Canon of York, where also Wykeham held successive canonries. Buckingham also was a Fellow of Merton.

With these for advisers, no wonder that Wykeham took secular colleges and schools for his models; that he selected Thomas of Cranlegh, another Fellow of Merton, for his first warden of Winchester in 1382, while the College was building, and made him warden of New College in 1393, and that he copied the Constitution of Merton, the first and then the greatest of Oxford Colleges, which Edward III., his patron, had described to the Pope in 1331 as "a magazine of the Church militant," alike in setting up a college and in attaching to it a school.

Merton himself, however, is often spoken of as if he at least was only imitating the monasteries in founding his College, though he declares any member who "entered into religion" expelled *ipso facto*, because he created a community which was to live in common off common possessions. This, too, is a delusion. The secular Canons had originally had all things in common: had common lands, a common table, and a common dormitory. The common lands of the Canons of St. Peter's Cathedral, York, were called St. Peter's Table. At Southwell and Beverley there was a common dormitory in the twelfth century. Being, however, commonly married men, they, very early, gave up the common life for separate prebends. But it was still maintained by their deputies, the Vicars-Choral. These Vicars-Choral can be traced early in the twelfth century. At York and Beverley they appear from the first to have lived together in their Common Hall, the Bedern, or Bede-house or Oratory. At Exeter the Vicars-Choral had their common lands or separate endowment as early as 1194; at Chichester in 1197. At Southwell they had a warden of their common lands in 1248, and a common house of immemorial antiquity.

It is clear that these Colleges of the secular clergy, and not the monasteries, were the models for Merton College, and therefore for Winchester College. Like the scholars of Merton, though they had

common lands and a common hall, they had their separate chambers, and not a common dormitory, as the monks had. The title of warden (*custos*) or master, too, was one used of these colleges and of the hospitals (almost, if not quite, invariably served by secular clergy), and not a monastic title. So, too, the names of subordinate officers, Dean and Bursar, were terms used in collegiate churches, their places in monasteries being supplied by Prior and Chamberlain. The grey amice which the Warden of Winchester was to wear in chapel was the distinctive dress of the secular Canon, the Calabrian fur amice of the Chaplain-Fellows was the statutory dress of the Vicars-Choral, and the surplices of the scholars corresponded to the surplices of the choristers of cathedrals and collegiate churches. The Dean was their superior *custos*, the Succentor their immediate *custos*, who sometimes lived with them and sometimes in a separate house. When, therefore, Mr. Rashdall speaks of the Warden of New College having his separate lodgings "like an Abbot," he is introducing a misleading analogy. When Bishop Hobhouse speaks of Merton "borrowing from the monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule," he is absolutely reversing history. The true analogue of the warden's lodgings is the deanery of a cathedral or collegiate church, or the warden of a Vicars-Choral college. The true source of the college of scholars is ultimately the College of Canons, immediately the College of Vicars-Choral.

Wykeham, therefore, in following Merton followed the model of the colleges of clerics, not of the monasteries of monks. He greatly improved on his model, not only in size, but in scope. And here is where his true originality comes in. At Merton there were only a few boys mixed with the older students. At Queen's the founder designed for seventy-two scholars, but he had only means to provide for a dozen. Wykeham grasped the superiority of the arrangement hit on by accident at Salisbury, after the removal of the Valley Scholars' College to Oxford, where it was fed from the Cathedral Grammar School, and intentionally adopted by Stapledon in founding his Grammar School at Exeter to feed his Exeter College in Oxford. But Wykeham went further. His cathedral was held by the monks. He was not therefore hampered by a flourishing cathedral school, or by a chapter, with whom he could not afford to quarrel. He therefore did what nobody had thought of doing before. Others had created collegiate churches for university students. He erected one for schoolboys. Before then, schools for boys had been mere appendages to other institutions existing in the main for other purposes. He set up the first school which had a separate and independent existence, existing in and for itself. The old collegiate churches had been bodies which kept grammar-schools, as an inseparable accident indeed, but still as an accident. The new collegiate church was a

body, the essence of which was the school. Instead of the boys being subordinate to the canons, the canons were subsidiary to the boys. For the first time, the boys were a part of the corporate body, the expressed end and object of the foundation. "The warden and scholars-clerks of Seynt Marie College of Winchester" is still the corporate name, and the Winchester boys are still the chief part of the corporation. Perhaps not the least novelty in the foundation was the scale on which it was framed. The College of the Valley Scholars at Sarum had an income of £94 a year among twenty scholars; Lincoln Cathedral boarded only thirteen grammar scholars; Stapledon's Exeter School had only the same number. University College, Oxford, had £86 a year, for a master and eight fellows. Queen's College, £177 for a warden, ten fellows, and eight "poor" scholars. Even the great Merton College had only £397 for a warden, twenty fellows, and eighteen "poor scholars."

Wykeham's Colleges took rank with the great collegiate churches and monasteries, whose possessions had been granted when England was mostly waste, and had accumulated through ages. New College for its warden, seventy fellows, and ten "conducts" had £969 a year. Winchester for its warden, ten fellows, seventy scholars, and three "conducts" had £710 gross and £628 net. In the diocese of Winchester it far exceeded in importance the Cistercian Beaulieu with its £326 a year, and Waverley Abbey with its £174; and almost rivalled Alfred the Great's magnificent Benedictine House of Hyde, with its mitred Abbot and income of £890. The two colleges together outshone the Cathedral Monastery itself with its £1507 net.

Education and educational institutions were thus given an importance in the world's eyes which they had never before possessed. The idle monks no longer occupied the same position in the world's estimation; the friars' influence declined before the new class of educated secular clergy. Wykeham's "poor scholars" gave an impetus hardly second to that of Wycliffe's "poor priests" to the growth of learning which was destined to produce the Renaissance, and, as a consequence, the Reformation. A Warden of New College was one of the most zealous, if not the most respectable, of the monastic visitors. A Wykehamical Archdeacon of Winchester was one of the most notable victims of the Marian counter-revolution.

Even more important than the product of learned clerics was the introduction of laymen to their privileges. "Commoners" counteracted the unfortunate influence of the Priest-Fellows, who became parasites on the scholars. For, unfortunately, the mere Chantry-Priests of the original Charter, who were to sing for Wykeham's soul, while the boys were doing their lessons, grew in the statutes of 1400 to be Priest-Fellows, and became the governing body of the school. Here it was "not true that second thoughts are best; but first and third which



are a riper first." The Fellows devoured the surplus that should have gone to the boys, to the improvement alike of their bodies and minds, by better commons and better education. Had it not been for commoners, the school must have perished by adherence to the letter of the law, by the maintenance of the statutable stipends to the masters when the change in the value of money had made them a mockery. Luckily, the fees paid by commoners kept the Master's office still an office of emolument, and enabled him to keep assistants, and to make the instruction agreeable to the times. It was commoners, too, which made the College a popular institution with men of position and power. Without them, the Fellows would have fallen an easy prey, and Winchester School would have vanished like the Valley Scholars of Salisbury and Wolsey's College at Ipswich. It might, indeed, have been refounded, but if so, it would have been merely, like the Cathedral Schools of Canterbury or Rochester, an appendage to a larger body, without life or the means of living of its own.

For, with the exception of Eton, whose constitution was copied in the minutest detail from Winchester—Henry VI. examined the very earth of Winchester to see if its virtues lay there, bought there the very cloth for his scholars' gowns, and took a number of the scholars and the Head-master bodily to Eton—all the other collegiate schools in imitation of Winchester created before the Reformation perished in the dissolution of colleges and chauntries. Higham Ferrars College, a magnificent creation of Archbishop Chicheley, one of Wykeham's earliest scholars, and first Fellow of New College, intended, no doubt, to feed All Souls as Winchester fed New College, passed (all but £10 a year) into private hands. The Jesus College at Rotherham, founded by Archbishop Rotherham, one of the earliest Etonians, and intended to feed Lincoln College, is represented by a few feet of wall. The college at Waynflete, founded by another Wykehamist, the first Provost of Eton, has not even a wall to show. The college at Ipswich, founded by Cardinal Wolsey—a Waynfletian, Head-master of the Magdalen College School at Oxford—ceased to exist almost before it began to be. The Choristers' School at Wells, turned into a small Winchester by Bishop Bekyngton, one of the earliest products of Winchester, and Henry VI.'s chief adviser in founding Eton; the similar school at Lincoln, endowed by Bishop Smith, disappeared into the pockets of Edward VI. Winchester and Eton, New College, and King's—a quadruple alliance of colleges—were marked for destruction by Henry VIII., and, with all the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, were included in the Chantry Act of the last year of his reign. They were saved by his death, and specially exempted from the Chantry Act of his successor.

Eton and Winchester alone remain to testify what these foundations

might have been and done, and Tony Lumpkin serves to show what the average English squire became without them. We can hardly estimate what we lost in the interval between the fall of Higham Ferrars and the rise of Rugby under its two consecutive Winchester Masters, Dr. Arnold and his predecessor, who carried to new soil the fertile germ of self-government which is the distinguishing mark of the Wykehamical idea and the public school system. Rugby handed on the torch to Marlborough; Clifton, Wellington, Haileybury, Cheltenham have passed it on. Bedford, and now Bradfield, have gone back to Winchester for their masters and models. Harrow and Shrewsbury got their inspiration from Eton, and the Wykehamical idea threatens to make a tour of the world.

Wykeham's foundation has been successful enough in its primary object of turning out scholars to be bishops and chancellors. But its crowning glory is that it was the model for Eton and for Westminster, and in later days for Rugby and Harrow, and the rest.

Winchester, Eton, Westminster, as being the earliest, have also had the greatest effect upon the politicians and politics of England. Their democratisation of the aristocracy, and aristocratisation of the middle class, mingled together from all parts of England, and meeting as equals in the most impressionable years of life, have had, we may conceive, no little influence in making progress smooth and continuous instead of catastrophic. By lessening the distance between classes and districts, bringing together wealth and birth on the one hand and intellectual ability and ambition on the other, they have tended to soften the enmity, which an exclusive aristocracy, brought up by private tutors or among its own class only, has provoked from the rich middle classes and the able poor in other countries. They have enabled us to advance by Reform Bills instead of Revolutions..

Whether William of Wykeham intended it or not, he might well be proud that his foundation stands at the end of 500 years in the same position of a great national institution for the education of the upper and middle classes as it did on the opening day, and that the pressure for admission to its walls, whether as scholars or as commoners, is greater than it has ever been, or than it is for any other school. And, as a Catholic bishop in advance of his age in matters religious and educational, he might have been well pleased that the audacious attempt lately made through the Head-masters' Conference to claim our public schools as mere seminaries of a narrow Anglicanism and outworks of the Church Defence Association, was frustrated largely by the spirited vindication by Dr. Fearon, the present Head-master of Winchester, of this and other public schools as national institutions open to all, confined to no religious sect, or political propaganda.

## A MAY-DAY DIALOGUE.

### II.

**T**HE lingering winter had suddenly changed to spring, the Roman spring which is already summer. The dust lay thick along that road where every building is a church or convent, and each dates from the first martyrs; the dust was like a bloom upon the clematis and elder, where a hedge-row interrupted the high crumbling walls, tufted with seeding grasses and fringed all over with weeds. And the milky, pale-blue sky of summer already seemed to draw to it the white of the dust, the white of the stones, the whitish glint on the new leaves, to make of it all that strange symphony in mother-of-pearl, and alabaster and pearl, which, to those who know it, characterises the South.

“I have asked you to take this dusty walk,” said Donna Maria, pushing her veil back and drawing a deep breath of relief and satisfaction; “because, since one can do nothing on this hideous, hideous day except hope it may not be so hideous after all. . . .”

“Good heavens, what do you mean?” interrupted Lady Althea; “hideous day? Why hideous day, with this sun in the sky?”

“Lady Althea has actually forgotten that this is May Day, that the town is full of troops and police, and that we are awaiting the news of pillage or massacre!” exclaimed Boris. “Why the monks in yonder convent are more up to date, for they double-locked the gate in my face, and shouted through the grating, ‘Not to-day, because of the Revolution.’”

“You see, at home one would have been besieged by horrid things—I don’t mean besieged by the mob,” explained Donna Maria, “but besieged by people’s disgusting remarks about what may happen, and by the knowledge of their disgusting thoughts; every one becomes cowardly or envious, wanting to imprison or shoot the other

party, or rather, get some one else to do so; all telling lies to others and to themselves, the Socialists on the one hand, and the *bourgeoisie* on the other. And one would be besieged also, don't you know, by one's own fear and meanness and willingness that anything should have happened so long as it was all over."

"Instead of which, in this part of the world," answered Baldwin, smiling at her simplicity, so oddly mixed with subtlety, "in this part of the world, with the great ruins all round become terraces and walls of gardens and orchards, and the little early Christian churches built of fragments of pagan temples, you feel consoled, safe in the arms, as it were, of Time, who is really the one safe friend of every one. And the dread of change, the thought of change, diminishes, is dwarfed to nothingness in the presence of all the change embodied everywhere around us."

Donna Maria passed her arm through his. "Ah!" she exclaimed, "you understand it, Baldwin. That is why Rome is the place where one can feel most at peace; and I think, perhaps, the place where one ought to feel least frightened."

"But why should one be frightened anywhere?" asked Lady Althea, with great simplicity. "I mean why should one allow oneself to become so? It has struck me very much, hearing people talk of this first of May, and of the things of which it is the fore-runner, that they seem not only to be afraid, but to consider it proper to be afraid. It seems to me, on the contrary, that we should very carefully discourage any tendency to be frightened about the world's future. The future is necessarily the dark; and we must not fill the dark with imaginary traps and phantoms. If coming miseries are inevitable, then panic is but an additional agony in vain; and if we might struggle against them, panic will unfit us to do so."

"It seems easy to you," replied Boris, awakening from his usual gloomy apathy; "but the proof how difficult it is, how few there are like you, Lady Althea, is that a large proportion of the world's wretchedness has always been due to this tendency to be frightened."

"I didn't mean it was easy not to be frightened when there was something to be frightened about," Lady Althea hastened to correct. "Nobody can tell till they have tried whether their nerves would bear the strain, and whether they would not be cowards at the moment of danger. I don't suppose I am a brave woman at all. But surely, if we tried, we might be intrepid at least in facing a thought; we might be trained to possess ourselves at least in mind, and wait till we are frightened in our nerves. As regards May-days and so forth, we should not take to heart the horrors of the future. They can only be, at the worst, perceived by individuals; and is not the individual liable already in the present to the very worst that can befall him? Grief, loss of fortune and friends, untimely or horrible

death? The individual, therefore, has merely his chance of everyday calamity increased by a very small additional probability. As to the race, we now know that, in the long run, it must benefit by all political and social change, since change of this sort means what the race insists upon; and benefit daily more quickly and completely, as the world moves quicker and quicker. Will certain things be lost for our grandchildren? But can we be sure that they would value those things? We forget that not circumstances only, but man also will change; and we judge of a future for which we are unfitted by the habits and necessities of the present."

"Quite true, quite true," said Baldwin, gravely, wondering for the hundredth time at the girl's simple stoicism.

"Quite true," cried Donna Maria; "but you forget that while all is righting itself in the long run, there may be an infinite waste of human wealth, of civilisation slowly elaborated and rashly destroyed, a terrible waste of time and of suffering. The northern races came to share what had been produced—of thought, feeling, beauty, wealth—by the races of the south, that they might, eventually, add to it all, as they have done. But meanwhile, think of the ruin, the irreparable waste that took place in that process of sharing! I sometimes tax myself with prejudice and cowardice, with excessive conservatism, because I would fain hold tight to certain ideas, now become almost instincts, of decorum, of right and wrong, or what we still call by these names. But, even if I exaggerate, am I not right at bottom? Surely the bulk of what the Past has left behind, in ourselves and in our thoughts and institutions, is sound enough; we need only weed away what has come down, half-dead, to us, and add new things to suit new times. I know I don't do it enough myself, so you will think this all prejudice. But only ask yourselves whether it is not true that infinitely the larger part of us must always be the Past's. What can the present, which is but a moment, bring into competition with the centuries and æons? I am afraid lest in the great changes of the future, we may waste a moral and intellectual capital, in instincts, feelings, aversions and ideals, far surpassing in value any material wealth which may be wasted. I am frightened at the thought of what may come in the way of vandalism towards our soul."

In front of them stretched the long, white road, where a string of carts, with the characteristic leather umbrella, sent up a cloud of dust into the blue sky, as they went with jingling bells. Every now and then the weed-draped walls on either side, the palings of dried reeds, were broken by some old-fashioned country house, with a vista of laurel hedge and statue-peopled avenue through its gates, and more frequently by the little paved square before some rarely opened little basilica.

"Let us go in!" exclaimed Donna Maria, as they noticed in passing that one of them was standing open.

"I like your expression—*vandalism to our soul*," said Baldwin, as they stood in the little empty church, its tessellated pavement uneven from age, its marble columns opaque with damp, the frescoes peeling from its choir, and all its melancholy emptiness exhaling decay at the contact of the warm spring air. "It means a great, great danger; it ought to mean a great, great duty. The duty of diminishing, so far as it is possible, the conflict in which such acts of vandalism take place; the duty consequently of being unprejudiced, just, liberal, of giving instead of waiting that things be taken, of opening doors that they may not be broken in; the duty of keeping one's temper; the duty, above all, of trying to learn our duty."

"You mean, I suppose," asked Lady Althea, as they passed out of the church into the warmth and light outside, "that we expose civilisation to great dangers by our besetting fear of letting things take their own course, by our efforts to prevent or regulate all change; by our assumption of knowing what is good for people better than they can know themselves; what will be right in the future before the future has come. You mean all that system of protecting and directing which is due to an extraordinary marriage of presumptuousness and timidity, of irresponsibility and meddlingness?"

"I mean that, but more besides. Of course, the more dogmatic and rabid we are, the more dogmatic and rabid will become our opponents, and the more chance there will be of things finding their level with a maximum of breakage in the process; the more chance of such wisdom and decorum as has been hitherto acquired of being lost in the scuffle over the new right and wrong."

"Toleration in short—the virtue to which I cannot attain!" commented Donna Maria very sadly.

"Yes, toleration; toleration to which you will have to attain, dear Donna Maria, if merely that your adversaries may approach and see how much wisdom and charm there is in the very tendencies they abominate most. But besides tolerating other folk's opinion, we must do another thing if we wish to diminish the coming struggle and the coming wasting and destroying."

"And what is that, Baldwin?"

"I should think," answered Boris bitterly, "that as Baldwin has just asked prejudice and hatred to be tolerant, he is now going to complete his panacea by getting unscrupulousness and rapacity to be honest. By that simple means we shall avoid all collisions, and consequently all breakages."

"It is not because we cannot save everything," rejoined Lady Althea rather warmly, "that we should not save what we can."

Because there are people who can never be made tolerant or honest, shall those who might become so remain intolerant and dishonest? It is terrible to think how much of the world's evil is due to people being mischievous simply because they have never been shown their mischievousness. Think what a natural power—like that of tides and winds—is being wasted or made destructive in all the innumerable people who are hurting their neighbours inadvertently, or under the impression of doing them good."

"Precisely so," answered Baldwin. "Of all the things which the world wastes—and it makes pretty free with wealth, health, time, and pain—the worst waste is that of intelligence and goodness. A very good woman once remarked in my presence, that God intended us to do our duty *and a little more*. The little more is doubtless done by good people; but, is the duty?"

"I think it is," said Lady Althea drily; "for we take care to make our duty very easy to perform. For instance, how many people ask themselves, I wonder, whether the source of their income is clean? Save that ancient Roman who answered that money always smells sweet, there are but few who are thus curious about their investments and trades; they consider that as long as they do not cheat any one—that is to say, as long as they keep their business contracts, it does not matter whether the business be beneficial or damaging to the rest of the world."

"The answer of that ancient Roman," put in Baldwin, "reminds me of a case in point. It concerns a smell, a very bad smell, but the air is good enough, out here, to allow bad smells to be talked of. This one exists, for a number of very simple mechanical reasons which I will spare you, in the workshop, kitchen, and bedroom of an excellent carpenter who sometimes works for me——"

"Tell me his address," interrupted Donna Maria. "That smell shall be at an end to-morrow."

Baldwin shook his head sadly.

"I fear my poor carpenter will end before the smell. He is consumptive, and has some internal trouble connected with blood poisoning. His wife had typhoid after childbirth; the whole family has had influenza of the worst type and frequent fevers; finally, a boy has died of diphtheria; all this in less than a year. The house my carpenter inhabits belongs to a descendant of that ancient Roman; he is not an usurer, like his ancestor, but a very excellent, kind young man, with a kind young wife and nicely brought up children. He cannot afford to get rid of the smell except by quadrupling the rent, because the house is letting cheap on account of the smell being there. Were the smell destroyed, my carpenter would be dislodged also, and forced to go to a worse house, perhaps with as bad a smell. So it comes to the curious fact that my carpenter

implores me, and I implore you, to allow him to end his days in company with that smell."

Donna Maria had restrained herself with difficulty.

"But it is too horrible! It must not be! Whether he likes it or no, he shall not live any longer with that smell. It is a public disgrace! The prince—for I know whom you mean—must sell the house or pull it down, and the town must erect proper workmen's dwellings in its place."

"And it is you," exclaimed Boris, "who hate the thought of Socialism? It is you who are so convinced—as convinced even as Baldwin—that everything ought to be left to private enterprise, and that, as Herbert Spencer teaches, State interference will end in Egyptian servitude and Chinese stagnation! Does not this case make you understand that the people who are actually suffering, or actually seeing others suffer all day long, should be willing to buy immediate relief at the price of any amount of Egyptian bondage and Chinese stagnation in the future? And yet I sometimes think that if Socialism does come, if gradually we find ourselves fed, housed, clothed, educated, and finally of course brought into existence by government regulation, it will be less the fault of the poor grabbing for immediate food and leisure, than that of the rich, impatient to devolve the responsibility of relieving misery upon some one else's shoulders."

"Well, then," answered Donna Maria desperately, "let the individual find the remedy for individual evil."

"You mean, let Baldwin's carpenter fight the smell unaided or get reconciled to it?"

"No, Boris. Let the prince cease drawing rent out of that infamous house. I will write to him as soon as I get home. He will do it; he is a good young man."

"But you will merely be doing an awful injustice, Maria, to the tenants of the prince's other houses," said Lady Althea sadly. "The whole quarter belonging to him is in a similar condition. He is waiting for the Tiber works to raise the value of that part of the town; then he will build better houses for a better class of people. His father brought the ground with this in view; and if the prince were to build better houses and let them at the present rents he would simply be a beggar to-morrow."

"Oh, a beggar!" exclaimed Donna Maria. "A million less in a fortune of millions!"

"I don't mean that I should be a beggar in his place," rejoined Lady Althea; "two hundred a year is a respectable fortune in my eyes, but then I don't *keep up the standard of civilisation*. You have no right to expect a man to deprive himself, even for a year, of any of the things which he has been taught to consider indispensable:



and he has been taught that twenty servants and twenty-four horses are indispensable to a man of his rank. Count up, and you will see that, what with guests, the number is quite a low one."

"Well then, what?" asked Donna Maria, seating herself on a low wall under some eucalyptuses, and gazing despairingly at the heaps of broken antique masonry and heaps of modern rubbish of the little wilderness they had come to.

"Why, I should say," answered Lady Althea, drawing patterns with her parasol in the dust, "alter people's notions about their duty and *the little more*. This whole miserable little story of the smell brings home to me once more what I have been thinking ever since Mr. Baldwin first taught me that our conduct was good or bad, according as it made more people happy or wretched. It seems to me that people should be trained (and civilisation should consist in such training) to a certain larger unselfishness—not the unselfishness of giving up a toy-donkey to a tiresome brother, or sacrificing liberty and usefulness to a prejudiced father or mother—in the same way that they are trained to a certain elementary decency and politeness. You shake your head, Monsieur Boris? I don't see why putting the good of the world before one's own, in the sense of sacrificing the smaller interest in case of conflict, should necessarily carry us to any marvellous feats of charity and heroism. It would lead to the habit of simply asking ourselves—very much as we ask ourselves at present whether this or that is customary or fashionable—'how will such a thing affect other people'? It would lead to the not very ascetic or very heroic renouncing of such advantages to oneself as are bought by an unfair disadvantage, nay, by any real disadvantage to others. . . . A better understanding of duty, and consequent doubt of the likelihood of the 'little more,' would, with time, acquire an habitual restraining power against getting money from unhealthy houses, bad professions, or extortionate bargains; a positive prejudice analogous to the one which at present prevents many enlightened persons from allowing their children to keep a shop or learn a trade. Such things would get to be considered as unfitting for a lady or a gentleman. Don't you think," concluded Lady Althea, looking up with an earnest, serene face, "that to teach children the possible connection between money and typhoid stenche might be the most useful form of elementary chemistry? And that to have a notion of the life of a coal miner or of the condition of a cottier would be more useful than to be able to draw a map of Northumberland or to tell the date of the conquest of Ireland?"

Boris shook his head. "Is it not wiser to let people defend themselves against nuisances and sufferings? They know their own interests best, and need not be forestalled by other people's scruples. I am a believer in spontaneity, and I think the carpenters of the

future are not likely to allow their landlords to furnish them with typhoid and diphtheria."

"But meanwhile, it is a pity that this particular present carpenter's typhoid and diphtheria should not have been forestalled by a scruple, since it could have been forestalled by nothing else," answered Lady Althea calmly. "I believe in spontaneity also, but I don't see why that should make one disbelieve in man's spontaneous efforts at dealing fairly. For the rest, half of our existence, energy, and substance does in the present go towards defending ourselves and our interests against persons who decline to forestall us with scruples: police, law, the magistracy, prisons, hangmen, documents, inspectors, fines, walls, locks and keys, and spring-guns, are all here in default of those scruples. So are armies, navies, fortresses, munitions, conscriptions, and all the things by which the blood of nations is drawn so freely. . . . So, don't you think that, although inevitable perhaps at present, the system of letting people protect themselves against the lack of conscience and forethought of others, does involve a stupendous degree of wastefulness? And that if the rival system of forestalling evil to others by an exercise of thought and will could come a little into vogue, there might be some economy of wealth, and time, and energy, and happiness!"

"I think," Baldwin summed up, "that Lady Althea might formulate in some such manner her notion, in which I wholly concur, of our duty in protecting others—to protect others from ourselves, from the injury which may be done them by our desires, our vanity and sloth; and to protect them from the waste of time, strength, and happiness implied in protecting themselves against us."

"And meanwhile," asked Donna Maria impatiently, "who is going to protect the carpenter?"

"I fear, my dear Donna Maria," answered Baldwin sadly, "that, except so far as a few palliatives may go, you might as well ask who is going to protect the men who built the pyramids. The suffering we see around us, although unfortunately not over, belongs, in a sense, and in a large degree, to the past, and our efforts can very rarely have a retrospective action; and the evil we see nearest our hand is often really utterly beyond our reach; that is why, in trying to remedy, we usually upset other things, but do not succeed in removing it. The more reason, therefore, that we should spare no effort for the future, since the present already belongs to the past."

The gate at which they had long been ringing had at last been opened, and they had entered a long avenue of eucalyptus, running through a field of vines and vegetables, and leading to a quaint porched church, which from the road below reminded one of certain backgrounds in Signorelli's frescoes of monastic life. The place was now

a reformatory, in the hands of some white-garbed monks, who were working silently about the place. Near the convent the eucalyptus avenue was massed into a little grove. One could appreciate the beauty of the straight boles, smooth like the fairest skin, of delicate, almost flesh-coloured brown, wherever the grey bark has recently peeled off, and silvery in the rough parts; the beauty of that foliage which hangs so close, yet never clings, those wisps of cinnamon-coloured straw hanging among it. In that place, by the reddish mediæval brickwork of the little, belfried church, fragments of broken antique sculpture lying about in the bushes, and monks and red-jacketed convict boys working silently all round, these trees, straight, bare, with their tangled foliage and half-flayed trunks and wisps of hanging bark, had an odd, ascetic look, making one think of some statue of John the Baptist in the wilderness, straight, rigid, fever-stricken, with shining emaciated limbs beneath his goatskin.

The austerity of the place, but particularly the story of the carpenter, were making Donna Maria very thoughtful.

"Listen," she said; "what you have been saying, caro Baldwin, has brought home to me some thoughts with which I have been messing and muddling ever since I read Tolstoi's 'Que Faire,' and you made me read some books of political economy to show me where he was mistaken. That's the worst of living in the world and trying to do things one's thoughts never get properly thought out. Anyhow, here they are. I understand that, economically speaking, by an adjustment inevitable in the present condition of wealth, I (and by myself I mean of course all people who don't do anything) have a right to all the time and strength and skill which other people give me, sometimes in the form of actual services, but more usually in that of various properties, in return for wages directly or indirectly paid by me. That by such payments I can buy services or provisions is due inevitably to the fact that I possess capital which I can lend out at interest. And that I should be able to lend out capital at interest has been in modern times, and probably for some time yet will be, a less evil to mankind at large than that capital should be possessed by the State, and individual effort hampered by artificial equality. This is the case, is it not?—at least according to your economic books or Herbert Spencer. I am benefiting by representing, as it were, the less of two evils."

"Precisely so," interrupted Boris, "but you have yourself defined the condition as the less of two evils. It was also the less of two evils that the Spartans should possess Helots, that the Roman people should have been crushed by a land-grabbing aristocracy, that the feudal lord should have vanquished his Jacques, and Crassus have defeated Spartacus. Each of these was the *lesser evil of two evils*, but it was itself a great evil, the mother of other great evils,

and the mother also of many other dreadful similar alternatives. That Crassus should have conquered Spartacus was better in one way ; but the fate of Spartacus and his fellow thralls was ultimately avenged in one of the many miseries of bankrupt, discordant Rome. We are apt to overlook this fact, that the lesser of two evils is not a good thing. It would have been infinitely better had Spartacus not required to be defeated, or had the wickedness of his victors (though probably less than would have been his own wickedness and that of his companions) not been inevitable like his misery and rebellion."

"That is just what I mean!" exclaimed Donna Maria, "does it not lie with us, or rather does it not depend upon our views and character, to make the safer alternative itself less fruitful of harm? You will say I am always reverting to the same idea, but the reverting is just what makes one hope the idea may be a true one. Look: I feel that although in consideration of certain economic necessities, it is legitimate that I should have all fatiguing and disagreeable work done for me, and done by people whom I merely provide with what is requisite to fit them for that work. . . ."

"That is quite true," broke in Boris, who only saw the pessimistic points in any argument. "We spend upon those who serve us only as we should spend upon an animal or a machine, the cost of keeping it in working order. And if rich folk appear to do more for their domestic servants, it is, merely because a certain superfluity above mere cost of subsistence and reproduction, a certain comfort and decency, is as necessary to fit a human being for approaching their persons and ministering to their personal wants as an extra amount of feeding and grooming is necessary to fit a horse to carry us on his back instead of dragging a manure cart."

"You have expressed it perfectly, Boris," went on Donna Maria sadly. "Well, to return, although I feel I have a right, on account of economic possibilities and necessities, thus to accept so much comfort and leisure and luxury in return for virtually nothing at all—for life without comfort and leisure is nothing—yet I feel that I have no right thus to take and not give, no right on account of the necessities and possibilities of the human soul. As the possessor of so much capital at a time when capital exchanges at such or such another rate with labour, I cannot give higher prices for the material services which furnish me with so much leisure and comfort; if I did I should simply be pauperising the working class."

"We never ask," murmured Boris to himself, "whether all this time we have not been pauperising the idle classes."

"But, as the possessor of a brain and nervous system, let me call it *soul*, capable of profiting by this additional leisure and comfort, I have no right to withhold from those to whom this leisure and comfort are

due, the intellectual and moral fruits which cannot be produced without them, and which are almost as valuable and necessary to the class which cannot obtain them for itself (being busy obtaining my leisure and comfort) as what that class furnishes to myself. Hence, as much as I have a right to insist on a certain amount of material work being done for me in return for my capital by those whom my capital brings into and keeps in existence, so much also have they the right to insist upon a certain amount of mental and moral work being done for them by those faculties in us which are brought into and kept in existence by the higher dose of leisure and comfort. In all past co-operation between classes set aside for different lives there has been, ostensibly at least, an understanding of such give and take; and it is only nowadays that people have lost all 'shame and given the human animal only enough to keep him useful."

"You speak, my dear cousin, exactly as did the monks whose rule did not include their working as these good white creatures are doing. The world was to keep them in food and lodging and clothing, and they were to keep the world—allow me the expression—in spiritual requisites by dint of hard praying. This was quite fair so long as the world believed in the efficacy of these prayers; but once it ceased to do so, it began to wonder whether these holy people were not receiving good clothing and shelter in return for nothing at all."

"But in this case," answered Lady Althea, "some of the prayers are manifestly efficacious, a very small minority *are* giving something in return. As to the majority, I confess that so far from giving any spiritual food to the workers, they seem busily employed spoiling the bread and spilling the wine which they themselves are not inclined to consume. However, I wish every one thought and acted like Maria. We look forward—if we did not life would be too hideous—to a future when no such difference will exist; when all will work, without separation of class, for all; when capital will be sufficiently plentiful and labour sufficiently in request for them to exchange otherwise than, as Monsieur Boris says, the oats and the work of a horse. But undoubtedly the coming of the future, its very possibility, will depend in some measure upon the leisured class working meanwhile for the un leisured, upon the recognition that, in the measure of our several strengths, we have none of us the right to accept and not give, to profit by the mere accidental economic circumstances which give us power over other folk's work."

"But I do not see," said Boris, "by what mechanism the intellectual wealth which the leisured class is, according to you and to my cousin, bound to produce, can be transferred, however piecemeal, to a class too busy and too hungry even to want such intellectual wealth. All the philosophy and all the art that the world has ever produced would be mere stones instead of bread to the tailors of

*Alton Locke* and the miners of *Cerminal*. It seems to me that you are all of you busy evading the terrible fact that, 'so long as inevitable causes continue to make capital scarce and more requisite than labour, capital will continue to obtain the larger share of the wealth which itself and labour unite in producing. And, as long as the wealth which is constantly being produced is divided with extreme inequality between the capitalist class (which also comprises the class of expensively trained, highly-paid workers) and the labouring class, there must be the evils of excessive wealth on the one hand, and of excessive poverty on the other; of wastefulness and misery, of idleness and of overwork."

"That is quite true," replied Lady Althea; "but the fact of this being the result of inevitable natural processes does not necessarily militate against a possibility of diminishing the painfulness of this inevitable result. Let me explain by an analogy: Extreme cold and extreme heat are also the result of inevitable natural processes; yet we have found the means of diminishing their painful and mischievous effects; in fact, if we had not, the human race would have long ceased to exist. And if we are able to equalise and render supportable so many of the inevitable excesses of nature (indeed, to do so represents three-quarters of man's work on earth), tempering heat with cold and cold with heat, and uniting opposite qualities into such compounds as serve our purposes, ought we not also to render more supportable the phenomenon of capital's superiority over labour, by tempering extreme poverty with the excess of extreme riches?"

"But that is what pious people have been preaching and practising ever since the world began, my dear Lady Althea; and it is what we now call pauperisation."

"Pardon me, Boris," answered Baldwin; "what Lady Althea is alluding to—I know it because I have so often had the honour of discussing these matters with her—what Lady Althea is alluding to is a totally different thing. It is what has been considered rather a vice than a virtue till our own day, and it is called *Saving*."

Donna Maria turned suddenly round, where she had seated herself on a terrace wall, overlooking vineyards and farm-buildings, and great towering ruins, with only the cupola of St. Peter's on the horizon to remind them that they were within the walls of a great city. "Is that why you were so unsympathising about my buying those pearls the day before yesterday? I felt that you considered me unprincipled, and I was determined I wouldn't ask you why, since you wouldn't tell me."

Baldwin merely laughed as he looked into the valley below, screening his eyes with his hand against the effulgence of the setting sun. But his laugh, though without bitterness, was very sad.

“My dear Donna Maria,” he answered, “you really require no further explanations; you have been reading a lot of books on political economy, and you summed up the relations of capital and labour quite admirably a few minutes ago. I cannot tell you anything you have not read a dozen times over.”

Lady Althea turned pale as he spoke these words. It seemed to her very ungenerous on the part of her former teacher thus to resent, however impersonally, the indifference with which his teachings were usually met; and, at the same time, a certain sternness in her character made her fear that Baldwin's disappointment in his audience would result in his ceasing to address it. But Donna Maria had the confidingness of one who is full of the power of forgiveness, and also occasionally in need of it from others.

“Nothing that I have not read, very possibly,” she answered; “but evidently something of which I have not benefited by reading. So, won't you explain?”

It was, perhaps, not the first time that Baldwin had repeated his explanations; but as experience taught him day by day how little anything we say is listened to, he had made up his mind to repeat the same thing a thousand times over on the bare chance of being listened to the thousand and first.

“You were asking,” he began, “what most honest people must ask themselves at least once in their life: are we worth the difference between the expense of our keep and production and the keep and production of those less fortunate than ourselves? May we be supposed to give them in the present, or prepare for them in however remote a future, anything equivalent in importance to the services which we receive from them, and in return for which (as the Socialists have seen quite correctly) we give them a portion of our own savings, but barely sufficient to breed, groom, and train our human beasts of burden? We are living, as you quite correctly stated, upon the result of our saving, living to-day upon the product of what we might have expended yesterday; and, in so far as no one could forbid our spending that money yesterday had we chosen, we are at liberty to spend its fruit to-day as we please. We have a right to subsist on our capital as those others do on their labour. But we must understand what we mean by *right*. In this case it means simply that mankind in the aggregate has found it more convenient—owing to one of those wretched choices between two evils—to leave to the individual his free choice in the matter of lending his savings, as it has left to the individual his free choice in the matter of lending his labour. But social convenience (which has changed many a time and may change to-morrow) apart, have we a moral right to exist better, more comfortably and pleasantly on our capital than those other folk do on their labour? Or, instead of asking have we a moral right,

let me say what means the same thing and is more intelligible, Is the aggregate of mankind, including mankind in the future, benefited or damaged by our having the advantage? Please take notice that I do not ask whether mankind is benefited or damaged by the cause of this phenomenon, since that seems answered by the very fact of its persistence; I am asking simply whether in this choice between two evils, the evil of individual enslavement which we have rejected, together with socialism, and the evil of uneven distribution of wealth which we have preferred, we have not, as usual, got hold of a new alternative. This alternative is simply, Is it better that we should spend all of our larger share on ourselves, or is it better that we should replace a portion of it in the common fund whence wealth increases to be divided afresh? You have been reading books on political economy; you are acquainted therefore with the elementary distinction between unproductive and productive expenditure; the first means consuming our wealth in necessaries, comforts or pleasures, the second employing that wealth as the seed for more, and a larger amount of, wealth. If we consume all the interest which is brought us by our capital (I don't speak of land and rent, because, except in the case of building ground, land is every day bringing less and less of what is really rent as distinguished from interest on capital invested in its improvement)—if we consume the interest of our capital the world at large is none the better for its existence; if, on the contrary, we re-invest this interest in useful undertakings, the world is enriched by the produce of that investment, exactly as the world would be enriched by so many grains of wheat which we should sow in the ground instead of swallowing them in the shape of a biscuit. But, you will say, what difference does this different employment of our income make to the classes who live on labour and not on capital? How will they benefit by the new wealth which may be called into existence?"

"Because the more wealth in existence the larger the share which every one will have of it," interrupted Donna Maria, eagerly; "and yet no—because it is again divided unequally; this will mean merely that we shall again have a larger share in a larger total."

"But the point is," answered Baldwin, "that the more wealth the less inequality in division: not only larger shares, but more even ones. For if capital, that is to say, wealth devoted to production, become more plentiful in proportion to labour—and capital doubles infinitely more rapidly than labour, for labour means population—capital will exchange with labour at a rate less favourable to its owners and more favourable to the owners of labour; since the rate of exchange between the two, that is to say the shares which each can claim in the wealth which they have united in producing, depends upon the relation between the supply and demand of the one and the



supply and demand of the other. But it is absurd my repeating all this, which is explained in every sixpenny primer."

"Somehow or other, in the primer it doesn't seem to connect with any of one's own concerns, any more than the laws of physics in handbooks," answered Donna Maria, a light of comprehension coming into her face. "Well, then, do you mean, Baldwin, that it is not only no merit of ours if a little capital will exchange for a lot of labour, but that it is even to some extent much the result of our having everything that we like?"

Baldwin nodded. "So far from resulting from any merit of ours, the fact that accumulated wealth should be so scarce, and the fact that we can therefore lend it out at a high interest, is very largely the result of our folly, of our vices, at best of our indifference. We—and by we I mean the well-to-do, educated classes—destroy an immense amount of wealth in war, or in the preparation for war; war which, when it is not a matter of foolish national vanity, is most often a matter of commercial rivalry concerning the wealthy classes, but utterly indifferent to the poor ones. In most countries we also destroy a lot of capital by means of protective tariffs, which put money into the pockets of manufacturers and landowners which has been abstracted out of the pockets of the taxpayers. Those things we do in our public capacity, as members of Parliament, journalists or politicians of the drawing-room, club or café. Then, in our private capacity, we—and I think women almost more than men—destroy great lumps of wealth at one blow by rapidly changing fashions and throwing out of use expensive machinery, elaborately made desigus, slowly acquired skill, and sometimes valuable raw material, all of which would have been kept in use but for our caprice. In these ways, by the exercise of our taste and influence, we diminish the accumulated wealth by large bold strokes, and by large bold strokes incline the exchange between capital and labour distinctly in our own favour. We do the same thing on a smaller scale by minute strokes perpetually repeated, wasting wealth piecemeal in enjoyments which do not improve us and very frequently do harm to others, in luxury, ostentation, and vice. By a curious coincidence of economical equilibrium, all this eventually profits us by keeping up the rate of interest; and by an odd reversing of practical justice, damages those who have had no satisfaction and shared no responsibility in it all. Were we less reckless, less vain, less grasping, less luxurious, ostentatious, and vicious, in fact, were we less destructive, the rate of exchange between labour and capital would be altered, but altered in favour, not of ourselves, but of others."

"And you think that a recommendation of already sufficiently uncomfortable virtue to the people who do not feel the need of it?" asked Boris.

"I think," answered Lady Althea, "that as we have been talking of the best way to relieve the pain which the fact of unevenly distributed comfort and leisure causes in some of us, we need not discuss the impressions of the people who feel no such pain, and who can be quite comfortable themselves in the sight of the discomfort of others. We have not been discussing how the totality of the world's economic wrongness is to be removed—that will be the work of time and unconscious change—but how such individuals as are inclined may help, however slightly, to diminish some of that wrongness, or at least not to increase it. To those who suffer from the knowledge of other folk's sufferings, who are abashed by the consciousness of their undeserved privileges, there is something bitter, but invigorating and consoling, in the fact that the reward of our honesty and wisdom and self-denial would be that others should be better off, not we; that the moral choice would have a moral reward."

"The thought is certainly consoling," said Boris after a pause, "but is it not like so many other consoling pieces of generosity, by which people have been able, ever since the beginning of time, to temporise with the misfortunes of others? We have been perpetually taking advantage of the misfortunes of our neighbours, and silencing our conscience by arranging to give them back a small proportion of what, under different circumstances, would none of it have been ours. No one has been able to decide satisfactorily even about that proportion. The Jesuit casuists, quoted by Pascal, determined, after much disputing, that we can be expected to give only of our superfluity; and of superfluity no one was ever known to be possessed, and so . . . ."

"But Christ," exclaimed Donna Maria, whose religious instincts were offended by her cousin's levity, "Christ had settled the question long before the Jesuits; and He said, give all."

"I think," said Baldwin, "that were Christ to return on earth in our day—to come once more to be crucified, as the legend makes Him tell St. Peter at that little church on the Appian Way—I think He would have explained that *to give all* did not mean to make one man a beggar in order that another should cease to be one. What is wanted is to give, not that portion which may be useful to us and through us, but that other portion which would be more useful to others and through others."

"And what is that portion?" asked Donna Maria eagerly.

"You are asking me the question which was put to those Jesuits," answered Baldwin, "and I fear I cannot answer it so completely and satisfactorily. Yet I think we may get at a few principles applicable to most cases; for the difficulty of the matter lies in the fact that the only means of making such renunciation really equal is to distribute it in a perfectly individual and uneven way. For one of these

principles would be—the most important of any I can think of at present—that people should give up all such expenditure as makes them less fit for social, intellectual, moral, or physical uses, by fostering their laziness, sensuality, thoughtlessness, covetousness, and vanity. The side of human nature to which great expenditure on food, clothes, equipages, and so forth mainly appeals is the side which makes people less valuable as human beings; so as this kind of expenditure ought to be diminished merely with a view to making us less useless or pernicious, it is evidently the first which should be cut down with a view to economic redistribution, and an increase of productivity of capital, and therefore of wages.”

“But you are not against such things as render life more easy and more delightful, Baldwin?”

“I want, on the contrary, that they should be within the reach of every one; I want all lives to be full of comfort and pleasure and variety, to have as much of it as can really be enjoyed; therefore I am against a small number of lives being so clogged with luxury and novelty as to prevent these good things being increased by those who enjoy them, and even enjoyed as fully as they might be by those who possess them. To return to our rule. I think that we should curtail all such expenditure as fosters people’s incapacity or unwillingness to give the world any share of work, whether work applied directly or indirectly to their own sustenance, or work given to others.”

“It is curious,” observed Lady Althea, twisting one of the long grey eucalyptus leaves round her finger, “that a certain degree of overspending invariably means, not merely a waste of what might have been productive capital, but also a waste of what might have been productive human energy, intellectual or bodily.”

“It does more than that,” replied Baldwin; “for, as leisure is the most necessary of all comforts, idleness is the most destructive of all luxuries; since idleness is not merely the passive *not doing*, but, almost inevitably, the doing of the useless or mischievous, of something requiring that other people should work, either to facilitate or to remedy. It is difficult to realise, and yet it is true, that the amount of useful activity which the world gets out of people is in exactly inverse proportion (except in the case of beggars) to the amount of time and trouble which they cost the world; so that we get, through a series of *constantly increasing taking* linked with *constantly diminishing giving*, to the class which requires people to do even the most personal things for them, those whose life is all play, and who must have, so to speak, billiard-markers and caddy-boys to do the drudgery even of life’s game. Nay, the truth is even more mad-looking than that, once we can lose the familiarity which makes us overlook its monstrosity. For these people waste the world’s

wealth and time and energy, not merely in harmless indifference, but often in absolute mischief. It is they who introduce newfangled and expensive vices, and those constantly varying fashions which waste materials, throw skilled labourers out of work, and sometimes overwork tailors and dressmakers into consumption or death for the instant gratification of a caprice. . . . Not to speak of the destruction of their constitution and their children's, which sometimes leaves only disease as the net product of their lives and of the lives whose labour they consume."

And Baldwin watched his cigarette-end drop into the vineyard below with an expression of deep discouragement. The sun, setting in pale gold suffusion behind St. Peter's, was flushing the brick of a great broken arch, which projected, like the rib, covered with seaweed, of a huge wrecked vessel, out of the confusion of pale green vines and pale yellow reed fences of the valley. From the hidden road rose the tinkling of cart bells, the drone of the carter's songs, and, as the first star throbbed into sight in the pale sky opposite the sunset, the bells of those little early Christian churches and monasteries, the thousand bells of the distant city, began to ring the May-tide salutation to the Virgin.

"The question is," said Lady Althea, rather to herself than to others, leaning against the rosy bole of a tall eucalyptus and looking into that sunset as if into the future; "the question is, how long shall we have the means of knowing these things and refuse to know them? How long shall we deem it unfair to profit by the misfortunes of others in small matters and honourable to do so in large ones? Shall we go on, honest folk that we are, returning most scrupulously to its owner the sixpence found in the street, and not returning to the classes below us the advantages which they have lost and we have gained in the windings and ups and downs of the world's history?"

"It seems all rather wonderful and incomprehensible, and yet as if it could not be otherwise," said Donna Maria, wrapping herself in her cloak as they turned to go. "I mean all that you have been explaining to us. One can't quite realise that—how shall I explain?—well, that a great duty should be so simple and so near at hand."

"I fear most people will not find it so simple," put in Boris, "and will refuse to admit that it can be so near at hand."

"Why not?" asked Donna Maria impetuously. "Why, it's so convenient, one can begin at once. For instance, in driving home now we'll pass through the Corso, and leave word at that jeweller's that I won't have those pearls, Baldwin. Dear me, I had forgotten; this is May Day, and all the shops will be shut because of the Socialists."

## THE ORIGINAL POEM OF JOB.

“I call the Book of Job one of the grandest things ever written with pen. . . . A noble book, all men's book! There is nothing written I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit.”—THOMAS CARLYLE.

ONE day the celebrated Lafontaine, having to spend half an hour in church, took up a book that chanced to be lying on one of the seats, and commenced to peruse it, in order to while away the time. His attention was immediately caught by the *verve* and originality of the writer; his interest was aroused and sustained as he continued to read; and by the time he had finished the little treatise, he was wild with enthusiasm for the promising young author, “Baruch by name and presumably a Jew by religion,” whom he forthwith preconised as the rising literary man of the day, until a sympathising friend charitably informed him that the rains of over two thousand years had moistened the grave of the Hebrew scribe.

Lafontaine's ignorance was excusable, seeing that the educational course of his day made no provision for a study of Baruch and his contemporaries, whose very names he first learned from the little volume in the church; but the mistaken notions of most men and women about the aim and significance of the Book of Job, which they profess to read and to understand, are positively humiliating. In point of fact, the casket has been prized above the jewel, the frame preferred to the picture; and the main lesson which the million, for whose behoof it was originally written, have contrived to extract from the most sublime poem in the literature of the world,<sup>1</sup> is, broadly speaking, the very opposite to what the author intended to convey. For this, no doubt, there is some excuse, in the circumstance that the book, as it now stands in the accepted versions, is utterly unlike the unrivalled work of art which left the hands of the unknown poet two thousand six hundred years ago, and readily lends itself to the most

As embodied, for instance, in the hackneyed expression, “the patience of Job.”

absurd interpretations. The entire poem was at first retouched, the order of the parts re-arranged, the rôles of the speakers, in some instances, redistributed, and the discourses partially re-written by delicate fibred Jewish theologians, who, in the interests of "morality," compelled the hero blithely to give the lie to himself, and solemnly to endorse the censures of his "friends," preparatory to refuting them; and later on, zealous Christian divines forced him to proclaim various dogmas,<sup>1</sup> with a degree of lucidity and precision which would astonish us in Ignatius or Irenæus.

Job or Iyob,<sup>2</sup> as his name was written and pronounced, is the incarnation of the spirit of theological criticism, of impatience with the cut-and-dried traditions of orthodoxy, of protest against the petty proprieties of his day, and of the whole-hearted manhood of honest men as distinguished from the gritlessness of those eunuchs of society and religion who shuffle through the world with a dogma for a soul.

The poem, which may be studied from innumerable points of view, is, among other things, a solemn indictment, by the masses, of the responsible moral government of the day; and as He who had fashioned the universe from chaos was likewise believed to determine the fate of countries and individuals personally, and without intermediaries, He was felt to be fully and solely responsible for the breaking down of the system to which He had wedded His name. Job's discourses constitute a scathing and a just condemnation of the ethical régime in vogue towards the end of the eighth century B.C., which made virtue a matter of mere business, a bargain struck between Jahveh and mankind. As scepticism in ancient India was rewarded with the gift of working miracles, so upright living was followed in Judæa by wealth and prosperity. That, at least, was the theory. In reality, the obligation was very often all on one side. However conscientiously a man might fulfil his part of the contract, he was never sure of being paid his stipulated wage in the promised coin; and as at that time none other was current, no future life looming in the distance with intensified rewards and punishments to draw upon, the disappointed people naturally felt that they were being hardly dealt with. Various efforts had been made to prop up the tottering system. For instance, the individual's claims were merged in those of his tribe or his country, and were declared to have been settled in full, as long as the weal of the nation was assured. But even in this shape, the principle refused to work, and after the Assyrian had come down like a wolf on the fold (probably some years before the work was written) ceased to have any plausible defence; and it is a

<sup>1</sup> The doctrines of a future life, of the resurrection of the body from the dead, of a personal devil, and of the intercession of angels, &c.

<sup>2</sup> It means "the harassed one," "the persecuted," a name which, as Reuss aptly observes (Hiob, p. 12), prosperous parents would hardly be tempted to bestow upon their only son.

triumph of the poet's art to make us realise this as thoroughly and as painfully as if the hero had died in despair on his dunghill, and to awaken ideas and induce certain moods of mind which the working out of his theme seems at first sight to exclude. Thus Job, after his probationary sufferings, becomes haler, healthier, happier than before, a *dénouement* which was demanded by the æsthetic taste of the time and country, ultimate justice being one of the main laws of poetic presentation. But the author is careful all along to impress us with the idea, that whatever may befall his hero in the end, it is the persecuted and enduring Job who is the true type of the human race, and that, however justly Jehovah may deal with His servant in the land of Uz, it is His wont to allow the dishonest and wicked of all countries to seize the lion's share of the good things of this our only life, while the upright, truthful, and hospitable go to the wall. Jahveh Himself, Job assures us,

“Destroyeth the upright and the wicked . . . .  
 The earth is given into the hands of the wicked . . . .  
 The tents of robbers prosper,  
 And they that provoke God are secure.”

Such a state of things was no longer endurable. As a system of religious ethics, this gross utilitarianism with ready money and no credit for its basis, had broken down, and required to be quickened into life by the introduction of some new elements, by the doctrine of a future life, for instance.

But these and kindred ideas are the growth of certain trains of thought started within ourselves by the poet rather than the direct outcome of his own express teachings. He burns up the unseaworthy vessels of contemporary thought not by the primitive method of holding fire-brands to them, but, like Archimedes, by focussing the sun's rays and reflecting them in a system of powerful mirrors. Having carefully sown the seeds that will rend the rock, he can well afford to hide them for a time with soil and await the results. This is why the light of Job's soul is never dimmed by the unhealthy miasms of weariness and languor to which moderns have given the name of *Weltschmerz*. There is no diseased melancholy in his thoughts and visions as in those of so many Oriental thinkers of all times. And yet in this weird music there is a ground-tone of almost hopeless human agony, but it has to be hearkened to and discerned athwart the lusty cries of a healthy nature in sudden and exquisite pain. Job speaks in the pangs of pent knowledge from the innermost depths of his heart. His plaint is the necessary outcome of his own misery, or rather his soul is an æolian harp which, as the storm of calamity sweeps over the chords, trembles into sad and terrible thoughts which have swum in men's minds for ages, and continue to possess a deep and enduring significance for all humanity. The Book of Job sums up

and closes one important phasis of Hebrew religious thought, as the Apocalypse may be said to wind up another.

Gauged by the narrow standards of his contemporaries, some of his most sublime outbursts of poetic passion seemed as impious as to the theologians of our own country the "blasphemies" hurled by Byron's Lucifer against the "Everlasting Tyrant." There can be no doubt that it is to the feeling of holy horror which Job's plain speaking aroused in the minds of the strait-laced Jews of 2500 years ago that we have to ascribe the numerous disfiguring changes which the poem underwent at the hands of the well-meaning censors. It is possible even now to point out, by the help of a few disjointed fragments still preserved, the position, and to divine the sense, of certain spiritfult and defiant passages which in the interests of "religion and morals" were remorselessly suppressed, to indicate certain others which were split up and transposed, and to distinguish many prolix discourses, feeble or powerful word-pictures and trite commonplaces which were deliberately inserted<sup>1</sup> later on, for the sole purpose of toning down the most audacious piece of rationalistic philosophy which has ever yet been clothed in the music of sublime verse.

These alterations add very considerably to the difficulties which from certain other causes—the compromise, for instance, between form and matter, poetry and philosophy—enveloped the book from the very first. The object of this article, to be followed by the restored text, is to unravel this tangled skein and to present the readers for the first time with the primitive poem of Job.<sup>2</sup> The circumstance that certain important and partly unpublished discoveries of my friend and former professor, Dr. Bickell, which I shall explain later on, have supplied us with the key to the problem of reconstruction, is my excuse, and will, I trust, prove my justification for undertaking a now easy task which without these clues would have baffled the ingenuity of the most erudite critics in the present and future as in the past.

The Book of Job, which Teunyson declared to be "the greatest poem, whether of ancient or modern times," and the diction of which Luther held to be "magnificent and sublime as no other book of Scripture," is in every sense of the word a *unicum*. It would be as hopeless to try to press it into the frame of any one category of literary composition as to classify Blake's Singing of the Morning Stars. Authorised and unauthorised opinion on the subject has touched every extreme, and still continues oscillating to-day. Some treat it, even now, as a serious work of history; others as a philosophical

<sup>1</sup> "Inserted" is the strongest term that can be applied to editors who lived in a time when to foist one's own elucubrations upon a deceased genius was an act of piety deserving praise. Some of the acts which were virtues in Job's days have assumed a different aspect in ours, but good intentions can never be censured.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception, of course, of the few passages that have been wholly suppressed and lost.



dialogue; many have defined it to be a genuine drama, while not a few enthusiastically aver that it is the only epic poem ever written by the Hebrews.

In truth, it partakes of the nature of each and every one of these categories, and is yet circumscribed by the laws and limits of none of them. In form, it is most nearly akin to the drama, with which we should be disposed wholly to identify it, if the characters of the Prologue and Epilogue were introduced as *dramatis personæ* in action, instead of having their doing and enduring recorded as accomplished facts, inserted merely as the foil to the dialogues, which constitute the pith and substance of the poem. Perhaps the least erroneous way to describe it succinctly would be to call it a psychological drama.

The author, whom for convenience's sake I shall identify in the following pages with his hero, was in sober truth one of the greatest poets of all time, gifted in a supreme degree—

"To see a world in a grain of sand,  
And a heaven in a wild flower."

As some people descry pretty pictures in crystals, he beholds faery visions in the everyday sights of Nature, and hears ghostly symphonies in the wild weird music of the tempest, which awaken responsive echoes in his soul. His work teems with breeding imagery, and his fancies are richly interwoven with the spoils won in its highest flights by the infantine science of his time. Goethe, who bestowed upon him the flattery of imitation, found nothing to add to his realistic description of the misery of man, nor Buffon to his picture of the steed.

So marvellous is his creative power, so intensely vivid and life-like the figures he depicts and the story he narrates, that mankind may well be pardoned for having mistaken a work of imagination for a biography and a literary type for a man of flesh and blood. The Second Council of Constantinople was so entirely possessed by this feeling, that it solemnly censured Theodore of Mopsuestia for describing the poem as a work of fiction; and the eminent French ecclesiastic to whom, in the first instance, M. Renan was mainly indebted for his knowledge of Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> was of opinion that the "Patriarch" Job, while suffering from the worst form of elephantiasis, and groaning on a dunghill, had the frenzy of poet, so strong upon him, that he replied to the taunts of his "friends" not merely in poetic language, but in polished Hebrew verses. These and analogous views are intelligible when we remember that the Roman Martyrology has gone further, and inserted Job's name in the bead-roll of saints now in Paradise, and that the Roman Catholic Church celebrates his feast on the 10th of May, while Greek Christians offer up their prayers to him on the sixth day of the month of flowers.

<sup>1</sup> The Abbé Le Hir.

The question when and where the poet lived and wrote has been answered in a score of different ways, and decided in none. To many he is the last of the venerable race of patriarchs, and his versé the sweet, sublime lisp of a childlike nature, disporting itself in the glorious morning of the world.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is but a pretty fancy, which will not stand the ordeal of scientific criticism, nor even the test of a careful common-sense examination. The broader problems that interest thinking minds, the profounder feelings and more ambitious aspirations of manhood and maturity, are writ large in every verse of the poem. The lyre gives out true, full notes, which there is no mistaking. Others, viewing "Job" from a wholly different angle of vision, and looking up to him as an inspired prophet, doubt not that they

"Hear the voice of the bard,  
Who present, past, and future sees;  
Whose ears have heard  
The Ancient Word  
That walked among the silent trees."

Whatever we may think of this view, which belongs exclusively to the domain of the theologian, all competent critics are at one in affirming that the Poem of Job is one of the noblest creations of mature and conscious art, not the sweet babbling of simple nature, recorded when the human race was young; that it belongs to the golden age of Hebrew literature, which coincides with the latter half of the eighth century B.C., and was written by a Jew,<sup>2</sup> who, in order to deaden the force of the shock which his bold views, and still bolder language, were calculated to inflict upon his co-religionists, selected his hero outside the people of Israel.

On the plot itself—the framework of the poem—the author bestowed no more attention than Shakespeare devoted to the geography and history of his dramas. Like most Oriental apologues, it lacks cohesion and verisimilitude, and makes almost as large demands upon the indulgence of its readers as the play of Pyramus and Thisbe, made upon the forbearance of its hearers. We cannot repress a smile when, after having listened to Job's powerful indictment of Jehovah,

<sup>1</sup> One of the grounds for this opinion is the absolute ignorance of the Mosaic law manifested by the author of Job. The line of reasoning is, that he must have been either a Jew—and in that case have lived before, or simultaneously with, Moses—or else an Arab, like his hero, and have written the work in Arabic, Moses himself probably doing it into Hebrew. To a Hebrew scholar this sounds as plausible as would the thesis to one well versed in Greek, that the Iliad was but a translation from the Sanscrit. The Talmud now makes Job a contemporary of David and Solomon, now wholly denies his existence. Jerome and some Roman Catholic theologians of to-day identify the author of the poem with Moses himself—a view in favour of which not a shred of argument can be adduced. Cf. Loisy, "Le Livre de Job." Paris, 1892, p. 37. Reuss, "Hiob." Braunschweig, 1888, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Reuss, *op. cit.* p. 17 *folg.* It is probable that the poet belonged to the Kingdom of Israel, and composed "Job" after its destruction by the Assyrians, 721 B.C. This is Reuss's view.

who punishes the just and allows the wicked to nestle in the lap of luxury, we hear Jehovah Himself rebuking the three friends, because "ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, *as my servant Job hath.*" And we are bewildered rather than satisfied when, at the conclusion of the wild complaining of the spokesman of humanity, the thin self-complacent conventionalities of his "friends," and the forensic sarcasms of Jehovah, we note that Job's disease instantaneously vanishes from the poet's memory, his former wealth is doubled, his deceased offspring are replaced by seven sons and three daughters, and a further spell of one hundred and forty years allotted him in which to enjoy this new-found bliss—in a word, when the terrible tragedy that opened in thunder and lightnings, winds up with the sounds of merrymaking and singing to the accompaniment of pastoral pipes.

The problem which underlies the poem, insoluble at the present day, was calculated to drive thoughtful men mad, or compel them to seek death, in an age when the notion of a life beyond the grave had not yet assumed the shape even of a pious hope. The formula adopted by the Hebrew poet was naturally moulded and fashioned by the prevailing religious beliefs of his time and country:—How are we to reconcile the unmerited sufferings of upright and honest men with the boasted justice of an Almighty God who, while professing to recompense truth, manliness, and clean living with health, worldly weal, a numerous issue, and a long life, yet causes the evil, which somehow leavens His creation, to smite the good man oftener than the bad. He Himself wields the instrument of suffering and death, and wields it without discrimination or ruth, nay, seemingly with a sort of cruel pleasure.

"He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked  
When His scourge slayeth at unawares.  
He laugheth at the trial of the innocent;  
The earth is delivered into the hands of the wicked."

"Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea wax mighty in strength?" asks the poet. The reply that the fathers, having eaten sour grapes, the children's teeth will be set on edge; is no answer to the objection; it merely complicates and intensifies it. For he who sows should reap, and he who sins should suffer. After death the most terrible punishment meted out to the offspring of criminals is powerless to affect their mouldering dust. That, surely, cannot be accepted as a vindication of justice.

"Ye say: God hoards His punishment for the children.  
Let Him rather requite the wicked himself that he may feel it!  
His own eyes should behold his downfall,  
And he himself should drain the Almighty's wrath."

“If his sons be honoured, he will not know it;  
 And if disgraced, he will not perceive it.  
 Only in his own flesh doth he feel pain,  
 And for his own soul will he lament.”

The religious notions of Job's contemporaries, in whom ethical monotheism was fast ousting the petty religious nationalism that had theretofore characterised them, were peculiar. Firm believers in the doctrine of retribution, they implicitly put the general weal in the scales against individual pain, and yet expressly declared personal suffering the meet and inevitable wage for individual wrong-doing. Job himself apparently accepted the first part of this teaching until his friends, applying the second principle to his own case, inferred his guilt from his misery. It was then that he opened his eyes to the fact that the current theories of traditional theology, were disembodied, not really incarnate in the order of the world, had, in fact, nowhere taken root. But even admitting that a sort of wholesale justice was administered, which was a very large assumption, why must the individual suffer for no fault of his own? Wherefore does it come to pass that, by a sweep of the wild hurricane of national disaster, “green leaves with yellow mixed are torn away”?

In truth, there was but one satisfactory issue out of the difficulty: divine justice, like other attributes of God, might not be bounded by time or space; the law of compensation might have a larger field than our earth for its arena; another life might right the wrongs of this, and all end well in the best of future worlds. This solution would have settled the matter for at least two thousand years. It was the only one conceivable, and so necessary to the vitality of religion that, to paraphrase Voltaire's saying, “If it were not a fact it would have had to be invented.” This was so obvious to the fathers and theologians of the Catholic Church that they actually put the words into Job's mouth which he would have uttered if he had been a Christian, and they effected this with a pious recklessness of results that speaks better for their intentions than for their æsthetic taste. In truth, Job knows absolutely nothing of a future life, and his friends, equally ignorant on the subject, see nothing for it but to talk wickedly for Jehovah, and “contend for God by lies.” There was no third course. Indeed, if Job or his friends had even suspected the possibility of this solution, the problem on which the book is founded would not have existed. To base, therefore, the doctrines of the Resurrection, the Atonement, &c., upon the Poem of Job is tantamount to inferring the squareness of a circle from its perfect rotundity. In the authorised version of the Bible the famous passage, which has probably played a more important part in the intellectual history of mankind than all the Books of the Old Testament put together, runs thus: “For I know *that* my Redeemer liveth, and *that* he shall stand at the latter *day* upon the earth: And *though* after my skin worms

destroy this *body*, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; *though* my reins be consumed within me.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, this is not a translation of the text of Job, but the expression of the excellent beliefs of well-intentioned theologians, momentarily forgetful of the passage: “Will ye speak wickedly for God?” The Christian conception of a Redeemer would, had he but known it, have proved balm to the heart of the suffering hero. As a matter of mere fact, his own hope was less sublime, and very much less Christian: the coming of an avenger who would punish his enemies and rehabilitate his name. The typical perfect man, spurned by his friends, alone in his misery, doomed to a horrible death, and, worse than all, condemned as a vulgar criminal, gives his friends and enemies, society and theologians, the lie emphatic—nay, he goes the length of affirming that God Himself has wronged him. “Know, then, that God hath wronged me.”<sup>2</sup> His conscience, however, tells him that a time will come when the truth will be proclaimed and his honour fully vindicated; Jehovah will then yearn for the work of His hands, but it will be too late, “For now I must lay myself down in the dust; and Thou shalt seek me, but I shall not be.” It is to this conviction that the hero gives utterance in the memorable passage in question:

“But I know that my avenger liveth,  
Though it be at the end upon my dust;  
My witness will avenge these things,  
And a curse alight upon mine enemies.”

He knows nothing whatever of the subsistence of any shadow of our cumbrous clods of clay after they have become the food of worms and pismires; indeed, he is absolutely certain that by the sleep of death

“We end  
The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks  
That flesh is heir to.”

And he emphasises his views in a way that should have given pause to his commentators.

“There is a future for the tree,  
And hope remaineth to the palm:  
Cut down, it will sprout anew,  
And its tender branch will not cease.

“Though its roots wax old in the earth  
And its stock lie buried in mould,  
Yet through vapour of water will it bud,  
And put forth boughs like a plant.

“But man dieth and lieth outstretched;  
He giveth up the ghost, and where is he?”

<sup>1</sup> Job xix. 25-27. The Revised Version gives the passage as follows: “But I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth: And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself. And mine eyes shall behold, and not another.” <sup>2</sup> V. 170<sup>o</sup>.

Man lieth down and riseth not;  
Till heaven be no more he shall not awake."<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could well be further removed from the comforting hope of a future life, the resurrection of the body, and eternal rewards, than this cheerless conviction of the author of Job. Applying to mankind the beautiful epigram of Rufinus, he might have summarised his philosophy in the words:

*“ἀνθρώεις καὶ λήγεις καὶ οὐ καὶ ὁ στίφανος.”*

In order to bring out in strong relief the salient features of the problem, the artist lavishes his colours with ungrudging hand. Job was not merely well-to-do and contented; he was the happiest mortal that had ever walked the earth in his halcyon days, and the most hopelessly wretched during his ordeal.

But though wont to fill up his cup with the wine of life, “pressing all that it yields of mere vintage,” he was anything but an egotist. The broad stream of his sympathy goes out towards all his fellows, nay, to all things animate and inanimate. The sheep, the lion, the eagle, and the oxen are his comrades, the fire and the wind his kinsmen. Even for his worst enemies he had no curse, nor did he ever delight in their merited misfortunes. Indeed so blameless and upright was his life, so completely had he eschewed even heart-sins, that he might have carried windows in his breast that all should see what was being done within.

In accordance with the retribution-theory then in vogue, Job had amply merited his good fortune, and might have reasonably expected to enjoy it to the end of a long life, which for him was the end of everything. In fact he had no longer much reason to dread the drifting of clouds of sorrow to darken his genial sunshine, for he had already lived to a ripe age, and was possessed of thousands of head of cattle, thousands of camels, had his quiver full of arrows, and was “the greatest of all the children of the East.” But no promises of theologians can hinder the worm from finding the blushing rose’s “bed of crimson joy,” or adversity from crushing the just man. Job’s wealth and happiness vanished as suddenly as the smile on the face of an infant, and in a twinkling he was changed into a perfect type of the most wretched of human beings. By one of those peculiar ornamental miracles which occur only in Oriental fiction, in a single day his 400 yoke of oxen were seized by the Sabæans, his 7000 scattered sheep were consumed by lightning, his 3000 camels were driven away by Chaldæans, and his children killed by the falling of a house. Being but human, Job’s soul is harrowed up by grief; but as behoves a true son of God, he endures it like a man, although not borne up by the knowledge that he is merely undergoing a probation, playing a part as the champion of

<sup>1</sup> Job vv. 125, 126, 127 of my English translation.

his Creator. On occasion, Jehovah boasts a second time of His servant Job to the "adversary,"<sup>1</sup> who, lawyer-like, clings tenaciously to his own narrow view that selfish motives are at the bottom of all good deeds. "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth Thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will renounce Thee to Thy face. And the Lord said unto the adversary: Behold he is in thine hand; only spare his life." Whereupon he was smitten with the most loathsome disease known in the East, which together with moral suffering and utter abandonment besieged him, "even to the gates and inlets of his life." But firm and manful, with strength nurtured by the witness of his own conscience, he maintains the citadel unconquered, refusing to open the portals to Jehovah Himself.

Nothing can subdue Job, not even the fruits of the diabolical refinement of the "adversary," who, having permission to slay all the hero's kith and kin, spares his spouse, lest misery should harbour any possibilities unrealised.

At last three of Job's friends come from the uttermost ends of the land to visit and console him. Travelling over enormous distances, and setting out from opposite points of the compass, they all contrive to reach the sufferer at the same moment; and at the sight of the deformed and loathsome figure of their friend are all three struck dumb with grief. Without any previous consultation among themselves, they sit silent and sad for seven days and seven nights, gazing with fascinated horror on the misshapen figure on the dunghill. This manifestation of friendship unmans the hero whose fortitude had been proof against the most cruel physical and moral suffering; he utterly breaks down, "fills with woes the passing wind," and curses his fate. Awe at first keeps him from censuring God; truthfulness from condemning himself. He cannot understand why he suffers, if there be any truth in the traditional doctrine of unfailing retribution upon earth; for he has certainly done everything to merit happiness and nought to deserve punishment. Society, however, is there in the person of his friends to dispel this illusion. They hold a brief for the cut-and-dried theology of the day which tells them that in Job there was a reservoir of guilt and sin filling up from youth to age, which now, no longer able to hold its loathsome charge, burst and overwhelmed, in the shape of misery, their friend and his family. They play their parts admirably, at first softly stroking, as it were, the beloved friend, as if to soothe his pain, and then vigorously rubbing the salt in the gaping wounds of the groaning victim.

The campaign is opened mildly by Eliphaz, a firm believer in the spooks and spectres of borderland, who assures his friend that no really innocent human being ever died as Job seems to be dying, and gently

<sup>1</sup> Who is not by any means identical with the Devil of Christian Churches, has indeed scarcely more in common with that personage than with the Titans.

reminds him that "affliction shooteth not from the dust, neither doth trouble sprout up from the ground." Job replies, accentuating his innocence and pouring forth his plaints in "wild words;" for he asks not for mercy, but only justice—nay, he is magnanimous enough to be content with even less, for he only demands of Jehovah

"that it would please Him to destroy me,  
That He would let go His hand and cut me off."

This prayer not having been granted, suicide itself, the "open door" of the Stoics, invited him temptingly in, but he withstood the temptation :

"My soul would have chosen strangling,  
And death by mine own resolve.  
Yet I spurned it : for I shall not live for ever."

There is a healthy human whole-heartedness about all that Job says and does that raises him high above the ideal Stoic—nay, above the honest Cynic of old. The breeze of human nature is constantly stirring in the depths of his soul, scattering kindness and honesty and manfulness like fragrance around him. He fights the battle of man as it was never fought before or after in history or fable. The very Titans dwindle to shadows by his side. When God, in the person of His theologians, assures Job that he is and must be a sinner, he gives them the lie and beseeches Jehovah to bear publicly witness to his innocence. When no voice responds to his appeal, and this silence seems to enlist God on the side of his enemies, he does not hesitate to attack Jehovah Himself, now by bitterly satirical sallies, now by the plainest of plain speaking.

Take, for instance, his admirable parody of one of the Psalms in which occurs the verse : "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that Thou visitest him? For Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour."<sup>1</sup> Job's version of that, which immediately follows his desire for death and temptation to kill himself, runs :

"What is man that Thou shouldst magnify him,  
And that Thou shouldst set Thine heart upon him ;  
That Thou shouldst visit him every morning,  
And try him every moment ?"

Or the commencement of his reply to the edifying Bildad, who has been trying to show that every man who suffers must be a sinner, for God is just here below :

"I know it is so of a truth ;  
For how should man be in the right against God ?"

Or his speech to Jehovah, in which he says :

"As a lion Thou huntest me who am soaked in misery,  
And showest Thyself marvellous upon me."

<sup>1</sup> Psalm viii. 4, 5.



He tries to shame Jehovah by bringing out in strong relief the infinite inequality between Him and His victim in the following verse :

“ Man that is born of a woman,  
 Poor in days and rich in trouble :  
 He cometh forth like a flower and fadeth,  
 He fleeth as a shadow and abideth not.  
 And upon such an one dost Thou open Thine eyes !  
 And bringest him into judgment with Thee ! ”

What could be more bitter than his advice to Jehovah, who has not come forward to give witness in his favour, to keep the proofs of his innocence hidden and to go on discrediting him :

“ Hold still my pledge in Thy keeping,  
 Who, then, will be my voucher ?  
 He giveth up His friends as a prey,  
 And the eyes of His children must pine away. ”

Plain speaking is quite as frequent as irony and sarcasm :

“ For Thou inquirest after mine iniquity,  
 And searchest after my sin,  
 Though *Thou knowest* that I am not wicked,  
 And that there is none who can deliver me out of Thine hand. ”

Jehovah “ destroyeth the perfect and the wicked ” ; “ He laugheth at the trial of the innocent ” ; “ the earth is delivered into the hands of the wicked ” ; “ they that provoke God are secure ” ; in a word, there are no signs anywhere of a moral order in the universe. Frankness of this kind demands a rare degree of courage, and it is only because Job cares nothing for his life that he ventures upon it :

“ My soul is aweary of life,  
 I will let loose my complaint against God.

Let come upon me what will  
 I shall take my life in my teeth,  
 And put my soul in mine hand.  
 So let Him kill me—I cherish hope no more ;  
 But I *will* show Him my way before His face. ”

In one place Job, like a modern and very different hero of fiction, dares look Jehovah in

“ His everlasting face, and tell Him that  
 His evil is not good. ”

He refuses to abide by the apparent decision of God, not because he doubts that it is a divine ukase ; of this he is as certain as his friends, but by reason of its inherent injustice. His boldness is fascinating, for it is essentially moral. The bounds of his ethical horizon were incomparably farther apart than those of his friends and of the puling pigmies that came after him and struck out and distorted some of the most brilliant passages of the poem lest they should offend the

squeamishness of a new and nervous generation. Job's conscience told him that his life had been pure, and he believed its testimony in the teeth of Jehovah's emphatic practical denial.

“Far be it from me to agree with you ;  
Till I die I will not surrender my integrity !  
My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go.  
My heart doth not censure any one of my days.”<sup>1</sup>

Like a nobler Prometheus, like Blake's pure soul, he mounted on native wings,

“And cut a path into the heaven of glory,  
Leaving a track of light for men to wonder at.”

Job's final reply, delivered after the last of the three friends had finished his third speech, and replete with reminiscences of his past happy life, is less defiant than any of his preceding discourses. He inhales an atmosphere of soothing melancholy that softens and subdues his wild passion as he wanders through the necropolis of buried hopes and fears. The vibration of past efforts and of deeds long since done, trembling along his tortured frame, causes even saddest thoughts to blend with sweet sensations. Scarcely has he finished speaking when Jehovah suddenly appears in a whirlwind, and the heart of the clouds is cloven by a voice of thunder startling the silent air. Job fell before His feet

“A mass,  
No man now.”

But the Master does not soothe His servant's suffering, or quiet the tumult of his soul, but strenuously endeavours to overawe him. By way of solving the moral problems proposed by His victim, He seeks to silence him with cosmological puzzles. The spirit of the first portion of His reply differs but little from that of Lucifer to Cain :

“Poor clay !  
And thou pretendest to be wretched ! Thou !”

Jehovah knows no more about the future life for mankind, the Resurrection, the Atonement, &c., than Job and his friends. No *dénouement* could possibly be more impressive than the enunciation of some such doctrine by Jehovah were it only as a rainbow of hope to bridge the terrible abyss. But He too is silent, and His approval of Job's words lends colour to His belief in the finality of death. At all events, after having plied His servant with a series of provokingly ironical questions, He deigns to bear witness to his blameless life, reproves the narrow-minded friends, and leaves the vital question more entangled than He had found it.

Job's submission, however, was instantaneous, although not warranted by anything said by Jehovah in answer to the eternal objections :

<sup>1</sup> V. 231.

why, if He be a moral God, must the just suffer undeservedly; and why, if He be omnipotent, does He give life to the seared in soul?

“Why gives He light to the afflicted?  
And life unto the bitter in soul?”

It was the result partly of Jehovah's witness to Job's blameless life, and partly of the awe caused by His presence:

“In such high hour of visitation from the living God,  
Thought was not.”

Job was in possession of truth as of a city, and was yet forced to surrender. The ways of God are inscrutable is the gist of Jehovah's reply, which is merely a modified restatement of Job's own objections. Why should they be? Why must His justice and mercy differ in kind from ours, and yet be characterised by epithets which differ only in degree? No doubt there is another and a mystic way of interpreting God's discourse; His human creatures should trust in Him who watches over the birds of the air and the beasts of the fields; for, as the mother understands her dumb child, so God sees the needs of His servants. But to our intellectual stature these pious maxims do not add one cubit.

Jahveh's sole discourse followed by Job's single reply concludes the metrical portion of the work. The Epilogue, written in prose, tells us how the hero received all his riches back with twofold increase, became the happy father of seven sons and three daughters, and lived in bliss for one hundred and forty years more—a meet and ample reward, according to the theology of the time, for unexampled human virtue. As for future recompenses, the lesson emphatically taught by the author of the poem is that there are none. He is not content with implying that

“No word comes from the dead;  
Whether at all they be,  
Or whether as bond or free,  
Or whether they too were we,  
Or by what spell they have sped,”

but like the genial Nihilistic poet of Arabia, Abou'l ala, he taught that “Time breaketh us; his blows shatter us, yea, pound us to powder. But unlike the shivered glass, we shall never again be remoulded.”

Probably no portion of the Old Testament has come down to us in so corrupt a condition as the Book of Job. Parts of it are jumbled together for all the world as if they had been written on small scraps of paper which, the wind having blown them asunder, were joined again together at haphazard. Speaking in the light of the important discoveries of Professor Bickell, who has devoted the best years of his life to its study, we may lay it down that the disfiguring changes which the work has undergone have a twofold source: deliberate

attempts to blunt the sharp edge of the author's criticism, and render the poem palatable to Jewish orthodoxy, by means of considerable excisions and still more considerable interpolations; and the removal of later glosses from the margin of the MSS. to the text, in consequence of the carelessness of copyists. The dates of these alterations vary considerably; some of the most important of them had been effected in the Hebrew original before the poem was first done into Greek by the LXX; others were introduced later on. The latter category would naturally be lacking in the Septuagint version which, had it come down to us in the condition in which it left the translators' hands, would have materially furthered the work of restoration. Unfortunately Origen, acting upon the gratuitous assumption that the missing passages had formed part and parcel of the original text, and were omitted by the translators because they failed to understand their meaning, took them from Theodotion and inserted them in the LXX version, merely distinguishing them by means of asterisks. These distinctive marks disappeared, partially or wholly, in the course of time, and at the present moment we possess but five manuscripts in which they are to some extent preserved.<sup>1</sup>

Until recently it was generally taken for granted by Biblical scholars that there were no MSS. or versions extant in the world in which the text of the Septuagint version—without the supplementary passages—was preserved. One day my friend, Professor Bickell, while sauntering about Monte Pincio with the late Coptic Bishop, Agapios Bsciai, was informed by this dignitary that he had found and transcribed a wretched manuscript of the Saidic version of Job in the Library of the Propaganda. Hearing that numerous passages were wanting in the newly discovered codex, Professor Bickell surmised that this "defective" translation might possibly contain the Septuagint text without the later additions, and having studied it at the bishop's house saw his surmise changed to certainty. The late Professor Lagarde of Göttingen then applied for, and received, permission to edit this precious find; but owing to the desire of the Pope that an undertaking of this importance should be carried out by an ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic Church, Lagarde's hopes were dashed at the eleventh hour, and Monsignor Ciasca, to whom the task was confided, accomplished all that can reasonably be expected from zeal and industry when unsupported by the learning and ingenuity which characterised his rival.

The Saidic version, therefore, as embodying an earlier stage of development of the Book of Job than any we have heretofore possessed, is one of the most serviceable of the instruments employed in restoring the Poem to its primitive form. It frequently enables us to eliminate passages which rendered the text absolutely incomprehensible, and at other times supplies us with a reading which, while differing from

<sup>1</sup> Two Greek, two Latin, and one Syriac MSS.

that of the Massoretic manuscripts, is obviously the more ancient and intelligible.

Another and still more important discovery, the honour of which likewise belongs to Professor Bickell, whose name will be indissolubly associated with the reconstruction of the finest poem of the world, enables us to deal with a much earlier phasis of the work than is reached by the Saidic version. I allude to the twofold discovery of the structure of Hebrew metre on the one hand and of the fact that the main portions of Job—the colloquies between the hero, his friends, and Jehovah—everything in fact except the Prologue and the Epilogue—are in verse. This, it must be pointed out, does not mean, as was heretofore supposed, a kind of “furious prose,” containing an irregular and ever-varying number of syllables, in which it might be shown, with a little goodwill, that the orations of Tully were written. The circumstance that the regularity of Hebrew verse is almost mathematical, invests the work of reconstruction accomplished by the aid of this further instrument with an authority which many people are still disposed to refuse to the least doubtful results of ordinary Biblical criticism.

The laws of Hebrew metre are identical with those of Syriac poetry, the unit being the line, the syllables of which are numbered and accentuated, the line most frequent containing seven syllables with iambic rhythm. Accentuated syllables alternate regularly with unaccentuated, whereby the penultimate always has the accent; and the poetic accent invariably coincides with the grammatical, as in Syriac poetry and Greek verse of early Christian times, the structure of which was borrowed from the Syriac. Compare, for instance, the following:—

Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον  
 Τὸν ἐπουράνιον τίκτει·  
 Καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπῆλαιον  
 Τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ παρέχει·

with a strophe from Job:—

Shamáti khéllä rábbot :  
 Menáchme 'hámal koól khem.  
 Haqétz ledíberé rooch ?  
 Mah-yámritzkhá, kée táhnä ?

Another important peculiarity of the strophes, which in the Poem of Job consist exclusively of four lines each, is the so-called parallelism: the first and second lines expressing two slight modifications of the same thought, the third and fourth running in like manner parallel.

A judicious use of these data enables us to restore the Poem of Job to its primitive form, as Professor Bickell shows in his “*Kritische Bearbeitung des Iobdialogs*,” which will see the light in a few days. Thus the four hundred verses lacking in the original Greek translation of the LXX naturally fall away as later insertions. Elihu’s

discourse is likewise an interpolation. Common sense, unaided by any critical apparatus, amply suffices to put this beyond all doubt. Elihu's name is not mentioned in the Prologue among the *dramatis personæ*; he is never once alluded to in the course of the discussion by any of the speakers, and when Jehovah appears in the end and gives to each actor his due, Elihu is absolutely ignored. Nay, it is evident that when Jehovah's discourse was written, the poet knew nothing whatever of this fourth friend, for at the conclusion of his pretentious speech, Jehovah at once addresses all present in a form of words which implies that Job was the last speaker, and has only that instant terminated his reply. This fact alone should be conclusive. But, besides all this, Elihu's style is *toto caelo* different from that of the other parts of the poem: artificial, vague, rambling, prosaic, and characterised by Aramaic idioms which are absent elsewhere in the poem. Moreover, if Elihu had indeed formed one of the *dramatis personæ* of the original work, his rôle is not dubious; he must be the wise man according to the author's heart. This he is or nothing. And yet, if he were really this, we should have the curious spectacle of the poet developing at great length an idea which runs directly counter to the fundamental conception underlying the work. For Elihu declares Job's sufferings to be a just punishment for sins; whereas the author and Jehovah Himself regard him as the type of the just man and his misery as a short and exceptional probation. Evidently Elihu is the creation of some second-rate writer and first-rate theologian awkwardly wedged into the poem, perhaps three or four centuries later, and certainly before the work was first translated into Greek.

The disturbance introduced into the text by this insertion is but a specimen of the inextricable tangle which resulted from the endeavours of later and pious editors to reduce the poem to the proper level of propriety. Another instance is to be found in Job's reply to the third discourse of Bildad, in two passages of which the hero completely and deliberately gives away the case which he had been theretofore so warmly defending, and accepts—to reject it later as a matter of course—the doctrine of retribution.<sup>1</sup> Now, on the one hand, if we remove these verses, Job's speech becomes perfectly coherent and consistent, and the description of Wisdom falls naturally into its place; but, on the other hand, we have no reason whatever to call their authenticity in question. The solution of this difficulty is that Zophar who, in our versions, speaks but twice, really spoke three times, like his colleagues, and that these stray verses formed the main body of his last discourse.<sup>2</sup>

Among the passages which the difference of metrical structure

<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 8-10, 14-23.

<sup>2</sup> The order of the passages is as follows: xxviii. 2, 4-6, 11-12; xxviii. 1-3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>b</sup>-10<sup>a</sup>, 20-21<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>b</sup>-25, 27-28; xxvii. 7-10, 14-18<sup>a</sup>, 19<sup>a</sup>-20; xxix. 1-9, &c.

compels us to eliminate are all the tristichs of chapters xxiv. and xxx. I shall discuss severally the other instances of elimination and 'transposition' when republishing this article in the form of a book; for the moment I trust that a comparison of the present text with that incorporated in our Bible will carry conviction to the minds of every unbiassed reader.

E. J. DILLON.

<sup>1</sup> Including Jehovah's description of the hippopotamus and the crocodile which find places in our Authorised and Revised Versions (xl. and xli.).

1.

J O B :

Would the day had perished where-  
in I was born,  
And the night which said: a man-  
child is conceived!  
Would that God on high had not  
called for it,  
And that light had not shone upon  
it!

2.

Would that darkness and gloom had  
claimed it for their own;  
Would that clouds had hovered over  
it;  
Would it never had been joined to  
the days of the year,  
Nor entered into the number of the  
months!

3.

Would that that night had been  
barren,  
And that rejoicing had not come  
therein;  
That they had cursed it who curse  
the days,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the magicians by means of incantations.

That the stars of its twilight had  
waxed dim!

4.

Would it had yearned for light but  
found none,  
Nor beheld the eye-lids of the  
morning dawn!  
For it closed not the door of my  
mother's womb,  
Nor hid sorrow from mine eyes.

5.

Why died I not straight from the  
womb?  
Why, having come out of the belly,  
did I not expire?  
Why did the knees meet me?  
And why the breasts, that I should  
'suck'?

6.

For then should I have lain still  
and been quiet;  
I should have slept and now had  
been at rest  
With the kings and counsellors of  
the earth,  
Who built desolate places for them-  
selves;

7.

Or with princes, once rich in gold,

Who filled their houses with silver.  
I should be as being not, as an hid-  
den untimely birth,  
Like infants which never saw the  
light!

8.

There the wicked cease from trou-  
bling,  
And there the weary be at rest ;  
There the prisoners repose together,  
Nor hear the taskmaster's voice.

Why gives He light to the afflicted ?  
And life unto the bitter in soul ?  
Who yearn for death, but it cometh  
not,  
And dig for it more than for buried  
treasures ?

10.

Hail to the man who hath found a  
grave !  
Then only hath God hedged him  
in.<sup>1</sup>  
For sighing is become my bread,  
And my crying is unto me as water.

11.

For the thing I feared cometh upon  
me,  
And that I trembled at befalleth  
me.  
I am not in safety, neither have I  
rest ;  
Nor quiet, but trouble cometh  
always.

12.

ELIPHAZ :

Behold, thou hast instructed many,  
Thy words have upholden him that  
was stumbling.  
Now hath thine own turn come,  
And thou thyself art worried and  
troubled.

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to Satan's remark, chap. i. 10:  
"Hast not thou made a hedge about him,  
and about his house, and about all that  
he hath on every side?"

13.

Was not the fear of God thy con-  
fidence ?  
And the uprightness of thy ways  
thy hope ?  
Bethink, I pray thee, who ever  
perished,<sup>1</sup> guiltless ?  
Or where were the righteous cut  
off ?

14.

I saw them punished that plough  
iniquity,  
And them that sow sorrow reap the  
same ;  
By the blast of God they perish,  
And by the breath of His nostrils  
are they consumed.

15.

The roaring of the lion, and the  
voice of the fierce lion,<sup>2</sup>  
And the teeth of the young lions,  
are broken ;  
The old lion perisheth for lack of  
prey,  
And the stout lion's whelps are  
scattered abroad.

16.

Now a word was wafted unto me by  
stealth,<sup>3</sup>  
And mine ear received the whisper  
thereof ;

<sup>1</sup> This implies that Job, if he indeed  
be the upright man he was theretofore  
taken for, will not be allowed to *perish*  
in his present miserable state, however  
much he may have to suffer.

<sup>2</sup> Supply the words: "are silenced."  
This is an instance of so-called "econ-  
omical parallelism." I regard this verse  
as a later insertion; and merely a desire  
to leave Prof. Bickell's text unchanged  
on its first appearance before the public  
has induced me to give it a place in my  
translation.

<sup>3</sup> The prophetic vision which Eliphaz  
now describes is relied upon by him as  
the sanction for his whole discourse. To  
his seeming, it is a direct revelation from  
God.



In thoughts from the visions of the  
night  
When deep sleep falleth upon man.

17.

Fear came upon me and trembling,  
Which made all my bones to shake.  
Then a spirit sped before my face ;  
The hair of my flesh bristled up.

18.

It<sup>1</sup> stood, but I could not discern its  
form,  
I heard a gentle voice :—  
“ Shall a mortal be more just than  
God ?  
Shall a man be more pure than his  
Maker ?

19.

Behold, in His servants He puts no  
trust,—  
Nay, His angels He chargeth with  
folly ;—  
How much less in the dwellers in  
houses of clay,  
Whose<sup>2</sup> foundations are down in  
the dust.

20.

Between dawn and evening they are  
destroyed ;  
They perish and no man recketh.  
Is not their tent-pole torn up ?<sup>3</sup>  
And bereft of wisdom, they die.”

21.

Call now, if so be any will answer  
thee ;  
And to which of the angels<sup>4</sup> wilt  
thou turn ?

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the phantom.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the foundations of the human  
body which is a house of clay.

<sup>3</sup> The human body is likened to a tent  
of which the tent-pole is the breath of  
life : this gone, all that rested of the  
human being is the mouldering corpse.

<sup>4</sup> The sons of God, sons of the Elohim.  
*Cf.* Genesis vi. 4. There is no analogy

For his own wrath killeth the  
foolish man,  
And envy slayeth the silly one.

22.

His children are far from safety ;  
They are crushed, and there is none  
to save them.  
The hungry eateth up their harvest,  
And the thirsty swilleth their milk.

For affliction springeth not out of  
the dust,<sup>1</sup>  
Nor doth sorrow sprout up from  
the ground ;—  
For man is born unto trouble,  
Even as the sparks fly upward.

24.

But I would seek unto God,  
And unto God would I commit my  
cause,  
Who doth great things and un-  
fathomable,  
Marvellous things without number.

25.

He giveth rain unto the earth,  
And sendeth waters upon the fields ;  
To set up on high those that be low,  
That they who mourn may be helped  
to victory.

26.

He catcheth the wise in their own  
craftiness,  
And the counsel of the cunning is  
thwarted ;  
Wherefore they encounter darkness  
in the daytime,  
And at noonday grope as in the  
night.

between these sons of God and the angels  
or saints of Christianity. *Cf.* also Cheyne,  
“ Job and Solomon,” p. 81 ; Baudissin,  
Studien, II.

27.

The poor He delivereth from the  
 sword of their mouth,  
 And the needy out of the hand of  
 the mighty;  
 Thus the miserable man obtaineth  
 hope,  
 And iniquity stoppeth her mouth.

28.

Happy is the man whom God  
 correcteth;  
 Therefore spurn not thou the  
 chastening of the Almighty:  
 For He maketh sore and bindeth up;  
 He smiteth, and His hands make  
 whole.

29.

He shall deliver thee in six troubles,  
 Yea in seven there shall no evil  
 touch thee:—  
 In famine He shall redeem thee  
 from death,  
 And in war from the power of the  
 sword.

30.

Thou shalt be hid from the scourge  
 of the tongue,<sup>1</sup>  
 Neither shalt thou fear misfortune  
 when it cometh;  
 At destruction and famine thou  
 shalt laugh,  
 Nor shalt dread the beasts of the  
 earth.

31.

For thy tent shall abide in peace,  
 And thou shalt visit thy dwelling  
 and miss nought therein;  
 Thou shalt likewise know that thy  
 seed will be great  
 And thine offspring as the grass of  
 the earth.

32.

Thou shalt go down to thy grave in  
 the fulness of thy days,

<sup>1</sup> Calumny.

Ripe as a shock of corn brought  
 home in its season.  
 Mark this: even so have we found it.  
 Hear it and take it to heart.

33.

JOB:

Oh that my "wrath" were tho-  
 roughly weighed  
 And my woe laid against it in the  
 balances!  
 For it would prove heavier than the  
 sands of the sea;  
 Therefore are my words wild.

34.

For the arrows of the Almighty are  
 within me;  
 My spirit drinketh in the venom  
 thereof.  
 The terrors of God move against me,  
 He useth me like to an enemy.

35.

Doth the wild ass bray when he  
 hath grass?  
 Or loweth the ox over his fodder?  
 Would one eat things insipid without  
 salt?  
 Is there taste in the white of raw  
 eggs?

36.

Oh that I might have my request,  
 And that God would grant me the  
 thing I long for!  
 Even that it would please Him to  
 destroy me,  
 That He would let go His hand and  
 cut me off!

37.

Then should I yet have comfort,  
 Yea, I would exult in my relentless  
 pain.

For that, at least, would be my due  
from God,  
Since I have never resisted the  
words of the Holy One.

38.

What is my strength that I should  
hope?  
And what mine end that I should  
be patient?  
Is my strength the strength of  
stones?  
Or is my flesh of brass?

Am I not utterly bereft of help?  
And is not salvation driven wholly  
away from me?  
Is not pity the duty of the friend,  
Who, else, turneth away from the  
fear of God?

40.

My brethren have disappointed me  
as a torrent;  
They pass away as a stream of  
brooks,  
Which were blackish by reason of  
the ice,  
Wherein the snow hideth itself:

41.

The caravans of Tema sought for  
them;  
The companies of Sheba hoped for  
them;  
But when the sun warmed them  
they vanished;  
When it waxed hot they were con-  
sumed from their place.

42.

Did I say: bestow aught upon me?  
Or give a bribe for me of your sub-  
stance?

Or deliver me from the enemy's  
hand?  
Or redeem me from the hand of the  
mighty?

43.

Teach me and I will hold my  
tongue;  
And cause me to understand where-  
in I have erred.  
How sharp are your "righteous"  
words!  
But what doth your arguing  
reprove?

44.

Do ye imagine to rebuke words?  
But the words of the desperato are  
spoken to the wind.  
Will ye even assail me, the blame-  
less one?  
And harrow up your friend?

45.

But now vouchsafe to turn unto me,  
For surely I will not lie to your  
face.  
I pray you, return; let no wrong  
be done.  
Return, for justice abideth still  
within me.

46.

Is there iniquity in my tongue?  
Cannot my palate discern misfor-  
tunes?  
Hath not man warfare upon earth?<sup>1</sup>  
And are not his days like to those  
of a hireling?

47.

As a slave panting for the shade,  
and finding it not,  
As an hireling awaiting the wage  
for his work,

<sup>1</sup> Job endeavours to explain his mis-  
fortunes as the result of the universal lot  
of mankind rather than as a punishment  
for his own individual failings.

So to me months of sorrow are  
allotted,  
And wearisome nights are appointed  
to me.

48.

Lying down I exclaim: When shall  
I arise?  
And I toss from side to side till the  
dawning of the day;<sup>1</sup>  
My flesh is clothed with worms and  
clods of dust,  
My skin grows rigid and breaks up  
again.

49.

My days are swifter than a weaver's  
shuttle,  
And have come to an end without  
hope;<sup>2</sup>  
Remember, I pray, that my life is  
wind,  
That mine eye shall see good no  
more.

50.

As the cloud is dispelled and vanish-  
eth away,  
So he that goes down to the grave  
shall not come up again;  
He shall never return to his house,  
Neither shall his place know him  
any more.

51.

I too will not restrain my mouth,  
I will speak out in the bitterness  
of my soul.  
Am I a sea or a sea-monster,<sup>3</sup>  
That Thou settest a watch over  
me?

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to his sufferings at night from elephantiasis.

<sup>2</sup> Job feels that death is nigh.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, of the sea in the skies. According to Job's cosmography the earth is a vast round mass encircled by the ocean, roofed over by the vault of ethereal blue, which is massive and solid as the earth (xxxvii. 18), the whole resting on the void. There are two vast oceans—one round the earth, the source of which is

52.

When I say: "My bed shall  
comfort me,  
My couch shall ease my complaint;<sup>1</sup>  
Then Thou scarest me with dreams,  
And terrifiest me with visions.

53.

Then my soul would have chosen  
strangling,  
And death by my own resolve:  
But I spurned it, for I shall not live  
for ever;  
Let me be, for my days are a  
breath.

54.

What is man that Thou shouldst  
magnify him?  
And that Thou shouldst set Thine  
heart upon him?  
That Thou shouldst visit him every  
morning,  
And try him every moment?<sup>1</sup>

56.

Why dost Thou not rather pardon  
my misdeed,  
And take away mine iniquity?

deep down in the abyss; the other in the firmament, which contains reservoirs of hail, rain, and snow (xxxviii. 22, 23). He here alludes to the celestial ocean and to a myth respecting Jehovah's struggle with one of its monsters.

<sup>1</sup> The irony of these words addressed by Job to Jehovah would be deemed blasphemous in a poet like Byron or Shelley. As a matter of fact, they constitute a parody of Psalm viii. 5, as Mr. Cheyne has already pointed out ("Job and Solomon," p. 22).

For now I must lay myself down in  
the dust,  
And Thou shalt seek me, but I shall  
not be.

57.

BILDAD :

How long wilt thou utter these  
things,  
And shall the words of thy mouth  
be like a storm wind ?  
Doth God pervert judgment ?  
Or doth the Almighty corrupt  
justice ?

58.

If thou wouldst seek unto God,  
And make thy supplication to the  
Almighty,  
He would hear thy prayer,  
And restore the house of thy blame-  
lessness.

59.

For inquire, I pray thee, of the by-  
gone age,  
And give heed to the search of the  
forefathers ;<sup>1</sup>  
Shall they not teach thee,  
And utter words out of their heart ?

60.

Can the papyrus grow without  
marsh ?  
Can the Nile-reed shoot up without  
water ?  
Whilst still in its greenness uncut,  
It withereth before any herb.

61.

Such is the end of all that forget  
God,  
And even thus the hope of the im-  
pious shall perish,  
Whose confidence is as gossamer  
threads,  
And whose trust is as a spider's  
web.

<sup>1</sup> Job's radical views are evidently re-  
garded as innovations. He was not a  
traditionalist.

62.

For he leans upon his house,  
And has a firm footing to which he  
cleaves ;  
He is green in the glow of the sun,  
And his branch shooteth forth in  
his garden.

63.

But his roots are entangled in a  
heap of stones,  
And rocky soil keeps hold upon  
him ;  
It destroyeth him from his place,  
Then denying him saith : " I have  
not seen thee."

64.

Behold, this is the " joy " of his lot,  
And out of the dust shall others  
grow.  
Lo ! God will not cast out a perfect  
man,  
Neither will He take evil-doers by  
the hand.

65.

He will yet fill thy mouth with  
laughing  
And thy lips with rejoicing.  
They that hate thee shall be clothed  
with shame,  
And the tent of the wicked shall  
disappear.

66.

JOB :

I know it is so of a truth ;  
For how should man be in the right  
against God ?  
If he long to contend with Him,  
He cannot answer Him one of a  
thousand.

67.

Wise is He in heart and mighty in  
strength :  
Who could venture against Him and  
remain safe ?—

Against Him who moveth mountains and knoweth not  
That He hath overturned them in  
His anger.

68.

He shaketh the earth out of her  
place,  
And the inhabitants thereof quake  
with fear;  
He commandeth the sun and it  
riseth not,  
And He sealeth up the stars.<sup>1</sup>

69.

He alone spreadeth out the heavens,  
And treadeth upon the heights of  
the sea;  
He doth great things past finding  
out,  
Yea, and wonders without number.<sup>2</sup>

70.

Lo, He glideth by me and I see Him  
not;  
And He passeth on, but I perceive  
Him not.  
Behold, He taketh away, and who  
can hinder Him?  
Who will say unto Him: "What  
dost Thou?"

71.

God will not withdraw His anger;  
The very helpers of the sea-dragon<sup>3</sup>  
crouch under Him.  
How much less shall I answer  
Him,  
And choose out my words to argue  
with Him?

<sup>1</sup> The firmament, being a solid mass, has paths cut out along which the stars move in their courses, just as there are channels made for the clouds and rain. The process of sealing up the stars would therefore be natural and intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> In this there is evidently a touch of irony.

<sup>3</sup> Allusion to a myth.

I must make supplication unto His  
judgment,  
Who doth not answer me though I  
am righteous,  
Who would sweep me away with a  
tempest,  
And multiply my wounds without  
cause.

72.

He will not suffer me to take my  
breath,  
But filleth me with bitterness.  
If strength be aught, lo, He is strong,  
And if judgment, who shall arraign  
Him?

73.

Though I were just, my own mouth  
would condemn me;  
Though I were faultless, He would  
make me crooked.  
Faultless I am, I set life at naught;  
I spurn my being; therefore I speak  
out:—

74.

He destroyeth the upright and the  
wicked,  
When His scourge slayeth at un-  
awares.  
He scoffeth at the trial of the inno-  
cent:  
The earth is given into the hand of  
the wicked.<sup>1</sup>

75.

My days are swifter than a runner:  
They flee away; they have seen no  
good;  
They glide along like papyrus-boats,  
Like the eagle swooping upon its  
prey.

<sup>1</sup> Job acknowledges the omnipotence and omniscience of God, but declares his inability to find proofs of His goodness in the moral government of the world.

If I say: "I will forget my complaint,  
I will gladden my face and be cheerful";

Then I shudder at all my sorrows:  
I know Thou wilt not hold me guiltless.

78.

If I washed myself with snow,  
And cleansed my hands with lye,  
Thou wouldst plunge me in the ditch,  
So that mine own garments would loathe me.

79.

Would He were like unto myself,  
that I might answer Him,  
That we might come together in judgment!  
Would there were an umpire between us,  
Who might lay his hand upon us both!

80.

Let Him but withdraw from me His rod,  
And let not His dread terrify me;  
Then would I speak and not fear Him,  
For before myself I am not so.<sup>1</sup>

81.

My soul is awearry of life,  
I will let loose my complaint against God;  
I will say unto God: hold me not guilty;  
Show me wherefore Thou contendest with me.

82.

Is it meet that Thou shouldst oppress,

<sup>1</sup> In the light of my own conscience I am not an evil-doer.

Shouldst thrust aside the work of  
Thine hands?  
Seest Thou as man seeth?  
Are Thy days as the days of mortals?

83.

For Thou inquirest after mine iniquity,  
And searchest after my sin,  
Though Thou knowest that I am not wicked  
And that there is none who can deliver out of Thine hand.

84.

Thine hand hath made and fashioned me,  
And now hast Thou turned to destroy me;  
Remember, I pray Thee, that Thou hast formed me as clay:  
And now wilt Thou grind me to dust again?

Didst Thou not pour me out as milk,  
And curdle me like cheese?  
Hast Thou not clothed me with skin and flesh?  
And knitted me with bones and sinews?

85.

Thou enduedst me with life and grace;  
And Thy care hath cherished my spirit.  
And yet these things hadst Thou hid in Thy heart!  
I know that this was in Thee!

87.

Had I sinned, Thou wouldst have watched me,  
Nor wouldst have acquitted me of my wrongdoing.

Had I been wicked, woe unto me !  
And though righteous, I dare not to  
lift up my head.

88.

As a lion Thou huntest me, who am  
soaked in misery,  
And ever showest Thyself mar-  
vellous <sup>1</sup> against me !  
While I live, Thou smitest me ever  
anew,  
And lettest Thy wrath wax great  
against me.

89.

Wherefore, then, didst Thou bring  
me out of the womb ?  
Would I had then given up the  
ghost, and no eye had seen me,  
I should now be as though I had  
never been ;  
I had been borne from the womb  
to the grave.

90.

Are not the days of my life but few.  
So that He might let me be, while  
I take heart a little,  
Before I depart whence I shall not  
return :—  
To the land of darkness and of  
gloom ?

91.

ZOPHAR.

Shall the multitude of words be left  
unanswered ?  
And shall the prattler <sup>2</sup> be deemed  
in the right ?  
Should men hold their peace at thy  
babbling ?  
And when thou jeerest, shall none  
make thee ashamed ?

92.

But oh that God would speak,

<sup>1</sup> Ironical.<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* The man of lips.

And open His lips against thee,  
And that He would show thee the  
secrets of wisdom,  
That they are as marvels to the  
understanding !

93.

It <sup>1</sup> is high as heaven ; what canst  
thou do ?  
Deeper than hell ; what canst thou  
know ?  
The measure thereof is longer <sup>2</sup> than  
the earth,  
And broader than the ocean.

94.

For He knoweth men of deceit ;  
He seeth wickedness and needeth  
not to gauge it.  
Thus <sup>1</sup> the empty man gets under-  
standing,  
And the wild-ass' colt is born anew  
as man.

95.

If thou prepare thine heart,  
And stretch out thine hands towards  
Him,  
Then shalt thou lift up thy face,  
And in time of affliction be fearless.

96.

For then shalt thou forget thy  
misery,  
And remember it as waters that  
have passed away ;  
The darkness shall be as morning,  
And thine age shall be brighter  
than the noonday.

97.

Thou shalt be secure because there  
is hope,

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom.<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* His wisdom enables Him to discern the deceit of those who appear just, and the punishment which He deals them makes the result of His knowledge visible to the dullest comprehension.



Thou shalt look around and take  
thy rest in safety ;  
Thou shalt lie down and none shall  
startle thee.  
Yea, many shall make suit unto  
thee.

98.

But the eyes of the wicked shall  
fail,  
And refuge shall vanish from before  
them ;  
Their hope shall be the giving up of  
the ghost ;  
For with Him is wisdom and might.

99.

JOB.

No doubt but ye are clever people,  
And wisdom shall die with you ;  
I too have understanding as well  
as ye ;  
Just, upright is my way.

100.

He that is at ease scorneth the  
judgments of Shaddai.<sup>1</sup>  
His foot stands firm in the time of  
trial.  
The tents of robbers prosper,  
And they that provoke God are  
secure.

101.

But ask, I pray, the beasts  
And the fowls of the air, and they  
shall tell thee ;  
Or speak to the earth and it shall  
teach thee,  
And the fishes of the sea shall  
declare unto thee :—

<sup>1</sup> A name for God. Now follows the arraignment of the moral order of the universe by Job. The well-to-do, prosperous, sleek man laughs at God's judgment ; the tents of robbers (the Assyrians ?) prosper—but the just man is overtaken by the fate of Job, which should be reserved for the wicked.

102.

Is not the soul of every living thing  
in His hand,  
And the breath of all mankind ?  
Doth not the ear try words  
As the mouth tasteth its meat ?

103.

For there is no wisdom with the  
aged,<sup>1</sup>  
Nor understanding in length of  
days ;  
With Him is wisdom and strength ;  
He hath counsel and understanding.

104.

Behold He breaketh down and it  
cannot be builded anew :  
He shutteth up a man, and who can  
open to him ?  
Lo, He withholdeth the waters and  
they dry up,  
He letteth them loose and they  
overwhelm the earth.

105.

With Him is strength and wisdom,  
The erring one and his error are  
His,  
Who leadeth away counsellors bare-  
foot  
And rendereth the judges fools.

<sup>1</sup> The current versions of the Bible make Job say the contrary: "With the ancients is wisdom ; and in length of days understanding" (Job. xii. 12, Authorised Version). As a matter of fact, he is arguing against the traditionalists who assert that justice is the one predominant feature in Jehovah's conduct of the universe—a contention which is refuted by almost everything we see and hear. Bildad besought Job to learn of bygone generations, and to see things through their eyes. "Shall they not teach thee?" (v. 49). Job's reply is an emphatic negation: "There is no wisdom with the ancients, Nor understanding in length of days. Jehovah alone is endowed with wisdom—but is He likewise good? To this His government of the world alone furnishes an answer."

106.

He bringeth back kings into their  
mausoleums,  
And overthroweth the nobles;  
He withdraweth the speech of the  
trusty,  
And taketh away the understanding  
of the aged.

107.

He poureth scorn upon princes,  
And looseth the girdle of the  
strong;  
He discovereth deep things out of  
darkness,  
And bringeth gloom unto light.

108.

He stealeth the heart of the chiefs  
of the earth,  
And maketh them wander in a path-  
less wilderness,  
So that they grope in the dark with-  
out light,  
And stagger to and fro like a  
drunken man.

109.

Lo, mine eye hath seen all this,  
Mine ear hath heard and under-  
stood it.  
What ye know, the same do I know  
also;  
I am nowise inferior to you.

110.

But now I would speak to the Al-  
mighty,  
And I long to argue with God;  
For ye are weavers of lies,  
Ye all are patchers of inanities.

111.

Oh that ye would all of you hold  
your peace,  
And that should stand you in wis-  
dom's stead!

Hear, I beseech you, the reasoning  
of my mouth,  
And hearken to the pleadings of my  
lips!

112.

Will ye discourse wickedly for God?  
And utter lies in His favour?  
Will ye accept His person by  
fraud?  
Will ye contend for God by decep-  
tion?

113.

Were it well for you should He  
search you out?  
Can ye deceive Him as ye deceive  
men?

Will He not surely reprove you,  
If ye secretly accept His person?<sup>1</sup>

114.

Shall not His majesty, then, make  
you afraid?  
And His dread seize hold of you?  
Will not your remembrances become  
as ashes,  
Your arguments even as bulwarks  
of clay?

115.

Hold your peace that I may speak,  
And let come upon me what will!  
I shall take my life in my teeth,  
And put my soul in mine hand.

116.

Lo, let Him kill me. I cherish hope  
no more,  
Only I will show Him my way to  
His face.  
This too will aid my triumph,  
That no wicked one dares appear in  
His sight.

<sup>1</sup> This is an argument drawn from the theories of Job's adversaries, rather than the expression of his own convictions, and is to some extent ironical. (Cf. Bickell *ad locum*. It means, if ye are partial to Jehovah, by stifling the voice of conscience and the promptings of truth and justice.

117.

Behold now, I have ordered my  
cause ;  
I know that I shall be justified.  
Who is he that will plead with me ?  
Only do not two things unto me :

118.

Withdraw Thine hand from me,  
And let not Thy dread make me  
afraid.  
Then call Thou and I will answer,  
Or let me speak and answer Thou  
unto me.

119.

How many are mine iniquities ?  
Make me to know my misdeeds.  
Wherefore hidest Thou Thy face,  
And holdest me for Thine enemy ?

120.

Wilt Thou frighten a leaf driven to  
and fro ?  
And wilt Thou pursue the dry  
stubble ?  
That Thou writest down bitter  
things against me,  
And imputest to me the errors of  
my youth.

121.

Thou observest all my paths,  
And puttest my feet into the stocks.  
Thy chain weigheth heavy upon me,  
And cutteth into my feet.<sup>1</sup>

122.

Man that is born of a woman,  
Poor in days and rich in trouble ;  
He cometh forth like a flower and  
fadeth,  
He fleeth as a shadow and abideth  
not.

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with the extraordinary  
verse in our Bible: "Thou settest a  
print upon the heels of my feet!" (Job  
xiii. 27.)

123.

And upon such an one dost Thou  
open Thine eyes !  
And him Thou bringest into judg-  
ment with Thee !  
Though he is gnawed as a rotten  
thing,  
As a garment that is moth-eaten.

124.

If his days are determined upon  
earth,  
If the number of his months are  
with Thee ;  
Look then away from him that he  
may rest,  
Till he shall accomplish his day, as  
an hireling.

125.

For there is a future for the tree,  
And hope remaineth to the palm :  
Cut down, it will sprout again,  
And its tender branch will not cease.

126.

Though its roots wax old in the  
earth  
And its stock lie buried in mould,  
Yet through vapour of water will it  
bud,  
And bring forth boughs like a plant.

127.

But man dieth, and lieth out-  
stretched ;  
He giveth up the ghost, where is he  
then ?  
He lieth down and riseth not up ;  
Till heaven be no more he shall not  
awake.

128.

Oh that Thou wouldst shroud me in  
the grave !  
That Thou wouldst keep me hid till  
Thy wrath be passed !

That Thou wouldst appoint me a set  
time and remember me !  
If so be man could die and yet live  
on !

129.

All the days of my warfare I then  
would wait,  
Till my relief should come ;  
Thou wouldst call and I would  
answer Thee,  
Thou wouldst yearn after the work  
of Thine hands.

130.

But now Thou rememberest my  
steps ;  
Thou dost not forgive my sin ;  
Thou sealest my transgressions in a  
bag,  
And Thou still keepst adding to my  
iniquity.

131.

ELIPHAZ :

Should a wise man utter vain know-  
ledge,  
And fill his belly with the east  
wind ?  
Should he reason with idle prattle ?  
Or with speeches that profit him  
nothing ?

132.

Yea, thou makest void the fear of  
God,  
And weakenest respect before Him ;  
For thine own iniquity instructeth  
thy mouth,  
And thou choosest the tongue of  
the crafty.

133.

Art thou the first man that was  
born ?  
Or wast thou made before the hills ?  
Wast thou heard in the council of  
God ?  
And hast thou drawn wisdom unto  
thyself ?

134.

What knowest thou that we know  
not ?

What understandest thou which is  
not in us ?

Do the consolations of God not  
suffice unto thee,

And a word whispered softly to  
thee ?

135.

Why doth thine heart carry thee  
away,

And what do thine eyes wink at,

That thou turnest thy spirit against  
God,

And lettest go such words from thy  
mouth ?

136.

Behold He putteth no trust in His  
saints ;

Yea, the heavens are not clean in  
His sight ;

How much less the abominable and  
corrupt one,—

Man, who lappeth up iniquity like  
water.

137.

What the wise announce unto us,  
Their fathers did not conceal it from  
them ;

Unto them alone the land was given,  
And no stranger passed among  
them.

138.

The wicked man travaileth all his  
days with pain,

And few are the years appointed to  
the oppressor ;

A dreadful sound is in his ears :

In prosperity the destroyer shall  
overtake him.

139.

He has no hope that he shall return  
out of darkness,

And he is waited for by the sword.  
The day of gloom shall terrify him,  
Distress and anguish shall fasten  
upon him.

140.

For he stretched out his arm against  
God,  
And girded himself against the  
Almighty:  
Rushing upon him with a stiff neck,  
Guarded by the thick bosses of his  
buckler.

141.

The glow shall dry up his branches,  
And his blossom shall be snapped  
by the tempest.  
Let him not trust in vanity—he is  
deluded,<sup>1</sup>  
For his barter shall prove vain.

142.

His offshoot shall wither before his  
time,  
And his branch shall not be green;  
He shall shake off his unripe grape,  
like the vine,  
And shall shed his flower like the  
olive.

143.

For the tribe of the wicked shall be  
barren,  
And fire shall consume the tents of  
pibery;  
They conceive mischief and give  
birth to disaster,  
And their belly breeds deceit.

144.

JOB:

Many such things have I heard  
before.  
Stinging comforters are ye all!

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the object for which he bartered  
virtue.

Shall idle words have an end?  
What pricks thee that thou  
answerest?

145.

I, too, could discourse as ye do,  
If your souls were in my soul's  
stead.  
I would inspirit you with my mouth,  
Nor would I grudge the moving of  
my lips.

146.

But He hath so jaded me that I am  
benumbed;  
His whole host<sup>1</sup> hath seized me.  
His wrath hackles me and pursues  
me,  
He gnashes upon me with His  
teeth.

147.

The arrows of His myriads have  
fallen upon me,  
He whets His sword, fixing His  
eyes upon me.  
They smite me on the cheek out-  
rageously,  
They mass themselves together  
against me.

148.

God hath turned me over to the  
ungodly,  
And delivered me into the hands of  
the wicked.  
I was at ease, but He clove me  
asunder,  
He throttled me and shook me to  
pieces.

149.

He sets me up for His target;  
His archers compass me round  
about;  
He rives my reins asunder, and  
spareth not,

<sup>1</sup> Host of evils which has attacked me  
from all sides.

He poureth out my gall upon the  
ground. <sup>1</sup>

150.

With breach upon breach He  
breaketh me,  
He rusheth upon me like a warrior;  
Sackcloth and ashes cover me,  
And my horn has been laid in the  
dust.

151.

My face is aglow with weeping  
And darkness abides on my eyelids;  
Though on my hands there is no  
evil,  
And my prayer is pure!

152.

Oh earth! cover not thou my blood!  
And let my cry find no resting-  
place!  
Even now behold my witness is in  
heaven,  
And my voucher is on high.

153.

My friends laugh me wantonly to  
scorn;  
Mine eye poureth tears unto God.  
Let Him adjudge between man and  
God,  
And between man and his fellow.

154.

Soon will the wailing-women come,  
And I go the way I shall not return.  
My spirit is spent, the grave is ready  
for me;  
Truly I am scoffed at.<sup>1</sup>

155.

Hold still my pledge in Thy keeping,  
Who then will be my voucher?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is by God, who leaves me to die as a guilty wretch in the eyes of the world.

<sup>2</sup> Ironical. Continue, O Jahve, to keep my justification to Thyself, and my follows will persist in sneering at my protestations of innocence.

He yieldeth His friends as a prey,  
And the eyes of His children must  
shrivel up.

156.

He hath made me a by-word of the  
peoples,  
And they spit into my face.  
My eye is dim by dint of sorrow,  
And all my members are as a  
shadow.

157.

At this the upright are appalled,  
And the just bridles up against the  
impious.  
But the righteous holds on his way,  
And the clean-handed waxeth ever  
stronger.

158.

But as for you all—do ye return,  
For I discern not one wise man  
among you.  
My days, my thoughts have passed  
away;  
My heart's desires are cut asunder.

159.

If I still hope, it is for my house—  
the tomb.  
I have made my bed in the darkness.  
I have said unto the grave, "My  
Mother,"  
And to the maggot, "Sister mine."

160.

And my hope—where is it now?  
My happiness—who shall behold it?<sup>1</sup>  
They go down to the bars of the pit,  
When our rest together is in the  
dust.

161.

BILDAD :

When wilt thou make an end of  
words?

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Your promises that I shall recover my prosperity from God are absurd.

Reflect, and afterwards let us speak !  
Wherefore are we counted as beasts ?  
Reputed as silenced in thy sight ?

162.

Shall the earth be deserted for thee ?  
And shall the rock be removed from  
its place ?  
Still the light of the wicked shall  
be extinguished,  
And the spark of his fire shall not  
twinkle.

163.

The light in his tent shall be dark ;  
And his lamp above him shall be  
put out ;  
The steps of his strength shall be  
straitened,  
And his own purpose shall ruin him.

164.

For he is tangled in the net by his  
own feet,  
And he walketh upon a snare ;  
The slings shall catch him ;  
Many terrors rage menacingly round  
him.

165.

Hunger shall dog his footsteps ;  
Misery and ruin stand ready by his  
side ;  
The limbs of his body<sup>1</sup> shall be  
devoured,  
Devoured by the firstborn of death.<sup>2</sup>

166.

He shall be dragged out from his  
stronghold,  
And he shall be brought to the king  
of terrors ;<sup>3</sup>  
His remembrance shall vanish from  
the earth,  
He shall be driven from light into  
darkness.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* The pieces of his skin.

<sup>2</sup> Probably elephantiasis.

<sup>3</sup> The personification of death.

167.

He shall have nor son nor offspring  
among his people,  
And he shall have no name above  
the ground ;  
None shall survive in his dwellings ;  
Strangers shall dwell in his tent.

168.

They of the west are astonished at  
him,  
And those of the east stand aghast :  
Such are the dwellings of the wicked,  
And this his place who knoweth not  
God.

169.

JOB :

How long will ye harrow my soul,  
And crush me with words ?  
Already ten times have ye insulted  
me,  
Ever incensing me anew.

170.

If indeed ye will glorify yourselves  
above me,  
\*And prove me guilty of blasphemy ;  
Know, then, that God hath wronged  
me,  
And hath compassed me round with  
His net !

171.

Lo, I cry out against violence, but  
I am not heard ;  
I cry aloud, but there is no judgment.  
He hath fenced up my way that I  
cannot pass ;  
And He hath set darkness in my  
paths.

172.

He hath stripped me of my glory,  
And taken the crown from my head ;  
On all sides hath He destroyed me,  
and I am undone ;  
And mine hope hath He felled like  
a tree.

173.

He hath kindled against me His  
wrath,  
And looketh on me as one of His  
foes.  
His troops throng together on my  
way  
And encamp round about my tent.

174.

He hath put my brethren far from  
me,  
And mine acquaintance are estranged  
from me;  
My kinsfolk stay away from me,  
And my bosom friends have forgotten  
me.

175.

They that dwell in my house, and  
my maids,  
As an alien am I in their eyes.  
I call my servant, and he giveth  
me no answer:  
I must supplicate unto him with my  
mouth.

176.

My breath is irksome to my wife,  
And my entreaty to the children of-  
my body.<sup>1</sup>  
Yea, mere lads despise me:  
When I arise, they talk about me.

177.

All my cherished friends abhor me,  
And they whom I loved are turned  
against me;  
My skin cleaveth to my bones,  
And my teeth are falling out.

178.

Have pity, have pity on me, O my  
friends!  
For the hand of God hath smitten  
me.

<sup>1</sup> Either "the sons of the womb which has borne me," as in iii. 10, or else "my own children," the poet forgetting that in the Prologue they are described as having been killed.

Why do ye persecute me like God,  
And are not satiated with my  
flesh?

179.

Oh would but that my words,  
Oh would that they were written  
down!  
Consigned to writing for ever,  
Or engraven upon a rock!

180.

But I know that my avenger liveth,<sup>1</sup>  
Though, it be at the end<sup>2</sup> upon my  
dust;  
My witness will avenge these  
things,<sup>3</sup>  
And a curse alight upon mine  
enemies.

181.

My reins within me are consumed,  
Because you say: "How we shall  
persecute him!"  
Fear, for yourselves, the sword,  
For wrath overtaketh iniquities.

182.

ZOPHAR:

It is not thus that my thoughts in-  
spire me,  
Nor is this the eternal law that I  
have known.<sup>4</sup>  
No; the triumph of the wicked is  
short-lived,  
And the joy of the ungodly is but  
for a twinkling.

<sup>1</sup> This is the famous passage beginning in our Bible: "For I know that my Redeemer liveth," &c. Job's consolation is perhaps more human and certainly less Christian than that which the Fathers of the Church once put into his mouth. He thirsts for justification, and believes it will come in the end, but too late to benefit him.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, When it is too late.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Your false accusations and your persecution of me, as if ye were God. (*Cf.* verse 178, 3 and 4).

<sup>4</sup> Zophar discerns perfect moral order in the world.



183.

Though his height tower aloft to  
the heavens,  
And his head reach up to the clouds,  
Yet shall he perish for ever like  
dung.

They who have seen him shall ask :  
"Where is he ?"

184.

He fitteth like a dream and shall  
not be found,  
Yea, he shall be chased away as a  
vision of the night ;  
His hands having crushed the  
needy,  
Must restore the substance, and he  
cannot help it.

185.

He hath swallowed down riches and  
shall disgorge them anew ;  
They shall be driven out of his  
belly ;  
He hath sucked in the poison of  
asps,  
The viper's tongue shall slay him.

186.

He shall not gaze upon the rivers.  
The brooks of honey and milk ;  
He must restore the gain and shall  
not swallow it,  
His lucre shall be as sand which he  
cannot chew.

187.

For the poor he had crushed and  
for-saken ;  
Had robbed an house but shall not  
build it up.  
Nought had escaped from his greed,  
Therefore shall his wealth not en-  
dure.

188.

In the fulness of his abundance he  
shall be in straits,

Every hand of the wretched shall  
come upon him ;  
He shall cast the fury of His wrath  
upon him,  
And shall rain down upon him  
terrors.

189.

When he fleeth from the iron  
weapon,  
Then the arrow of steel shall pierce  
him through ;  
He draweth, and it cometh out of  
his back,  
And the glittering steel out of his  
gall.

190.

Terrors will trample upon him,  
All darkness is hid in store for  
him ;  
A fire not kindled<sup>1</sup> shall consume  
him,  
What remaineth in his tent shall be  
devoured thereby.

191.

The heavens reveal his iniquity,  
And the earth riseth up against  
him :  
This is the wicked man's portion  
from God,  
And the heritage appointed him by  
Elohim.

192.

Job.

Hearken diligently to my speech,  
And let that stand me in your com-  
fort's stead !  
Suffer me that I may speak ;  
And after that I have spoken, mock  
on !

193.

As for me, is my complaint to men ?  
And how should not my spirit be  
impatient ?  
Look upon me, and be astounded,

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, By man.

And lay your hand upon your  
mouth!<sup>1</sup>

194.

Even when I remember, I am  
dismayed,  
And trembling taketh hold on my  
flesh.  
Wherefore do the wicked live?  
Become old, yea, wax mighty in  
strength?

195.

Their houses are safe from fear,  
Neither is the rod of God upon  
them;  
Their bull genders and faileth not,  
Their cow casteth not her calf.

196.

Their seed is established in their  
sight,  
And their offspring before their  
eyes;  
They send forth their little ones  
like a flock,  
And their children skip about.

197.

They take down the timbrel and the  
harp,  
And delight in the sound of the  
bagpipe;  
They while away their days in  
bliss,  
And in a twinkling go down to the  
grave.<sup>2</sup>

198.

And yet they say unto God: "De-  
part from us,  
We desire not the knowledge of  
Thy ways."  
Yet hold they not happiness in their  
own hands?  
Is He not heedless of the counsel of  
the wicked?

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Be silent.

<sup>2</sup> Job's ideal of a happy death was  
identical with that of Julius Caesar—the  
most sudden and least foreseen.

199.

How oft is the lamp of evil-doers  
put out?  
And how often doth ruin over-  
whelm them?  
How oft are they as stubble before  
the wind,  
And as chaff that the storm carries  
away?

200.

Ye say, "God hoards punishment  
for the children."  
Let Him rather requite the wicked  
himself that he may feel it!  
His own eyes should behold his  
downfall  
And he himself should drain the  
Almighty's wrath!

201.

If his sons are honoured,<sup>2</sup> he will  
not know it,  
And if dishonoured, he will not  
perceive it.  
Only in his own flesh doth he feel  
pain,  
And for his own soul will he  
lament.

202.

Is the wicked taught understanding  
by God?  
And does He judge the man of  
blood?  
Nay, He filleth his milk vessels with  
milk,  
And supplieth his bones with  
marrow.

203.

But the guiltless dies with em-  
bittered soul,  
And hath never enjoyed a pleasure;  
Then they alike lie down in the  
dust,  
And the worms shall cover them  
both.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "his."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, After his death.

204.

Behold I know your thoughts,  
 And the plots which ye wrongfully  
 weave against me.  
 And how will ye comfort me in  
 vain,  
 Since of your answers nought but  
 falsehood remains ?

205.

ELIPHAZ.

Can a man be profitable unto God ?  
 Only unto himself is the wise man  
 serviceable.  
 Is it a boon to the Almighty that  
 thou art righteous ?  
 Or is it gain to Him that thou  
 makest thy way perfect ?

206.

Will He reprove thee for thy fear  
 of Him ?  
 Will He enter with thee into judg-  
 ment for that ?  
 Is not rather thy wickedness great ?  
 Are not thine iniquities number-  
 less ?

207.

For thou hast taken a pledge from  
 thy brother for nought,  
 And stripped the naked of their  
 clothing ;  
 Thou hast not given water to the  
 weary to drink,  
 And hast withholden bread from  
 the hungry.

208.

But as for the mighty man, he held  
 the land,  
 And the honoured man dwelt in it.  
 Thou hast sent widows away empty,  
 And the arms of the fatherless have  
 been broken.

209.

Therefore snares are round about  
 thee,

And sudden fear troubleth thee ;  
 Thy light hath become darkness :  
 thou canst not see,  
 And a flood of waters covereth  
 thee.

210.

Doth not God look down from the  
 height of heaven,  
 And crush the mighty for that they  
 are grown haughty,  
 Which say unto God : " Depart from  
 us,"  
 And " What can the Almighty do  
 against us ? "

211.

And He forsooth shall fill their  
 houses with goods,  
 And be heedless of the counsel of  
 the wicked !  
 No ; the righteous shall look on and  
 be glad,  
 And the innocent shall laugh them  
 to scorn.

212.

Befriend now thyself with Him, and  
 thou shalt be safe,  
 Thereby shall good come unto thee.  
 Receive, I pray thee, instruction  
 from His mouth,  
 And treasure up His words in thine  
 heart.

If thou turnest to God and humblest  
 thyself,

If thou remove iniquity from thy  
 tent,  
 Then shalt thou have delight in the  
 Almighty,  
 And shalt lift up thy face unto  
 God.

214.

Thou shalt pray unto Him and He  
 shall hear thee,  
 And thou shalt pay thy vows ;

If thou decree a thing, it shall  
prosper unto thee,  
And a light shall shine upon thy  
ways.

215.

JOB.

Oh, I know it already ; I myself am  
to blame for my misery.<sup>1</sup>  
And His hand is heavy upon me by  
reason of my groaning.  
Oh that I knew where I might find  
Him,  
That I might come even unto His  
seat!

216.

I would plead my cause before Him,  
And fill my mouth with arguments ;  
I would fain know the words which  
He could answer me,  
And understand what He would  
say unto me.

Will He plead against me with His  
Almighty power ?  
If not, then not even He would  
prevail against me.  
For a righteous one would dispute  
with Him ;  
So should I be delivered for ever  
from my Judge.

218.

Behold I go forward, but He is not  
there,  
And backward, but I cannot per-  
ceive Him.  
For He knoweth the way that I  
have chosen ;  
If He would try me, I should come  
forth as gold.

219.

My foot has held His steps,  
His way have I kept and swerved  
not ;

<sup>1</sup> Ironical.

I have not gone back from the  
precept of His lips,  
I have hid the words of His mouth  
in my bosom.

220.

But He is bent upon one thing and  
who can turn Him away ?  
And what His soul desireth even  
that He doeth.  
Therefore am I troubled before His  
face ;  
When I consider, I am afraid of  
Him.

221.

God hath crushed my heart,  
And the Almighty hath terrified  
me.  
For I am annihilated because of the  
darkness,  
And gloom enwrappeth my face.

222.

Why do the times of judgment  
depend upon the Almighty,<sup>1</sup>  
And yet they who know Him do  
not see His days ?  
The wicked remove the landmarks :  
They rob flocks and lead them to  
pasture.

223.

They drive away the ass of the  
fatherless,  
The widow's ox they seize for a  
pledge ;  
They turn the needy out of the  
way,  
All the poor of the earth have to  
hide themselves.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Job here expresses a doubt whether a moral God can be said to rule the world, seeing that evil is predominant in creation.

<sup>2</sup> About seven strophes in the same quasi-impious strain, characterising the real reign of Jehovah upon earth as distinguished from the optimistic delineations of Job's friends, are lost. The verses that have taken their place in our manu-

224.

Lo, these things mine ear hath heard,  
Mine eye hath seen them, and so it  
is.<sup>1</sup>

And if it be not so now, who will  
make me a liar,  
And render my speech nothing  
worth?

225.

BILDAD :

Dominion and fear are with Him,  
Who maketh peace in His high  
places.

Is there any number to His armies?  
And upon whom doth not His light  
arise?

226.

By His power the sea groweth calm,  
And by His understanding He  
smiteth the sea-dragon,<sup>2</sup>

By His breath the heavens become  
splendour;

His hand hath pierced the bolt-  
serpent.

227.

And the thunder of His power,  
Who that is wise will provoke it  
against himself?<sup>3</sup>

And how can man be deemed just  
before God,

And how can he be clean who is  
born of a woman?

228.

Behold, even the moon shineth not,  
Yea, the stars are not pure in His  
sight;

How much less man, the worm;  
And the son of man, the maggot!

scripts are portions of a different work  
which has no relation whatever to our  
poem. They are not even in the same  
metre as Job, but contain strophes of  
three lines only.

<sup>1</sup> Conjecture of Professor Bickell, the  
following lines being alone preserved in  
the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Of the upper sea, who, by winding  
himself round the sun causes eclipses.

<sup>3</sup> By murmuring like Job.

229.

JOB :

How hast thou helped him that is  
without power?

How upholdest thou the arm that  
hath no strength?

To whom hast thou uttered words?  
And whose spirit went out from  
thee?

230.

As God liveth who hath taken  
away my judgment,

And the Almighty who hath made  
my soul bitter,

Never shall my lips confess untruth,  
Nor my tongue give utterance to  
falschood!

231.

Far be it from me to agree with you!  
Till I die I will not surrender my  
integrity!

My righteousness I hold fast and  
will not let it go,

My heart doth not censure any one  
of my days.

232.

I will teach you about the hand of  
God,

The counsel of the Almighty will I  
not conceal.

Behold, all ye yourselves have seen  
it.

Why then do ye utter such empty  
things?

233.

For there is a mine for silver,  
And a place for gold where they  
fine it;

Iron is taken out of the dust,  
And copper is smolten out of the  
stone.

234.

He that hovers far from man hath  
made an end to gloom,<sup>1</sup>  
He turneth the mountains upside  
down.  
He cutteth out rivers among the  
rocks,  
And the thing that is hid bringeth  
he forth to light.

235.

But wisdom—whence shall it come?  
And where is the place of under-  
standing?  
It is hid from the eyes of all living,  
Our ears alone have heard thereof.

236.

God understandeth its way,  
And He knoweth its dwelling-place;  
For He looketh to the ends of the  
earth,  
And seeth under the entire heaven.

When He made the weight for the  
winds,  
And weighed the waters by measure,  
Then did He see and declare it:  
He prepared it, yea, and searched it  
out.

238.

Then said He unto man, "Desist!  
Worry not about things too high  
for thee.  
Behold, fear of Me, that is wisdom,  
And to depart from evil, that is  
understanding."

239.

ZOPHAR:

May the lot of the wicked befall  
mine enemy,  
And that of the ungodly him who  
riseth up against me!

<sup>1</sup> The miner who descends into the  
abyss of the earth, and carries a lamp.

For what can be the hope of the  
iniquitous,  
When God cutteth his soul away?

240.

Will God hear his cry,  
When trouble overtaketh him?  
Will he delight himself in the  
Almighty?  
Will he always call upon God?

241.

If his children be multiplied, it is  
for the sword,  
And his offspring shall not be sated  
with bread;  
They that survive him shall be  
buried in death,  
And their widows shall not weep.

242.

Though he heap up silver as the  
dust,  
And prepare raiment as the clay,  
He may indeed prepare it, but the  
just shall put on,  
And the guiltless shall divide the  
silver.

243.

He buildeth his house as a spider;  
Rich shall he lie down, but rich he  
shall not remain.  
Terrors take hold on him as waters;  
A tempest sweepeth him away in  
the night.

244.

JOB:

Oh that I were as in months gone by,  
As in the days when God preserved  
me;  
When His lamp shined upon my  
head,  
And when by His light I walked  
through darkness!

245.

For then I moved in sunshine,  
While God was familiar with my  
tent ;  
While I washed my steps in cream,  
And the rock poured me out rivers  
of oil.

246.

When I went to the gate at the city,  
When I prepared my seat on the  
public place,  
Then the young men, seeing me,  
hid themselves,  
And the aged arose and remained  
standing.<sup>1</sup>

247.

Princes desisted from talking,  
And laid their hands upon their  
mouths ;  
For the ear heard me and blessed,  
The eye saw me and gave witness  
unto me.

248.

For I delivered the poor that cried  
aloud,  
And the orphan and him that had  
none to help him ;  
The blessing of him that was perish-  
ing came upon me,  
And I gladdened the heart of the  
widow.

249.

I put on righteousness and it clothed  
me ;  
My judgment was as a robe and a  
diadem ;  
I became eyes to the blind,  
And I was feet unto the lame.

250.

I was a father to the poor,  
And the cause which I knew not I  
sought out ;  
To mete out justice.

And I brake the grinders of the  
wicked,  
And plucked the spoil out of his  
teeth.

251.

Unto me men gave ear and waited,  
And kept silence at my counsel.  
After my words they spake not  
again,  
And my speech fell upon them as a  
shower.<sup>1</sup>

252.

But now they laugh me to scorn,  
Shepherd boys approach me with  
insolence,  
Whose fathers I would not have  
deigned  
To set with the dogs of my flock.

253.

Yea, of what use to me was the  
strength of their hands ?  
Pity upon them was thrown away.  
They were children of fools, yea,  
men of no name,  
They were ejected from the land.

And now I am become the song of  
these !

Yea, I am become their byword !  
They abhor me, they flee far from  
me,  
And withhold not spittle from my  
face.

For He hath dissolved my dignity  
and humbled me,  
And He hath taken away my  
renown.

He hath opened a way to my  
miseries ;  
They enter and no one helpeth me.

<sup>1</sup> Welcome as a shower of rain to  
the parched earth.

256.

With rumbling and booming they  
bounded along ;  
Terrors are turned upon me ;  
Thou scatterest my dignity, as with  
a wind,  
And my welfare passeth as a cloud.

257.

The night gnaws away my bones,  
And my devourers have no repose ;  
By swellings is my garment mis-  
shapen,  
And I am grown like unto dust and  
ashes.

258.

I cry and Thou hearest me not,  
Thou art become ruthless towards  
me ;  
With the strength of Thy hand  
Thou assailest me,  
And Thou meltest my salvation  
away..

259.

For I know that Thou wilt bring  
me to death,  
And to the house appointed for all  
living.  
But shall not a drowning man  
stretch out his hand ?  
Shall he not cry out in his destruc-  
tion ?

260.

Did I not weep for him that was in  
trouble ?  
Was not my soul grieved for the  
needy ?  
I looked for good and waited for  
light :  
Behold days of sorrowing are come  
upon me.

261.

I go mourning without sun ;  
I stand up in the assembly and cry  
aloud ;

I am become a brother unto jackals,  
And a comrade unto ostriches.

262.

My skin hath grown black upon me  
And my bones are scorched with  
heat ;  
My harp is turned to mourning,  
And my bagpipe into the wail of  
the weeping.<sup>1</sup>

263.

If I have walked with men of  
wickedness,  
Or if my feet have hastened to  
deceit,  
Let Him weigh me in balances of  
justice  
That God may know mine integrity !

264.

If my steps have swerved from the  
way,  
And mine heart followed in the  
wake of mine eyes,  
Let me now sow and another eat,  
Yea, let my garden be rooted out !

265.

If mine heart have been deceived by  
a woman,  
Or if I have lain in wait at my  
neighbour's door,  
Then let my wife turn the mill unto  
another  
And let others bow down upon her !

<sup>1</sup> Two strophes are wanting here, in which Job presumably says that this great change of fortune is not the result of his conduct. The LXX offer nothing here in lieu of the lost verses; but the Massoretic text has the strophes which occur in the Authorised Version (xxxi. 1-4) and which would seem to have been substituted for the original verses. The present Hebrew text is useless. If the four Massoretic verses had stood in the original, so important are they that they would never have been omitted by the Greek translators, who evidently did not possess them in their texts. They remind one to some extent of certain passages of the Sermon on the Mount.



266.

For adultery is a grievous crime,  
Yea, a crime to be punished by the  
judges :

It is a fire that consumeth to utter  
destruction,  
And would root out all mine in-  
crease.

267.

If I despised the right of my man-  
servant  
Or of my maidservant, when they  
contended with me,  
What could I do, when God rose  
up?  
And when He visiteth, what could  
I answer Him ?

268.

For destruction from God was a  
terror to me,  
And for His highness' sake I could  
not do such things.  
Did not He that made me in the  
womb, make him ?<sup>1</sup>  
And did He not fashion us in one  
belly ?

269.

Never have I withheld the poor from  
their desire,  
Nor caused the widow's eyes to fail ;  
Nor have I eaten my morsel alone,  
Unless the fatherless had partaken  
thereof.

270.

If I saw one perish for lack of  
clothing,  
Or any of the poor devoid of covering ;  
Then surely did his loins bless me,  
And he was warmed with the fleece  
of my sheep.

271.

If I have lifted up my hand against  
the fatherless,

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, My servant.

When I saw my backers in the gate,<sup>1</sup>  
Then let my shoulder fall from its  
setting,  
And mine arm from its channel bone!

272.

I have never made gold my hope,  
Nor said to the fine gold : Thou art  
my trust ;  
Never did I rejoice that my wealth  
was great,  
And because mine hand had found  
much.

273.

Never did I gaze upon the sun,  
because it shone brightly,  
Nor upon the moon floating in glory,  
So that my heart was secretly enticed,  
And I wafted kisses to them, putting  
my hand to my mouth.<sup>2</sup>

274.

Never did I rejoice at the ruin of  
my hater,  
Nor exult when misery found him  
out ;  
Neither have I suffered my throat  
to sin,  
By wreaking a curse upon his soul.

275.

Never had the guests of my tent to  
say :  
" Oh that we had our fill of his  
meat !"  
I suffered not the stranger to lodge  
out of doors,  
But I opened my gates to the  
traveller.

267.

I covered not my failings after the  
manner of men,  
By locking mine iniquity in my  
bosom,

<sup>1</sup> The concourse of people and parti-  
sans at the gate where justice was  
administered.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, I never adored them as gods.

As if I feared the vast multitude,  
Or because the scorn of families  
appalled me.

277.

And I should keep silence forsooth,  
should not come forward!  
Oh, that one would hear me!  
Here is my signature; let the  
Almighty answer me,  
And hear the indictment which my  
adversary hath written!<sup>1</sup>

278.

Surely I would hoist it upon my  
shoulder,  
And weave it as a crown unto my-  
self;  
I would account to Him for the  
number of my steps;  
As a prince would I draw near unto  
Him.

279.

JAHVEH.

Who is this that darkeneth My  
counsel,  
With words devoid of knowledge?  
Now gird up thy loins like a man,  
For I shall ask of thee, and do thou  
teach Me!

280.

When I laid the earth's foundation  
where wast thou?  
Declare, if thou hast understanding!  
Who hath laid the measures thereof,  
if thou knowest,  
Or who hath stretched the line upon  
it?

281.

Where are its sockets sunk down,  
Or who laid the corner-stone  
thereof?

<sup>1</sup> This is the passage become famous in the imaginary form: "That mine adversary had written a book!" (xxx. 35).

When the morning stars exulted  
together,  
And all the sons of God shouted for  
joy.

282.

Who shut in the sea with doors,  
When it brake forth as issuing out  
of the womb?  
When I made the clouds its garment,  
And thick darkness for its swad-  
dling-band.

283.

Then I brake up for it its appointed  
place,  
And set bars and doors,  
And said: "Hitherto shalt thou  
come,  
And here shall thy haughty waves  
be stayed!"

284.

Was it by thy prompting that I  
commanded the morning,  
And caused the dawn to know its  
place?  
That it might seize hold of the ends  
of the earth,  
That the wicked might be shaken  
out?<sup>1</sup>

285.

Then the earth changes as clay  
under the seal,  
And all things appear therein as an  
embroidery,<sup>2</sup>  
But from the wicked is withholden  
their hiding-place,  
And the raised arm shall be shat-  
tered.

286.

Hast thou entered into the springs  
of the sea?

<sup>1</sup> Daylight is represented as hostile to criminals, and the manner in which it operates is here compared to a tossing of them off the outspread carpet of the earth.

<sup>2</sup> On a carpet, to which the earth is still compared.

Or hast thou walked in search of  
the abysses?

Have the gates of death been opened  
unto thee,

Or hast thou seen the doors of dark-  
ness?

287.

Hast thou surveyed the breadth of  
the earth?

Declare, if thou knowest, its  
measure!

Thou must needs know it, for then  
wast thou already born,

And the number of thy days is  
great.

288.

Which way leadeth unto the dwell-  
ing of light?

And of darkness, where is the  
abode,

That thou shouldst take it to its  
bounds,

And that thou shouldst know the  
paths to its house?

289.

Hast thou entered into the granaries  
of the snow,

Or hast thou seen the arsenals of  
the hail,

Which I have laid up for the time  
of trouble,

Against the day of battle and of  
war?

290.

By what way is the mist parted?

And the east wind scattered upon  
the earth?

Who hath divided its course for the  
rain-storm?

And its path for the lightning of  
thunder?

291.

Out of whose womb issued the ice?

And who gendered the hoar-frost of  
heaven?

The waters are as stone,

And the face of the deep condensed  
like clots together.

292.

Canst thou bind the knots of the  
Pleiads,

Or loose the fetters of Orion?

Canst thou send lightnings that they  
may speed,

And say unto thee: Here we are?

293.

Who in his wisdom can number the  
clouds,

Or who can pour out the bottles of  
heaven,

That the dust may thicken into mire,  
And the clods cleave close together?

294.

Canst thou hunt its prey for the lion,  
Or sate the appetite of the young

lions,

When they couch in their dens,

And abide in the covert to lie in  
wait?

295.

Who provideth his food for the raven,  
When his young ones cry unto God?

It hovereth around nor groweth  
weary,

Seeking food for its nestlings.

296.

Canst thou mark when the hinds do  
calve?

Canst thou number the months when  
they bring forth?

They cast out their burdens,

Their little ones grow up out of  
doors.

297.

Who hath sent out the wild ass free,  
Whose dwelling I have made the

wilderness?

Who scorneth the noise of the city,  
Nor heedeth the driver's cry.

298.

Will the wild ox be willing to serve thee,

Or abide by thy grip?

Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great,

Or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?

299.

Doſt thou beſtow might upon the horſe?

Doſt thou clothe his neck with a waving mane?

Doſt thou make him to bound like a locuſt,

In the pride of his terrible ſnort?

300.

He paws in the vale and rejoices;  
With ſtrength goes forth to encounter the weapons;

He mocks at fear, and is not dismayed,

And recoileth not from the ſword.

301.

The quiver clangs upon him,  
The ſhining lance and the javelin;  
Furiouſly bounding, he ſwallows the ground,

And cannot be reined in at the trumpet-blaſt.

302. \*

When the clarion ſoundeth he crieth, "Aha!"

And ſniffs the duſt raiſed by the hoſts from afar;

He daſheth into the thick of the fray,

Into the captain's ſhout and the roar of battle.

303.

Doth the hawk fly by thy wiſdom,  
And ſpread her pinions towards the ſouth?

She builds her neſt on high, dwelling on the rock,  
And abideth there, ſeeking prey.

304.

Will the caviller ſtill contend with the Almighty?

He that reproves God, let him answer!

Wilt thou even diſannul my judgment?

Wilt thou condemn me that thou mayeſt be in the right?

If thou haſt an arm like God,  
If thou canſt thunder with a voice like His,

Deck thyſelf now with majeſty and grandeur,

And array thyſelf in glory and ſplendour!

306.

Scatter abroad the rage of thy wrath,  
And hurl down all that is exalted!

The haughty bring low by a glance,  
And trample down the wicked in their place!

Hide them together in the duſt,  
And bind their faces in ſecret!

Then will I, too, confeſs unto thee  
That thine own right hand can ſave thee!

308.

JOB:

Behold I am vile, what ſhall I answer Thee?

I will lay mine hand upon my mouth.

Once have I ſpoken, but I will do ſo no more,

Yea, twice, but I will proceed no further.

309.

I know that Thou canst do every-  
 thing,  
 And that nothing is beyond Thy  
 reach;  
 Hence I say: I have uttered that I  
 understand not,  
 Things too wonderful for me, which  
 I know not.

310.

I had heard of Thee by the hearing  
 of the ear,  
 But now mine eye hath beheld  
 Thee;  
 Therefore I revoke my erring words,  
 And repent in dust and ashes.

## ETHICS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

IN his deeply-interesting Romanes lecture, Professor Huxley has stated the opinion that the ethical progress of society depends upon our combating the "cosmic process" which we call the struggle for existence. Since, as he adds, we inherit the "cosmic nature" which is the outcome of millions of years of severe training, it follows that the "ethical nature" may count upon having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts. This is not a cheerful prospect. It is, as he admits, an audacious proposal to pit the microcosm against the macrocosm. We cannot help fearing that the microcosm may get the worst of it. Professor Huxley has not fully expanded his meaning, and says much to which I could cordially subscribe. But I think that the facts upon which he relies admit or require an interpretation which avoids the awkward conclusion.

Pain and suffering, as Professor Huxley tells us, are always with us, and even increase in quantity and intensity as evolution advances. The fact has been recognised in remote ages long before theories of evolution had taken their modern form. Pessimism, from the time of the ancient Hindoo philosophers to the time of their disciple, Schopenhauer, has been in no want of evidence to support its melancholy conclusions. It would be idle to waste rhetoric in the attempt to recapitulate so familiar a position. Though I am not a pessimist, I cannot doubt that there is more plausibility in the doctrine than I could wish. Moreover, it may be granted that any attempt to explain or to justify the existence of evil is undeniably futile. It is not so much that the problem cannot be answered as that it cannot even be asked in any intelligible sense. To "explain" a fact is to assign its causes—that is, to give the preceding set of

facts out of which it arose. However far we might go backwards, we should get no nearer to perceiving any reason for the original fact. If we explain the fall of man by Adam's eating the apple we are quite unable to say why the apple should have been created. If we could discover a general theory of pain, showing, say, that it implied certain physiological conditions, we should be no nearer to knowing why those physiological conditions should have been what they are. The existence of pain, in short, is one of the primary data of our problem, not of the accident, which we can hope in any intelligible sense to account. To give any "justification" is really impossible. The book of Job really suggests, and we may almost say a meaningless, really suggests, and give an intelligible meaning to a demand for problem. We can suppose that a man has certain antecedent justice which another man may respect or neglect. But this has no rights which between the abstraction "Nature" and the concrete facts meaning themselves nature. It is unjust to treat equal claims which are different. But it is not "unjust" in any intelligible sense that one should be a monkey and another a man, any more than that being should be a hand and another a head. The question one part of arise if we supposed that the man and the monkey would only before they were created, and had then possessed claims had existed. The most logical theologians indeed admit that to equal treatment and creator there can be properly no question as between creature and the potter cannot complain of each other. of justice. The had been able to show that the virtuous were If the writer of Jobious punished, he would only have transferred rewarded and the issue. The judge might be justified but the the problem to another. How can it be just to place a being creator would be content and then to damn him for sinning? That where he is certain to answer can be given; and which already is the problem to which We apply the conception of justice in implies a confusion of ideas applicable, and naturally fail to get any a sphere where it is not intelligible answer.

The question therefore resolves itself into a different one. We can neither explain nor justify the existence of pain; but of course we can ask whether, as a matter of fact, pain predominates over pleasure, and we can ask whether, as a matter of fact, the "cosmic processes" tend to encourage or discourage virtuous conduct. Does the theory of the "struggle for existence" throw any new light upon the general problem? I am quite unable to see, for my own part, that it really makes any difference: evil exists; and the question whether evil predominates over good can only, I should say, be decided by an appeal to external facts. One source of evil is the conflict of interests. Every beast

according to the old saying, is a wolf to man. All that the Darwinian theory can do is to enable us to trace the consequences of this fact in certain directions, but it neither reveals the fact nor makes it more or less an essential part of the process. It "explains" certain phenomena, in the sense of showing their connection with previous phenomena, but does not show why the phenomena should present themselves at all. If we indulge our minds in purely fanciful constructions, we may regard the actual system as good or bad, just as we choose to imagine for its alternative a better or a worse system. If everybody had been put into a world where there was no pain, or where each man could get all he wanted without interfering with his neighbours, we may fancy that things would have been pleasanter. If the struggle, which we all know to exist, had no effect in promoting the "survival of the fittest," things—so at least some of us may think—would have been worse. But such fancies have nothing to do with scientific inquiries. We have to take things as they are and make the best of them.

The common feeling, no doubt, is different. The incessant struggle between different races suggests a painful view of the universe, as Hobbes' natural state of war suggested painful theories as to human nature. War is evidently immoral, we think; and a doctrine which makes the whole process of evolution a process of war must be radically immoral too. The struggle, it is said, demands "ruthless self-assertion," and the hunting down of all competitors; and such phrases certainly have an unpleasant sound. But, in the first place, the use of the epithets implies an anthropomorphism to which we have no right so long as we are dealing with the inferior species. We are then in a region to which moral ideas have no direct application, and where the moral sentiments exist only in germ, if they can "properly" be said to exist at all. Is it fair to call a wolf "ruthless" because it eats a sheep and fails to consider the transaction from the sheep's point of view? We must surely admit that if the wolf is without mercy he is also without malice. We call an animal ferocious because a man who acted in the same way would be ferocious. But the man is really ferocious because he is really aware of the pain which he inflicts. The wolf, I suppose, has no more recognition of the sheep's feelings than a man has of feelings in the oyster or the potato. For him, they are simply non-existent; and it is just as inappropriate to think of the wolf as cruel as it would be to call the sheep cruel for eating grass. Are we, then, to say that "nature" is cruel because the arrangement increases the sum of general suffering? That is a problem which I do not feel able to answer; but it is at least obvious that it cannot be answered off-hand in the affirmative. To the individual sheep it matters nothing whether he is eaten by the wolf or dies of disease or starvation. He has to die anyway.



as arose. Howe.

and the more nearer to the important. The wolf is simply one of the many upon sheep, and, if he were removed, others would be unable to say. The sheep, left to himself, would still have a practical illustration of the doctrine of Malthus. If, as evolutionists tell us, the hostility of the wolf tends to improve the breed of sheep, to encourage him to climb better and to sharpen his wits, the sheep may be, on the whole, the better for the wolf: in this sense, at least, thus the sheep of a wolfless region might lead a more wretched existence, and be less capable animals and more subject to disease and starvation than the sheep in a wolf-haunted region. The wolf may, so far, be a blessing in disguise.

This suggests another obvious remark. When we speak of the struggle for existence, the popular view seems to construe this into the theory that the world is a mere cockpit, in which one race carries on an internecine struggle with the other. If the wolves are turned in with the sheep, the first result will be that all the sheep will become mutton, and the last that there will be one big wolf with all the others inside him. But this is contrary to the essence of the doctrine. Every race depends, we all hold, upon its environment, and the environment includes all the other races. If some, therefore, are in conflict, others are mutually necessary. If the wolf ate all the sheep, and the sheep ate all the grass, the result would be the extirpation of all the sheep and all the wolves, as well as all the grass. The struggle necessarily implies reciprocal dependence in a countless variety of ways. There is not only a conflict, but a system of tacit alliances. One species is necessary to the existence of others, though the multiplication of some implies also the dying out of particular rivals. The conflict implies no cruelty, as I have said, and the alliance no goodwill. The wolf neither loves the sheep (except as mutton) nor hates him; but he depends upon him as absolutely as if he were aware of the fact. The sheep is one of the wolf's necessities of life. When we speak of the struggle for existence we mean, of course, that there is at any given period a certain equilibrium between all the existing species; it changes, though it changes so slowly that the process is imperceptible and difficult to realise even to the scientific imagination. The survival of any species involves the disappearance of rivals no more than the preservation of allies. The struggle, therefore, is so far from internecine that it necessarily involves co-operation. It cannot even be said that it necessarily implies suffering. People, indeed, speak as though the extinction of a race involved suffering in the same way as the slaughter of an individual. It is plain that this is not a necessary, though it may sometimes be the actual result. A corporation may be suppressed without injury to its members. Every individual will die before long, struggle or no struggle. If the rate of reproduction fails to keep up with the

rate of extinction, the species might have been discovered without any increase of suffering. All that the discovered how to take birds' eggs, they might soon extirpate. If the differences of the it does not follow that the birds would individually suffer. It makes it impossible they would feel themselves relieved from a disagreeable response. certain The process by which a species is improved, the dying out of various least fit, implies no more suffering than we know to exist independently of any doctrine as to a struggle. When we use anthropomorphic language, we may speak of "self-assertion." But "self-assertion," minus the anthropomorphism, means self-preservation; and that is merely a way of describing the fact that an animal or plant which is well adapted to its conditions of life is more likely to live than an animal which is ill-adapted. I have some difficulty in imagining how any other arrangement can even be supposed possible. It seems to be almost an identical proposition that the healthiest and strongest will generally live longest; and the conception of a "struggle for existence" only enables us to understand how this results in certain progressive modifications of the species. If we could even for a moment have fancied that there was no pain and disease, and that some beings were not more liable than others to those evils, I might admit that the new doctrine has made the world darker. As it is, it seems to me that it leaves the data just what they were before, and only shows us that they have certain previously unsuspected bearings upon the history of the world.

One other point must be mentioned. Not only are species interdependent as well as partly in competition, but there is an absolute dependence in all the higher species between its different members which may be said to imply a *de facto* altruism, as the dependence upon other species implies a *de facto* co-operation. Every animal, to say nothing else, is absolutely dependent for a considerable part of its existence upon its parents. The young bird or beast could not grow up unless its mother took care of it for a certain period. There is, therefore, no struggle as between mother and progeny, but, on the contrary, the closest possible alliance. Otherwise life would be impossible. The young being defenceless, their parents could exterminate them if they pleased; and by so doing would exterminate the race. This, of course, constantly involves a mutual sacrifice of the mother to her young. She has to go through a whole series of operations, which strain her own strength and endanger her own existence, but which are absolutely essential to the continuance of the race. It may be anthropomorphic to attribute any maternal emotions of the human kind to the animal. The bird, perhaps, sits upon her eggs because they give her an agreeable sensation, or, if you please, from a blind instinct which somehow determines her to the practice. She does not look forward, we may suppose, to bringing

up a family, or speculate upon the delights of domestic affection. I only say that as a fact she behaves in a way which is at once injurious to her own chances of survival and absolutely necessary to the survival of the species. The abnormal bird who deserts her nest escapes many dangers; but if all birds were devoid of the instinct, the birds would not survive a generation.

Now, I ask, what is the difference which takes place when the monkey gradually loses his tail and sets up a superior brain? Is it properly to be described as a development or improvement of the "cosmic process," or as the beginning of a prolonged contest against it?

In the first place, so far as man becomes a reasonable being, capable of foresight and of the adoption of means to ends, he recognises the necessity of these tacit alliances. He believes it to be his interest not to exterminate everything, but to exterminate those species alone whose existence is incompatible with his own. The wolf eats every sheep that he comes across as long as his appetite lasts. If there are too many wolves, the process is checked by the starvation of the super-numerary eaters. Man can preserve as many sheep as he wants, and may also proportion the numbers of his own species to the possibilities of future supply. Many of the lower species thus become subordinate parts of the social organism—that is to say, of the new equilibrium which has been established. There is so far a reciprocal advantage. The sheep who is preserved with a view to mutton gets the advantage, though he is not kept with a view to his own advantage. Of all arguments for vegetarianism, none is so weak as the argument from humanity. The pig has a stronger interest than any one in the demand for bacon. If all the world were Jewish, there would be no pigs at all. He has to pay for his privileges by an early death; but he makes a good bargain of it. He dies young, and, though we can hardly infer the "love of the gods," we must admit that he gets a superior race of beings to attend to his comforts, moved by the strongest possible interest in his health and vigour, and induced by its own needs, perhaps, to make him a little too fat for comfort, but certainly also to see that he has a good sty, and plenty to eat every day of his life. Other races, again, are extirpated as "ruthlessly" as in the merely instinctive struggle for existence. We get rid of wolves and snakes as well as we can, and more systematically than can be done by their animal competitors. The process does not necessarily involve cruelty, and certainly does not involve a diminution of the total of happiness. The struggle for existence means the substitution of a new system of equilibrium, in which one of the old discords has been removed, and the survivors live in greater harmony. If the wolf is extirpated as an internecine enemy, it is that there may be more sheep when sheep have become our allies and the objects of our earthly providence. The result may be, perhaps I might say must be, a state in which, on the whole, there is a greater amount of

life supported on the planet; and therefore, as those will think who are not pessimists, a decided gain on the balance. At any rate, the difference so far is that the condition which was in all cases necessary, is now consciously recognised as necessary; and that we deliberately aim at a result which always had to be achieved on penalty of destruction. So far, again, as morality can be established on purely prudential grounds, the same holds good of relations between human beings themselves. Men begin to perceive that, even from a purely personal point of view, peace is preferable to war. If war is unhappily still prevalent, it is at least not war in which every clan is fighting with its neighbours, and where conquest means slavery or extirpation. Millions of men are at peace within the limits of a modern State, and can go about their business without cutting each other's throats. When they fight with other nations they do not enslave nor massacre their prisoners. Taking the purely selfish ground, a Hobbes can prove conclusively that everybody has benefited by the social compact which substituted peace and order for the original state of war. Is this, then, a reversal of the old state of things—a coming of a "cosmic process"? I should rather say that it is a development of the tacit alliances, and a modification so far of the direct or internecine conflict. Both were equally implied in the former conditions, and both still exist. Some races form alliances, while others are crowded out of existence. Of course, I cease to do some things which I should have done before. I don't attack the first man I meet in the street and take his scalp. The reason is that I don't expect that he will take mine; for, if I did, I fear that even as a civilised being, I should try to anticipate his intentions. This merely means that we have both come to see that we have a common interest in keeping the peace. And this, again, merely means that the alliance which was always an absolutely necessary condition of the survival of the species has now been extended through a wider area. The species could not have got on at all if there had not been so much alliance as is necessary for its reproduction and for the preservation of its young for some years of helplessness. The change is simply that the small circle which included only the primitive family or class has extended, so that we can meet members of the same race on terms which were previously confined to the minor group. We have still to exterminate and still to preserve. The mode of employing our energies has changed, but not the essential nature.

Morality proper, however, has so far not emerged. It begins when sympathy begins; when we really desire the happiness of others; or, as Kant says, when we treat other men as an end and not simply as a means. Undoubtedly this involves a new principle, no less than the essential principle of all true morality. Still I have to ask whether it implies a combating or a continuation of a cosmic process. Now, as I have observed, even the animal mother shows

what I have called a *de facto* altruism. She has instincts which, though dangerous to the individual, are essential for the race. The human mother sacrifices herself with a consciousness of the results to herself, and her personal fears are overcome by the strength of her affections. She will endure a painful death to save her children from suffering. The animal sacrifices herself but without consciousness and therefore without moral worth. This is merely the most striking exemplification of the general process of the development of morality. Conduct is first regarded purely with a view to the effects upon the agent, and is therefore enforced by extrinsic penalties, by consequences, that is, supposed to be attached to it by the will of some ruler, natural or supernatural. The instinct which comes to regard such conduct as bad in itself, which implies a dislike of giving pain to others, not merely a dislike to the gallows, grows up under such protection, and in the really moralised being acquires a strength which makes the external penalty superfluous. This, indubitably, is the greatest of all changes, the critical fact which decides whether we are to regard conduct simply as useful or also to regard it as moral in the strictest sense. But I should still call it a development and not a reversal of the previous process. The conduct which we call virtuous is the same conduct externally which we before regarded as useful. The difference is that the simple fact of its utility—that is, of its utility to others and to the race in general—has now become the sufficient motive for the action as well as the implicit cause of the action. In the earlier stages, when no true sympathy existed, men and animals were still forced to act in a certain way because it was beneficial to others. They now act in that way because they perceive it to be beneficial to others. The whole history of moral evolution seems to imply this. We may go back to a period at which the moral law is identified with the general customs of the race; at which there is no perception of any clear distinction between that which is moral and that which is simply customary; between that which is imposed by a law in the strict sense and that which is dictated by general moral principles. In such a state of things, the motives for obedience partake of the nature of “blind instincts.” No definite reason for them is present to the mind of the agent, and it does not occur to him even to demand a reason. “Our father did so and we do so” is the sole and sufficient explanation of their conduct. Thus instinct again may be traced back by evolutionists to the earliest period at which the instincts implied in the relations between the sexes, or between parents and offspring, existed. They were the germ from which has sprung all morality such as we now recognise.

Morality, then, implies the development of certain instincts which are essential to the race, but which may in an indefinite number of cases be injurious to the individual. The particular mother is killed because she obeys her natural instincts; but if it were not for mothers

and their instincts, the race would come to an end. Professor Huxley speaks of the "fanatical individualism" of our time as failing to construct morality from the analogy of the cosmic process. An individualism which regards the cosmic process as equivalent simply to an internecine struggle of each against all must certainly fail to construct a satisfactory morality, and I will add that any individualism which fails to recognise fully the social factor, which regards society as an aggregate instead of an organism, will, in my opinion, find itself in difficulties. But I also submit that the development of the instincts which directly correspond to the needs of the race, is merely another case in which we aim consciously at an end which was before an unintentional result of our actions. Every race, above the lowest, has instincts which are only intelligible by the requirements of the race; and has both to compete with some and to form alliances with others of its fellow-occupants of the planet. Both in the unmoralised condition and in that in which morality has become most developed, these instincts have the common characteristics that they may be regarded as conditions of the power of the race to maintain its position in the world, and so, speaking roughly, to preserve or increase its own vitality.

I will not pause to insist upon this so far as regards many qualities which are certainly moral, though they may be said to refer primarily to the individual. That chastity and temperance, truthfulness and energy, are, on the whole, advantages both to the individual and to the race, does not, I fancy, require elaborate proof; nor need I argue at length that the races in which they are common will therefore have inevitable advantages in the struggle for existence. Of all qualities which enable a race to hold its own, none is more important than the power of organising ecclesiastically, politically, and socially, and that power implies the prevalence of justice and the existence of mutual confidence, and therefore of all the social virtues. The difficulty seems to be felt in regard to those purely altruistic impulses which, at first glance at any rate, make it apparently our duty to preserve those who would otherwise be unfit to live. Virtue, says Professor Huxley, is directed "not so much to the survival of the fittest," as to the "fitting of as many as possible to survive." I do not dispute the statement, I think it true in a sense; but I have a difficulty as to its application.

Morality, it is obvious, must be limited by the conditions in which we are placed. What is impossible is not a duty. One condition plainly is that the planet is limited. There is only room for a certain number of living beings. It is one consequence that we do in fact go on suppressing the unfit, and cannot help going on suppressing them. Is it desirable that it should be otherwise? Should we wish, for example, that America could still be a hunting-ground for savages? Is it better that a country should contain a million red men or twenty millions of

civilised whites? Undoubtedly the moralist will say with truth that the methods of extirpation adopted by Spaniards and Englishmen were detestable. I need not say that I agree with him and hope that such methods may be abolished wherever any remnant of them exists. But I say so partly just because I believe in the struggle for existence. This process underlies morality, and operates whether we are moral or not. The most civilised race—that which has the greatest knowledge, skill, power of organisation—will, I hold, have an inevitable advantage in the struggle, even if it does not use the brutal means which are superfluous as well as cruel. All the natives who lived in America a hundred years ago would be dead now in any case, even if they had invariably been treated with the greatest humanity, fairness, and consideration. Had they been unable to suit themselves to new conditions of life, they would have suffered a euthanasia instead of a partial extirpation; and had they suited themselves they would either have been absorbed or become a useful part of the population. To abolish the old brutal method is not to abolish the struggle for existence, but to make the result depend upon a higher order of qualities than those of the mere piratical viking.

Mr. Pearson has been telling us in his most interesting book that the negro may not improbably hold his own in Africa. I cannot say I regard this as an unmixed evil. Why should there not be parts of the world in which races of inferior intelligence or energy should hold their own? I am not so anxious to see the whole earth covered by an indefinite multiplication of the cockney type. But I only quote the suggestion for another reason. Till recent years the struggle for existence was carried on as between Europeans and negroes by simple violence and brutality. The slave-trade and its consequences have condemned the whole continent to barbarism. That undoubtedly was part of the struggle for existence. But if Mr. Pearson's guess should be verified, the results have been so far futile as well as disastrous. The negro has been degraded, and yet, after all our brutality, we cannot take his place. Therefore, besides the enormous evils to slave-trading countries themselves, the lowering of their moral tone, the substitution of piracy for legitimate commerce, and the degradation of the countries which bought the slaves, the superior race has not even been able to suppress the inferior. But the abolition of this monstrous evil does not involve the abolition but the humanisation of the struggle. The white man, however merciful he becomes, may gradually extend over such parts of the country as are suitable to him, and the black man will hold the rest, and acquire such arts and civilisation as he is capable of appropriating. The absence of cruelty would not alter the fact that the fittest race would extend; but it may ensure that whatever is good in the negro may have a chance of development in his own sphere, and that success in the struggle will be decided by more valuable qualities.

Without venturing further into a rather speculative region, I need only indicate the bearing of such considerations upon problems nearer home. It is often complained that the tendency of modern civilisation is to preserve the weakly, and therefore to lower the vitality of the race. This seems to involve inadmissible assumptions. In the first place, the process by which the weaker are preserved, consists in suppressing various conditions unfavourable to human life in general. Sanitary legislation, for example, aims at destroying the causes of many of the diseases from which our forefathers suffered. If we can suppress the small-pox, we of course save many weakly children, who would have died had they been attacked. But we also remove one of the causes which weakened the constitutions of many of the survivors. I do not know by what right we can say that such legislation, or again the legislation which prevents the excessive labour of children, does more harm by preserving the weak than it does good by preventing the weakening of the strong. But one thing is at any rate clear. To preserve life is to increase the population, and therefore to increase the competition, and, in other words, to intensify the struggle for existence. The process is as broad as it is long. If we could ensure that every child born should grow up to maturity, the result would be to double the severity of the competition for support. What we should have to show, therefore, in order to justify the inference of a deterioration due to this process, would be, not that it simply increased the number of the candidates for living, but that it gave to feebler candidates a differential advantage; that they are now more fitted than they were before for ousting their superior neighbours from the chances of support. But I can see no reason for supposing such a consequence to be probable or even possible. The struggle for existence, as I have suggested, rests upon the unalterable facts, that the world is limited and population elastic, and under all conceivable circumstances we shall still have in some way or other to proportion our numbers to our supplies, and under all circumstances those who are fittest by reason of intellectual or moral or physical qualities will have the best chance of occupying good places, and leaving descendants to supply the next generation. It is surely not less true that in the civilised as much as in the most barbarous race, the healthiest are the most likely to live, and the most likely to be ancestors. If so, the struggle will still be carried on upon the same principles, though certainly in a different shape.

It is true that this suggests one of the most difficult questions of the time. It is suggested, for example, that in some respects the "highest" specimens of the race are not the healthiest or the fittest. Genius, according to some people, is a variety of disease, and intellectual power is won by a diminution of reproductive power. A lower race, again, if we measure "high" and "low" by intellectual capacity, may oust a higher race, because it can support itself more



cheaply, or, in other words, because it is more efficient for industrial purposes. Without presuming to pronounce upon such questions, I will simply ask whether this does not interpret Professor Huxley's remark about that "cosmic nature" which, he says, is still so strong, and which is likely to be strong so long as men require stomachs. The fact is simply that we have not to suppress it, but to adapt it to new circumstances. We are engaged in working out a gigantic problem: What is the best, in the sense of the most efficient, type of human being? What is the best combination of brains and stomach? We turn out saints who are "too good to live," and philosophers who have run too rapidly to brains. They do not answer in practice, because they are instruments too delicate for the rough work of daily life. They may give a foretaste of qualities which will be some day possible for the average man; of intellectual and moral qualities which, though now exceptional, may become commonplace. But the best stock for the race are those in whom we have been lucky enough to strike out the happy combination in which greater intellectual power is gained without the loss of physical vigour. Such men, it is probable, will not deviate so widely from the average type. The reconciliation of the two conditions can only be effected by a very gradual process of slowly edging onwards in the right direction. Meanwhile the theory of a struggle for existence justifies us, instead of condemning us, for preserving the delicate child, who may turn out to be a Newton or a Keats, because he will leave to us the advantage of his discoveries or his poems, while his physical feebleness assures us that he will not propagate his race.

This may lead to a final question. Does the morality of a race strengthen or weaken it; fit it to hold its own in the general equilibrium, or make its extirpation by lower races more probable? I do not suppose that anybody would deny what I have already suggested that the more moral the race, the more harmonious and the better organised, the better it is fitted for holding its own. But if this be admitted, we must also admit that the change is not that it has ceased to struggle, but that it struggles by different means. It holds its own, not merely by brute force, but by justice, humanity, and intelligence, while, it may be added, the possession of such qualities does not weaken the brute force, where such a quality is still required. The most civilised races are, of course, also the most formidable in war. But, if we take the opposite alternative, I must ask how any quality which really weakens the vitality of the race can properly be called moral? I should entirely repudiate any rule of conduct which could be shown to have such a tendency. This, indeed, indicates what seems to me to be the chief difficulty with most people. Charity, you say, is a virtue; charity increases beggary, and so far tends to produce a feebler population; therefore, a moral quality clearly tends to diminish the vigour of a nation.

The answer is, of course, obvious, and I am confident that Professor Huxley would so far agree with me. It is that all charity which fosters a degraded class is therefore immoral. The "fanatical individualism" of to-day has its weaknesses; but in this matter it seems to me that we see the weakness of the not less fanatical "collectivism."

The question, in fact, how far any of the socialistic or religious schemes of to-day are right or wrong, depends upon our answer to the question how far they tend to produce a vigorous or an enervated population. If I am asked to subscribe to General Booth's scheme, I inquire first whether the scheme is likely to increase or diminish the number of helpless hangers-on upon the efficient part of society. Will the whole nation consist in larger proportions of active and responsible workers, or of people who are simply burthens upon the real workers? The answer decides not only the question whether it is expedient, but also the question whether it is right or wrong, to support the proposed scheme. Every charitable action is so far a good action that it implies sympathy for suffering; but if it implies such want of prudence that it increases the evil which it means to remedy, it becomes for that reason a bad action. To develop sympathy without developing foresight is just one of the one-sided developments which fail to constitute a real advance in morality, though I will not deny that it may incidentally lead to an advance.

I hold, then, that the "struggle for existence" belongs to an underlying order of facts to which moral epithets cannot be properly applied. It denotes a condition of which the moralist has to take account, and to which morality has to be adapted, but which, just because it is a "cosmic process," cannot be altered, however much we may alter the conduct which it dictates. Under all conceivable circumstances, the race has to adapt itself to the environment, and that necessarily implies a conflict as well as an alliance. The preservation of the fittest, which is surely a good thing, is merely another aspect of the dying out of the unfit, which is hardly a bad thing. The feast which Nature spreads before us, according to Malthus' metaphor, is only sufficient for a limited number of guests, and the one question is how to select them. The use of morality is to humanise the struggle; to minimise the suffering of those who lose the game; and to offer the prizes to the qualities which are advantageous to all rather than to those which serve to intensify the bitterness of the conflict. This implies the growth of foresight, which is an extension of the earlier instinct, and enables men to adapt themselves to the future, and to learn from the past, as well as to act upon the immediate impulse of present events. It implies still more the development of the sympathy which makes every man feel for the sufferings of all, and which, as social organisation becomes closer, and the dependence of each constituent atom upon the whole organisation is more vividly realised, extends

the range of a man's interests beyond his own private needs. In that sense, again, it must stimulate "collectivism" at the expense of a crude individualism, and condemns the doctrine which, as Professor Huxley puts it, would forbid us to restrain the member of a community from doing his best to destroy it. If it be right to restrain such conduct, it is right to carry on the conflict against all anti-social agents or tendencies. I should certainly hold any form of collectivism to be immoral which denied the essential doctrine of the abused individualist, the necessity, that is, for individual responsibility. We have surely to suppress the murderer as our ancestors suppressed the wolf. We have to suppress both the external enemies, the noxious animals whose existence is incompatible with our own, and the internal enemies which are injurious elements in the society itself. That is, we have to work for the same end of eliminating the least fit. Our methods are changed; we desire to suppress poverty, not to extirpate the poor man. We give inferior races a chance of taking whatever place they are fit for, and try to supplant them with the least possible severity if they are unfit for any place. But the suppression of poverty supposes not the confiscation of wealth, which would hardly suppress poverty in the long run, nor even the adoption of a system of living which would make it easier for the idle and the good-for-nothing to survive. The progress of civilisation depends, I should say, on the extension of the sense of duty which each man owes to society at large. That involves a constitution of society which, although we abandon the old methods of hanging, and flogging, and shooting down—methods which corrupted the inflictors of punishment by diminishing their own sense of responsibility—may give an advantage to the prudent and industrious and make it more probable that they will be the ancestors of the next generation. A system which should equalise the advantages of the energetic and the helpless would begin by demoralising, and would very soon lead to an unprecedented intensification of the struggle for existence. The probable result of a ruthless socialism would be the adoption of very severe means for suppressing those who did not contribute their share of work. But in any case, as it seems, we never get away or break away from the inevitable fact. If individual ends could be suppressed, if every man worked for the good of society as energetically as for his own, we should still feel the absolute necessity of proportioning the whole body to the whole supplies obtainable from the planet, and to preserve the equilibrium of mankind relatively to the rest of nature. That day is probably distant, but even upon that hypothesis the struggle for existence would still be with us, and there would be the same necessity for preserving the fittest and suppressing, as gently as might be, those who were unfit.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

## FRENCH PLAYS AND ENGLISH AUDIENCES.

I HAD occasion last year to comment with some severity on the behaviour of the English audiences at (what was then) the Royal English Opera House, while attending the performances of Madame Sarah Bernhardt and her company. This year a great change for the better seems to have come over us. Many of those who crowded to see Sarah Bernhardt seem to have been drawn to the theatre simply through love of sensation, or on account of the immense reputation of the great actress, but the majority of the large and attentive audiences who this year have thronged Drury Lane to enjoy the performances of the Comédie Française were evidently drawn thither through genuine love of French acting and appreciation of the French drama—of the French prose drama perhaps I ought to say, taking into account certain reservations which I shall have soon to make. This simple fact has turned what in one way was almost a penance into a pleasure. This year the delight of watching Got, Mounet-Sully, Febvre, Coquelin, Mdle. Reichenberg, Mdle. Bartet, and the rest of the wonderful company, was not marred, as was the case while one watched Sarah Bernhardt last year, by a running comment, upon the whole course of the play, kept up continuously by all one's neighbours in the adjoining seats. The actors were allowed to explain themselves, and the audience did not think it incumbent upon them to play the elucidatory part of a Greek chorus.

So much by way of preface. Passing now to the plays themselves, what first struck me was the wonderful power of what one may call acclimatisation shown by the French actors and actresses. On the very first night they seemed as much at their ease, as perfectly at home, on the boards of Drury Lane, as if they had been playing

"Les Plaideurs" and "Le Malade Imaginaire" there every evening of their lives. When Mdlle. Muller, in that charming pale-blue dress, made her first entrance, one felt as if she must have been acting Isabelle at Drury Lane all her life—so great is the power which these talented artists possess of instantly, and without any apparent effort, adapting themselves to altered conditions. And, while dwelling on the first night, let me not forget to point out to Mr. Weatherly that the "peril" to which M. Claretie alludes in his fine verses "Salut à Londres," is the "risk" of again claiming our attention—not, as Mr. Weatherly seems to think, the serious risk incurred in crossing the Channel!\*

It will be well, I think, to say a few words respecting M. Jean Richepin's fine play, "Par le Glaive," which was acted on the third night, and received but scant justice from the public and the critics. English critics do not seem to be aware that M. Richepin is looked upon in France as the greatest living French poet. This is what M. Georges Lefèvre, that well-known and most excellent critic, has said of him :

"Richepin est un grand, très-grand poète, le plus grand certainement des poètes français vivants, au-dessus de Sully-Prudhomme et de Leconte de Lisle, les derniers survivants avec Auguste Vacquerie de la grande pléiade romantique. Peut-être pourrais-je faire quelques réserves d'auteur dramatique sur sa façon de conduire le développement scénique d'un drame; mais il n'y a pas de critique qui tienne devant cette inspiration puissante, cette majesté d'images, ce souffle vainqueur de poésie qui vous transporte, vous soulève et vous fait perdre pied, quoi que vous fassiez pour vous ressaisir."

So says a great French critic, speaking of Richepin, with especial reference to "Par le Glaive." Yet Mr. William Archer, usually a sound and well instructed critic, calls this play "a rampageous puppet-show," and another critic, writing in a daily paper, says :

"M. Jean Richepin's drama is written in rhymed verse which seldom rises above the level of mechanical mediocrity. Even such excellent actors as MM. Mounet-Sully, Lambert fils, and Paul Mounet were betrayed by M. Richepin's stilted and inflated measures into exaggerated emphasis and aggressive noisiness. As Conrad, indeed, M. Mounet positively shouted himself hoarse."

This same critic, shortly afterwards, in noticing the performance of "Les Effrontés," says that "there was no boisterousness of declamation,

M. Claretie's lines.

"En vingt ans, les fils de Molière  
Pour que l'Art, immortel vainqueur,  
Rende enfin toute âme écolière  
De son génie et de son cœur ;  
En vingt ans—oiseaux en voyage—  
Ont trois fois bravé le péril  
De réclamer votre suffrage. . . . .  
Mais Londres n'est pas un exil !"

Mr. Weatherly's translation.

"'Tis twenty years since first we came—  
Children of Molière's master art,  
To speak to you in his great name,  
And show his genius and his heart :  
And thrice within these twenty years,  
Thrice have we braved the tides that flow,  
To claim your laughter and your tears,  
And London will not bid us go."

misapplication of emphasis, or extravagance of gesture. Everything went smoothly, fluently, decorously." The critic is evidently of opinion that a romantic play ought to be acted like a drawing-room comedy, and that the part of a savage freebooter, half insane with passion, should be played as "decorously" as that of Sergine or the Marquis d'Auberive. M. Paul Mounet, it seems to me, has more of the artistic sense than his critic, and is perfectly right in his conception of the part of Conrad.

The truth is that "Par le Glaive" is a great play, but it belongs to a school which is rapidly passing away. It is, in fact, probably the last great drama which the romantic school will produce. The very cadence of that beautiful line near the beginning,

"Amis, à la santé du printemps et des roses!"

transports us at once to the land of Hugo, and, for my own part, while I watched the play, I felt as one might feel while climbing a hill and gaining a renewed glimpse of a magnificent sunset which has long ceased to be visible from the valleys and the lower ground. The greatest praise one can give to "Par le Glaive" is that it once again flashes upon us the very tints and rays of the sunset of the romantic drama. I have little space for quoting, but I must quote the twelve magnificent lines spoken by Conrad at the moment of fiery exaltation when passionate love and the passion of battle wrestle within him for the mastery:

"La guerre! Eh bien! tant mieux! La guerre me manquait!  
Mes gens ont soif de sang. Qu'on rouvre le banquet!  
Qu'ils reviennent, ces jours des furcus et d'alarmes!  
Que le vent du combat sèche et brûle mes larmes!  
Que l'éclair radieux des vieux glaives brandis  
M'éveille de l'amour ou je m'abâtardis!  
Car cet amour m'abaisse autant qu'il me tourmente.  
Il me fait oublier ma véritable amante,  
La guerre, qui jadis par la plaine et les monts  
D'au libre et d'aventure emplissait mes poumons,  
La guerre, dont le lit est un champ de bataille  
Et dont le baiser pourpre a pour bouche une entaille!"\*

There are hardly twelve finer lines anywhere in Victor Hugo. Yet they are taken from a play which one English critic call "a rampageous puppet-show," and of which another critic says that it "seldom rises above the level of mechanical mediocrity!"

The truth, however, is that the power and passion of poetry—especially of poetry adequately interpreted—are wasted upon an English audience of to-day. As it was with "Par le Glaive," so it was, though naturally in a less marked degree, with "Ruy Blas"; as it was with "Ruy Blas," so it was with "Œdipe Roi" and "Hamlet"; as it was with "Œdipe Roi" and "Hamlet," so it was

\* In deference to one of the above-mentioned critics, I may observe that it is hardly possible to see how these lines could be spoken in a "decorous" whisper!

with "La Reine Juana" and "Hernani."\* Not one of these plays excited anything like the interest and attention elicited by the prose dramas. An exhaustive experiment has now been made at Drury Lane. Several of the finest existing poetical plays have been presented, interpreted by a group of incomparable actors, but unassisted by any profuse scenic decoration, and the result proves that, as I said last year, when poetic plays do succeed upon the English stage, that success is due to the spectacle and not to the poetry. Is there any grander poetry in the world than that of "Ruy Blas" and "Œdipe Roi," and the "Cid" and "Athalie"? Is there in the drama of any country a more magnificent poetic episode than that which closes the fifth act of Corneille's "Horace"—the scene in which Valère and Horace and Sabine and the elder Horace and Tulle set forth their conflicting views as to the justice or injustice of the murder of Camille; the scene in which the various passions of a brother for a sister, of a lover for his adored one, of a patriot for his country, of a king for his people, of a wife for her husband, of a father for his son, are expressed and developed with the most astonishing delicacy and discrimination? Why, then, were the performances of "Ruy Blas" and "Œdipe Roi" comparative failures, and why did the British public elect not to have the "Cid," and "Athalie," and "Horace" performed at all? Clearly for the old, old reason—that we have in England lost the taste for exalted poetry, and retain only the taste for vulgar melodrama and drawing-room comedy.

At the same time, let me not be misunderstood. French drawing-room comedy is good, far better than our own, both in the writing and the interpretation. Such plays as "Denise," "Les Effrontés," "Le Gendre de Monsieur Poirier," "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Frou-Frou," are always well worth seeing, more especially when, as in this instance, some of them provided an opportunity for our once again witnessing the unimpaired and unapproachable genius of that wonderful veteran, M. Got. All I wish to insist upon is this, that when we were offered the chance of witnessing ten masterpieces of Molière, it was a pity to be content with only seeing three ("Les Précieuses Ridicules," "Le Malade Imaginaire," "Les Femmes Savantes"); that when nineteen plays in verse were originally offered us, it is somewhat disheartening to find that various changes in the programme (which, be it remembered, no doubt exactly represented the drift of public opinion) reduced those nineteen plays to only eleven, and that every piece which sufficiently interested the audience to be thought worthy of repetition was a prose piece.

\* If an exception has to be made, it must be in the case of "Hernani." The acting of M. Silvain and M. Mounet-Sully in the great scene at the end of the third act was so magnificent that the audience, almost in spite of themselves, were roused for a moment into something like real enthusiasm.

It is true that there is something to be said on both sides, and that the very fact of the rejection of the verse plays in which that most charming actress Mdlle. Adeline Dudlay was to have appeared enabled us to see an equally charming actress, Madame Jane Hading, not once, as originally arranged, but five times. Still, after seeing the fine acting of Mdlle. Dudlay as Bianca in "Par le Glaive" and as the Queen in "La Reine Juana,"\* I cannot help regretting that the original programme was not carried out, at any rate as regards the plays in which she was to have appeared, and that we were not allowed to see her as Camille, and Chimène, and Athalie, and Berthe. Of the plays in which these characters occur, that which we relinquished with least reluctance was Henri de Bornier's "Fille de Roland," which, though it carried its author to the French Academy, cannot be regarded as a first-class work. To quote M. Georges Lefèvre once more: "Il y a, à de certains endroits; du mouvement et du souffle. Seulement, l'outil—le vers—est défectueux, trop calqué sur notre mauvais vers français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, mal rimé, sourd, sans sonorité, et sans musique."

It is difficult to criticise the acting of the various plays which we did allow ourselves to welcome for the following reason—that where the acting was so good all round, it is not easy to single out individual performers. No company, however strong, could help feeling the loss of Coquelin *ainé*, of Delaunay, of Mdlle. Croizette, and, above all, of Sarah Bernhardt. Still, allowing for this, what other company in the world could even have proposed to present, at thirty consecutive performances, forty-seven distinct plays? For this and no less than this, was the original intention, an intention which, if the British public would have allowed it, I have not the slightest doubt that the Comédie Française could have carried out with ease and triumphantly. As a matter of fact, owing to the constant changes in the programme due to the supposed necessity for daily consulting the capricious barometer of British opinion, the number of plays actually performed was thirty-two—given at thirty performances. Even this feat, though less brilliant than that which it was forbidden to attempt, could not possibly, in my opinion, have been achieved by any other company in the world.

Speaking generally, the two points which most struck me, in comparing the acting of the Comédie Française with that of other companies, were, first, their power of rendering poetry (when we allowed them to do so); and, secondly, their wonderful character-acting, and

\* Her death-bed scene in the above play is almost certainly the most wonderful scene of the kind ever given to the world by any artist. It is most painful to witness; but it is the perfection of art. Moreover, in the course of the play Mdlle. Dudlay most beautifully and pathetically depicts something far harder to portray than the passion of young love the passion, namely, of sorrowing and self-sacrificing motherhood.



on the mechanical side of this, their marvellous skill in the art of making up. I was particularly struck by the astonishing versatility of M. Leloir and of M. Truffier in this respect. In the parts of Judge Dandin, of Monsieur Purgon, of Ludwig, of the Marquis d'Auberive, of Chrysale, of Rosencrantz, M. Leloir so merged his personality in his part and looked so utterly different that, save for his height, it would have been almost impossible to recognise him. As for M. Truffier, his Joyeuse in "Henri III. et sa Cour," his "laquais" in the great comic scene in the fourth act of "Ruy Blas," and his Paul Raymond in "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," were three such perfect presentations of completely differing personalities that no words of praise which I could find would be adequate to convey my impression of the talent of this great character-actor. His exclamation, "*Un rêve!*" when, as Jean de Carillac, he described the cup of camomile tea made for him by the mother of Rosalie Michon after his "poisonous" dinner at the club, was a revelation of what can be done by voice and gesture, in the delivery of merely a couple of words.

As to M. Got, his genius is so supreme and so universally recognised that any praise of mine would seem almost an impertinence. It is sufficient in this rapid retrospect to point out how largely it was due to his superb acting in the part of M. Brissot that "Denise" was repeated three times, and to his acting as Giboyer that "Les Effrontés" was repeated no less than five times during the Drury Lane season. I think he was really appreciated. It was M. Mounet-Sully, M. Paul Mounet, M. Albert Lambert  *fils*, and Mdlle. Dudlay, who as the principal exponents of the poetical drama have cause to complain of our lukewarmness. I may observe that M. Mounet-Sully's rendering of Hamlet was one of the finest possible expositions of the theory of Hamlet's absolute insanity. Did it not occur to the sapient critic who said, "Mounet-Sully may be feigning madness, but it is uncommonly like the real article," that he was, in fact, bestowing the highest praise upon the actor?

I have mentioned Truffier's wonderful acting as Paul Raymond in "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie"; it is only fair to add how charmingly he was seconded by Mdlle. Reichenberg as Jeanne Raymond. This bright vivacious part exactly suits this talented lady, and she was seen to great advantage in it; while the part of Miss Lucy Watson, the English governess, seems to have been specially created for Madame Emilie Broisat. Madame Blanche Pierson was admirable in every part she played, and gave constant delight to the audience; her Duchesse de Réville was one of the finest pieces of character-acting I have ever seen, perfect throughout in delicacy and *finesse*, while Madame Ludwig's Suzanne, in the same play ("Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie"), was an excessively clever impersonation of merriness and

boisterous girlhood. Madame Pierson, by the way, like Mrs. John Wood on our own stage, has a marvellous gift of saying the most risky things in the most amusingly unconscious manner. As Thérèse Smith, in "Francillon," she was a most brilliant interpreter of the wit, often dangerous but always polished, of *Dumas fils*. In the same play Mdlle. Muller was as delightful an *ingénue*, in the part of Annette de Riverolles, as she had previously proved herself in the part of Marthe de Bardannes in "Denise." Also, in glancing back and recalling my impressions of so many evenings spent in such pleasant company, I ought not to forget to mention how much I was struck by the grace and talent of those two charming young actresses, Mdlle. Bertigny and Mdlle. Nancy Martel, as shown in Auguste Vacquerie's bright little play, "Souvent Homme Varié." When one compares in one's mind "Souvent Homme Varié" with "Par le Glaive," one feels that, while Auguste Vacquerie is a poet, Jean Richepin is a great poet. None the less, "Souvent Homme Varié" is perfect in its way, and those who witnessed the performance will not soon forget the lovely girlish simplicity of Lydia, or the grace and beauty of Fidelity.

In only one play did there seem to me to be anything approaching a failure, and that, oddly enough, was in "Frou-Frou," the reason being that Mdlle. Marie Louise Marsy, talented actress though she is, is not, I think, suited to the part of Frou-Frou. The very qualities which contribute to her signal success as Catarina in M. Paul Delair's version of "The Taming of the Shrew," render it less easy for her to succeed in the part of the light and frivolous Gilberte. Moreover, she is considerably taller than Madame Baretta, who acted the part of Louise, and that Frou-Frou should be taller than her sister seems somehow altogether incongruous. The right personal proportions were preserved when Madame Bernhardt's company acted the play last year; Madame Bernhardt is shorter than Mdlle. Jane Mea, who, it will be remembered, made an admirable Louise.

I have not yet mentioned Mdlle Julia Bartet, "la véritable reine tragique de la Comédie Française," as a French writer calls her. Let me close this brief transcript of my impressions by saying how strongly I feel that the praise given to this great actress in the English papers has been scanty indeed compared with what she really merits, and how rapidly the impression of her power and charm grew upon me as I witnessed performance after performance, from her first appearance, as Rinalda, to her last, as Doña Sol. As Rinalda she was passionate and forceful to the last degree; as Denise she was most pathetic and tender; as Francine de Riverolles in "Francillon" she was able to exhibit the finest and most subtle *pointe* in her style, giving us a wonderful picture of a woman who feels, in spite of custom's mandates, that love and marriage should

be identical; as Adrienne Lecouvreur she recited the fable of the two pigeons with a charm of delivery that made one more than ever feel how rare and how beautiful a thing the gift of reciting verse really is; as the Queen in "Ruy Blas" she passed in the last act from imperious queenhood to pleading womanhood with superb suddenness of dramatic transition; and finally, as Doña Sol, if she did not succeed in making us forget Sarah Bernhardt, she at any rate proved that she has the power of adequately interpreting some of the most inspired poetry of Victor Hugo. And what higher praise is it possible to give to a great actress than that she has the power of embodying, and even of adding somewhat to, the creation of a great poet?

The distinction, in fact, between the older and the newer schools of acting is just this—that, whereas the older school, of whom the Comédie Française are the greatest representatives, sought above all things to interpret poetry, looking upon this as their highest and noblest function, the modern school, in its constant effort after realism, concerns itself principally with prose. The best possible illustration of this occurs in the case of the talented Italian lady, Signora Duse, who has lately been drawing such enthusiastic audiences to the Lyric Theatre. For this actress, who has been mistakenly compared to Sarah Bernhardt by her American critics, is in fact, the exponent of a different method, and the representative of a totally different system. Sarah Bernhardt is the greatest surviving representative of the school of acting that Molière founded, the school which carried what I may call the ideal method even into the interpretation of comedy. Eleonora Duse is the representative, and a very great representative, of an opposite school, the school of absolute realism.

It is this fact—the fact that Signora Duse so completely sums up and embodies the modern tendency—which lends such interest to her acting. An exponent of the poetical drama in the sense in which Sarah Bernhardt and her successors at the Comédie Française are, Signora Duse is not and never can be. Passing from the performance of "Hamlet" by the French actors and actresses on the Monday at Drury Lane, to the performance of "Divorçons" by Signora Duse and her company on the Wednesday at the Lyric, was like passing from the contemplation of a perfectly finished oil-painting to that of a crude but excessively clever water-colour sketch. And it is the same in Signora Duse's other parts.\* The perfectly "natural" method

\* Those who have had the misfortune to witness deaths from consumption will realise the utter impossibility of nearly every action and movement of Signora Duse during the last act of "Camille." She raises herself from the pillow several times, unassisted; she bounces about the room in a condition, apparently, of the most boisterous health; she addresses Armand and the other bystanders with the vigorous voice of a person who has never even dreamed of disease; and she so despises the art

on which the American critics lay so much stress, is certainly there, and, as opposed to our English artificial manner of acting, it is no doubt worthy of unstinted praise. It is something to have at last found an actress who does not mind looking ugly when she cries, who can jump for joy upon the stage like a girl of fifteen, and who can toss her pocket-handkerchief up to the ceiling quite naturally. In the wonderful study of Italian peasant-life which Signora Duse gives us in the part of Santuzza, all this realism is perfectly in place, perfectly fitting, and, in fact, it is for this very reason that Santuzza is perhaps, after all, her most characteristic creation. But when it comes to dealing with the higher branches of the poetical drama the case is very different. Then it is, as we compare her with Madame Bernhardt, that we realise the value of the long years of tradition and experience which already belonged to the history of the Comédie Française at the time when Madame Bernhardt joined it. Then it is that we feel, and feel most strongly, that while Madame Bernhardt, having also a wonderful individuality of her own, sums up and incarnates as it were the whole past history of the Comédie Française, Signora Duse works almost entirely from individual instinct and upon individual methods. That is the real distinction between these two great actresses—for Eleonora Duse is a great, a very great, actress. The way in which she forced upon Italy, and then upon the world, the acceptance of her fiery rendering of the part of Cesarina, in Alexandre Dumas' "Femme de Claude," would alone suffice to prove this. But she is not, like Sarah Bernhardt, the daughter of a long past, though she may very probably turn out to be the prophetess and herald of a long future. She has just been received with enthusiasm in London for the very same reason that impelled us to demand the repetition by the Comédie Française no less than five times of "Les Effrontés," while refusing altogether to witness the "Cid," "Horace," and "Athalie"—because, that is to say, she is essentially an interpreter of the modern

of make-up that she comes to the last scene with her face presenting precisely the same appearance that it did during the four previous acts of the drama. It has evidently never occurred to Signora Duse to pay a visit to some hospital for consumption, and to study the appearance of the patients there. It has evidently never crossed her mind that consumption means a slow, or rapid, wasting away of the organism, and that in the last stages of this terrible illness the prominent symptom of the patient is excessive, extraordinary weakness, including, of course, complete incapacity for any prolonged muscular effort. All these points are most thoroughly realised, all these appearances are most carefully reproduced by Madame Bernhardt, Mlle. Bartet, Mlle. Adeline Dudley, in their wonderful and most pathetic death-bed scenes. Every one of these points is consistently neglected by Signora Duse. Compare with this neglect the magnificent skill shown by Mlle. Marie Louise Marry in her make-up while depicting the death of Frou-Frou. It was so true to the life—or to the death rather—that, while one recognised the terrible truth of the portraiture of a woman dying of consumption, that very accuracy made one shudder. The whole lesson, in fact, of Signora Duse's acting is that fine natural gifts are not enough—even genius is not enough—without the patience, and, I may add, the humility, which enables an actress to go through a long course of technical training. While watching her I felt more keenly than ever before the value, not only of art, but of what one may call artifice on the stage.

or prose drama, and we are, it seems, steadily determined to see and to welcome upon the stage henceforward nothing but prose, or poetry reduced to the condition of prose.

At the extra performance given by the Comédie Française on the evening of July 12, certain points bearing upon the mental attitude of English audiences were so curiously emphasised, that I think it well to say a few words in special reference to that last performance. Once again that marked characteristic of English spectators which so many of us must often have noticed, was most glaringly illustrated—the tendency, namely, in the case of any play in which pathos and humour are mingled, to grasp at the humour and omit all notice of the pathos. It was a most painful sight, during the performance of “Francillon,” to see the fine acting of M. Baillet almost entirely wasted—the broader features here and there, perhaps, caught at, but every delicate and subtle point consistently missed. The part of Lucien de Riverolles is usually taken either by M. Febvre or M. Worms, but on this evening it was taken by the above-mentioned actor, and his success would have been complete had he been acting before a more intelligent audience. During the recital by Francine de Riverolles of her supposed infidelity, the central dramatic point is, of course, the growing agony of the husband as the doubt in his mind as to his wife’s faithfulness takes form, and gradually becomes almost a certainty. The whole process of the mental struggle was magnificently depicted by M. Baillet, but the audience, instead of watching him, kept up a continuous roar of laughter over the mere comic accidents of the visit to the Bal de l’Opéra and the Maison d’Or.

The very same thing occurred in the second play acted on the last evening—“La Joie Fait Peur.” The comic side of M. Got’s acting was appreciated, but the pathetic side, though far more interesting and subtle, was totally wasted. It was to no purpose that the face of the mother (whom Madame Blanche Pierson so finely portrayed) grew pale and was racked with agony while doubt as to the safety of her son wrestled with the dawning hope in her mind. The audience could realise nothing but the comic elements of the acting of M. Got, and, while Madame Desaubiers wept, they did nothing but scream with laughter. Of a truth, it must be dreary and discouraging work for great actors to have to perform before an audience such as this. In fact it was evident that M. Got felt it to be so, for he quietly omitted at the end what is perhaps the most pathetic incident in the whole of Madame de Girardin’s charming little play—the sudden exhaustion and weakness which come over Noel, the faithful old servant who, having helped to break the joyful news of Adrien’s return to so many, at length feels his own strength unequal to the strain. M. Got was right to leave out this episode. The sudden

sinking of Noel upon the sofa, well-nigh fainting, would have been looked upon by the spectators as wholly comic; and would only have raised a laugh. British audiences have been guilty of many artistic sins and misdemeanours, but I think the climax of crime was reached when it became evident that many of the spectators at Drury Lane regarded the greatest actor in the world as a sort of Arthur Roberts.

The moral of all this is—never set before an English audience any play in which humour and pathos are blended, or any play, in fact, in which there are any subtle touches at all. Give them either broad uncompromising farce, or a genuine melodramatic tragedy with a dozen murders or so in it. They will roar with laughter at the former, and the women in the audience will shed tears over the latter. But if you set before them a play containing, as “*La Joie Fait Peur*” does, a delicate mingling of the two elements of humour and pathos, if they are not actually capable of weeping at the humorous portions of your play, they will at any rate crack their sides with laughter over your most refined pathos and your most subtle suggestions of grief.

GEORGE BARLOW.

## ARCHDEACON FARRAR AND THE "RITUALISTS."

**T**WO articles have recently appeared from the pen of Archdeacon Farrar in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW relating to the state of belief and practice in the English Church. The one, published in July 1892, is concerned with "Sacerdotalism"; the other, published in the July number of this year, deals with what the writer considers the "Undoing of the Reformation." Churchmen can scarcely read these articles without some regret. At a time when the energies of all Christians are strained to deal with the many social difficulties that rise around us every day, it is surely sad that an ecclesiastic of considerable eminence should think it right to publish his views in a manner calculated, I think, to stir up party strife within the Church, and deem it advisable to attack those from whom he differs with quite extraordinary violence. Controversy is at best a weapon of very doubtful usefulness for advancing the kingdom of God. Still, there are, of course, worse things than controversy; disloyalty to principle is a worse thing, and the Archdeacon has doubtless persuaded himself that it is his duty to re-open these questions. It is to be regretted that such should be his persuasion, more especially as the matters dealt with have been fought out by eminent men on both sides, and it might have been imagined that we had reached the time now rather for charity and peace; still, every man must act upon his own convictions, even if they appear very mistaken to others, and accordingly, although his judgment in the matter might not be thought a sound one, still he could not be blamed for writing if he felt—as he tells us in the first of these articles—that to do so was a duty. What *can*, however—one may venture to think—be blameworthy is unfairness in dealing with opponents, or a method of controversy entailing violence, and we might almost say venom of tone; and this is what strikes one painfully in these trenchant papers.

Well, I desire, with all respect, to remonstrate with the Archdeacon *in limine* on one or two points as to his method of controversy. It seems to me to be all the more fair to do so when one remembers the writer's own teaching. The article on "Sacerdotalism" opens with really wise statements on the amenities of controversy. We are told that there is great "need . . . for frank discussion and charitable forbearance." Controversy is not "to resolve itself into bitter innuendos and mutual recriminations." One party is not to say: "You are no Churchman at all, and your views are uncatholic"; the other party is not to retort: "You are concealed Romanists, and your views are degradingly superstitious." Unless these wise canons of controversy are followed, "there will be an end of peace and spiritual progress." We are all to remember the Apostolic warning: "the whole law is fulfilled in one point: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." Finally, the writer himself has determined to write "with the utmost calmness and courtesy." These canons of humility and charity are excellent. I hope the Archdeacon will not think me uncharitable if I say that had he desired to illustrate their importance he could not, as it appears to me, have done it better than he has done by, as I think, departing from them *toto celo* himself. In view of this, then, I venture to remonstrate on three points.

(1) Instead of meekness and humility, the writer permits in himself a tone of infallibility which is certainly startling. Thus he considers that "it is a matter of supreme importance to make it known" that "sacerdotal and sacramentarian opinions in their recent developments do not form and never have formed any part of the doctrine required by the Church of England. They are not based upon any tenable interpretation of Scripture, and are wholly apart from, when they are not in direct antagonism with, the teaching of our formularies." This surely is somewhat strong, because it amounts to a point-blank condemnation—and that written too without any reasonable proof given—of interpretations of our formularies which, to say the least of it, have a *prima facie* probability about them, and which have found favour with very eminent divines in the English Church. Take another example of what I am afraid is the Archdeacon's inclination to put us down by a somewhat intolerant exercise of infallibility—an example, too, which I think gives us the measure of the value of his method. He writes as follows: "In the Apostolic age . . . the Eucharist follows the Love Feast, yet there are clergymen who now teach that to receive the Eucharist unfasting is a 'deadly sin.'" If there *are* clergymen who teach this (although I myself do not know of any such), one may well believe with the Archdeacon that they use very extreme language. In fairness, how-



ever, it should not be forgotten that there are clergymen who either teach that keeping the fast before communion does not matter, or even that it is desirable that the fast should *not* be kept. Now, fasting communion is the long-established custom of the whole Catholic Church; the Church, Holy Scripture tells us, is "the pillar and ground of the truth"; our own Church repudiates distinctly the notion of "striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church": and fasting with prayer is, as we know from Holy Scripture, a devout custom and "laudable practice" pleasing to Almighty God. The Archdeacon, however, has not a word of rebuke for those clergymen who unhappily decry and "strike at" this "laudable practice." But this by the way. I think if I were to speak in a joking fashion I might say that I mention this in passing to illustrate the wisdom of the advice proverbially given to "those who live in glass houses." The immediate point, however, in the above quotation is to show the danger and unfairness of a tone of reckless infallibility in controversy. To make a point against those who teach fasting communion (and if they teach it in a violent or extreme way I think they are wrong in doing so), this writer declares with perfect decision that "the Eucharist followed the Love Feast." I do not think it is asking Archdeacon Farrar to exercise an excess of modesty if one points out that, whether he is right or whether he is wrong in this statement, the contrary opinion has been held by very eminent men. One is not guilty of unfair disrespect for his learning and ability if one suggests that St. Chrysostom or even the late Mr. Keble deserve that *their* opinions on such a matter should—to say the least of it—be considered weighty. St. Chrysostom says:

"When the solemn service *was completed after the Communion of the Mysteries, they all went to a common entertainment.*" \*

Mr. Keble says:

"The confusion . . . occurred not at the receiving of the Holy Communion itself, but rather, as I need hardly specify, at the *ἀγάπη*, or Feast of Charity, *which followed it.*" †

Again, in the opening lines of the second article (July 1893) we have these words: "I prove *beyond all question*, from the whole of the New Testament, from the authoritative documents and formularies of the Church of England, and from the evidence of some of her greatest divines, that English presbyters are *in no sense of the words sacrificing priests.*" This is tolerably strong. Is it fair? For my own part, I believe that, far from being proved "beyond all question," there is not a word of truth in such a contention. That, however, is only my opinion, but I venture to remonstrate as to the use of such language as that italicised above, because as the Archdeacon must

\* 1 Cor. xi. 17. Hom. xxvii.

† Occasional Papers: "On the Lord's Supper."

know very well, some of the greatest writers and teachers of the Church have held opinions—and have written learnedly in support of them—directly opposed to those here stated with such confidence. Or again: "There is . . . no shadow of *even possible doubt* what is the teaching of the Bible, of the Prayer-book, and of the Church of England about the Clergy." . . . "The voice of Scripture on this matter is absolutely decisive." Surely the whole question of the ministry at first sight in Scripture is a difficult and complicated one. We know indeed what the New Testament witnesses to in the matter, because the Church—the only trustworthy interpreter of Scripture—has taught us; but "absolutely decisive" is scarcely a modest expression on a question about which there have been many opinions amongst learned men, and which appears to many of us to be decided by the Church in a sense directly contrary to that held by the Archdeacon. Or again:—"It is a *self-refuting absurdity* on their part" (that is, the "Ritualists") "to pretend that they can claim and parade and revel in"—what does the reader imagine? Something which I fear that the Archdeacon himself is bound to claim since his ordination, whether he "revels in" it or not—viz., the title of "priest." It is a startling statement that this "term"—which I fear must be used of us all, including the Archdeacon, namely, the term "priest"—is a "term which the New Testament most absolutely ignores, and the one title which the whole system and reasoning of the New Testament *most decisively rejects and condemns*" This again is pretty strong. But there is more still. We are told that "no amount of sophistry, no masses of casuistry, no number of reams of Jesuitical special pleading, can impair in the mind of any plain man the *undisputable fact* that Papists and Ritualists"—do what?—use the word "priest" and are thereby convicted of anti-scriptural wickedness! The Archdeacon describes his hated victims "the Ritualists" as writhing "in vain round a transfixing spear-point of the doctrine of the Apostles." Had one not known the peace which comes from infallibility—perhaps he will forgive me for suggesting?—one would have supposed that this vehement controversialist was in a state of writhing, seeing that since his ordination, whether he likes it or not, he is obliged to be that wicked thing—a "priest.!"

(2) But again, one may fairly make a remonstrance on another point. In a controversy of this kind—especially after the promise in the first paper of "calmness and courtesy"—surely we might hope to be secured against anything like vehemence and violence. As a matter of fact, what do we find? At times one imagines one is listening to an Exeter Hall Protestant speaker of fifty years ago. Perhaps it is that the Archdeacon is nettled that—as he tells us—"there was not one serious attempt to refute his first article." Anyhow, the violence of the second leaves the first far behind. The

Archdeacon's challenge, he tells us, was not accepted, and whilst he solaces himself by imagining that he has "proved" his point "beyond all question," he seems to have a glimmering of the real truth that his view of the cogency of his arguments has not been shared by others. Be that as it may, in the second article we are at white heat. We are stalking about on gigantic Protestant stilts; we are singing a kind of ecclesiastical "Rule Britannia," and crying vehemently, "Who's afraid?" We have paraded before us, in order to defy the "Ritualists" and all their works, "the Spanish Armada," and "the priests and thumb-screws," and "the monster Borgia," and "Pius V," and "the monster Alva," and "priestly usurpation," and the danger of its asserting itself, not only by "pretence and clamorous assertion," but also by terrible means of persecution, and the "tyranny of a corrupt and apostatising religionism," and "the blood of martyrs," and "stakes and implements of hellish torture." This is pretty well; we only miss "the fires of Smithfield," and then the illumination would be complete. Still, to make up for that omission, we have the lurid glare of "the Red Terror in revolutionary France," under which we find that this calm and courteous controversialist would apparently prefer to live, rather than in any connection with these odious "Ritualists," whose "cue" it is, being "professed members of a reformed Church—in her pay and under her shadow—to belittle, misrepresent, and to defame the Rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged." It is difficult to keep one's temper in view of all this hectoring and all this unchristian controversial rubbish. Any one can call bad names.

It would be possible to all this to make a smart retort as to men denying the name "priest" (which the Church of England has deliberately selected), and yet continuing—if I am to use the Archdeacon's own expression—"in her pay." It would be possible to remind our readers of the shocking language habitually used by "our reformers," of the startling inveracity of the Puritans, of the cruelties of Calvin, and the cruelties and injustices of the Independents. But where would be the use of raking up the memory of all the wretched cruelties and odious crimes committed by our forefathers in the name of Religion? Surely we may hope that we have learnt better methods of controversy, and more consistent with the spirit of Christianity, and one may fairly remonstrate with the writer against the re-introduction of such ferocities.

(8) I must remonstrate with him on another point. Lest I should appear to speak with unkindness or with too great severity, I may perhaps be allowed to describe it in this way. It seems to me, that, in the interests of fairness in controversy, a controversialist ought not to try to "eat his cake and have it"—"to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." It is quite open to the Archdeacon, if he thinks it wise and right, to "play to the gallery," and with all

the vigour of his really powerful rhetoric to "beat the Protestant drum." But it is not fair, *at the same time*, to *pose* as a martyr speaking up for a minority. If he is so sure of his ground, he cannot need action of this sort. He knows perfectly well, that—even now, when men have become more thoughtful and reasonable—to flare in the faces of Englishmen the dangers of "sacerdotalism," and "priestcraft," and "the mass," and "the undoing of the Reformation," is fairly sure to "bring down the gallery." The World, the Flesh, and the Devil are still in considerable force. They exercise their influence upon every one of us, and if a controversialist chooses to appeal to the violent prejudices of even good people, well and good—he must take the responsibility, but he must not also *pose* as a heroic champion of truth, fighting against tremendous odds. But here we have it. I have alluded already to the violences of the Archdeacon's articles, although I have not touched upon the half of them, and the way in which he has endeavoured to stir up prejudice against a body of men who are as loyal as—(may I whisper?—sometimes I think even more loyal, than) himself, to the Church of England. Yet still, I repeat, the Archdeacon *poses* as a martyr who, because he "openly professes and fearlessly maintains the truths which are the sole *raison d'être* of our existence," is denounced. He lays greater stress than I should feel inclined to do upon "promotion," and he is not going to be deterred from speaking out by "the certainty of being abused and slandered to death, and the sure loss of all chance of promotion and preferment." "Preferment" and "promotion" have not been withheld from him in consequence of his strong denunciations of his brethren; he holds a number of "preferments" which he adorns with his undoubted ability; why should he complain? He tells us that he has earned the "gratitude of thousands of English Churchmen," and somewhere or other in his articles I think he states that on his side he has even "tens of thousands"; and in another place speaks of even "myriads." I remonstrate with the Archdeacon against this controversial trick. It is unfair. He cannot at once appeal to the most violent popular prejudices, and also *pose* as a martyr for unpopular opinions. It is ridiculous to attempt to "eat your cake and have it"—to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds."

(4) I also remonstrate with the Archdeacon on this point. He is very indignant at "sneers and innuendoes," but his articles—especially the later article—abound in both. I quite agree with him that sneers are not arguments; and though he, or I, or any person engaged in controversy, may make a little capital cheaply by sneering, this is quite unworthy of those who have to do with a religion of "convinced seriousness." From lack of space, not from lack of opportunity, I give but one example. The Archdeacon implies that he feels "positive pain when he sees young curates bowing to the altar." What is this

but a sneer? what is it but an innuendo? what is it but an exceedingly invidious appeal to ignorance and prejudice? Why should "young curates bowing to the altar" be more painful than "old rectors" doing the same? I knew a thoughtful man—a pupil of the late Mr. Bradlaugh, who considered that kneeling down was "cringing to God." He got out of that belief, I am thankful to say, before he died; but such as he might be deeply pained if they saw venerable archdeacons kneeling down in the presence of an unseen God! After all, "young curates" and "servant girls"—of whom the Archdeacon does not seem to think highly—they also are God's creatures. Innuendoes and sarcasms of this kind are not argument, and I venture to remonstrate with this writer on such points in the interests of serious controversy.

## II.

The attack of Archdeacon Farrar—when we reach anything like a coherent charge—is furious. Indeed, it is so furious that in the smoke, and noise, and thunder of artillery, it is not always easy to discover exactly what he is attacking. I clear the way by first speaking generally. The *Church Times*, Lord Nelson, Lord Halifax, and members of the English Church Union, and of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, seem in his mind to represent criminals whose treachery and disloyalty move him to a fine frenzy; while on the other hand his scorn for them all is so lofty that they are given to understand that their opinion is of no "conceivable importance"; that with them there is a "lack of Churchmanship"; that they make "false assertions," which are to him a "matter of supreme indifference"; that "Richard Hooker" is against them; that "Bishop Lightfoot, the most learned prelate of modern times," is against them; that "every single great divine of the Church of England, from Bishop Jewel down to Bishop Harold Browne," is against them; that "the consensus alike of the New Testament, the Prayer-book, the entire formularies of the Church of England," and "the unanimous voice of all her great divines, from the first until yesterday," are against them; that they have attacked Archdeacon Farrar; that he holds his head for too high to care for their attack; that the Church is in danger from their machinations, and—cost what it may—he will endeavour to deliver her; that they are "a sign of the times," and that too "of the darkest significance"!

This is tremendous! "Thou art in a parlous state, shepherd," says Touchstone in "As You Like It," but his "parlous state" was as nothing compared to the state of these unfortunates. They have endangered the Church! Little have they known what forces they are dealing with! Archdeacon Farrar to the rescue!

Now, the *Church Times* doubtless can take very good care of itself. As to Lord Nelson, those who know that gentle and devoted noble-

man, so given to good works, and so earnest in his efforts to re-unite Dissenters with the Mother Church, might fairly plead a *prima facie* case for him against these terrible charges. As to Lord Halifax, he—with his deep and tender religious spirit, his noble devotion to the interests of the Church of England, his large and generous charity, his gracious and winning ways, his exact theological knowledge, and, what Archbishop Tait called, his "great prudence"—he, I say, will be felt by men, not so carried away as this writer is by controversial passion, to be not a conspirator, but a son of the Church of England of whom she may be justly proud. \*All these can afford to "smile and pass by," or they can defend themselves. But how about humble members of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, like myself? As to the former society, I had imagined that it existed to *defend* the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, not to assail these; and I think the history of our times shows that it *has* defended them to some purpose. As to the latter society, I have always understood that it was meant to encourage love and devotion to our Lord, and care and earnestness about the "continual remembrance of His Death and Passion," and a habit of prayer and intercession for others. These appear to me to be excellent objects. Men have awakened up before now, as we know, to "find themselves *famous*," and if a member of these societies—who never said a word against Archdeacon Farrar in his life, and who has hitherto imagined himself to be a loyal and loving member of the Church of England—wakens up suddenly "to find himself *infamous*," he is surely justified in asking "Why?" The crushed worm will turn, and even so inferior a being as a member of the English Church Union or of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament may be driven—rash though it be—to cross the path of the great Archdeacon.

One's consolation in doing so is two-fold. (1) The saying of "Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram"—viz. "great men are not always wise"; and (2) the hope that in an eager zeal for what he considers the truth the Archdeacon of Westminster has in great measure misunderstood and misinterpreted his adversaries, and even the Truth itself. I have no desire to be an adversary of Archdeacon Farrar—with whom, so far as a very slight acquaintance goes, I have been on the most friendly terms—but I have to confess that I am a member of both the incriminated societies, and I differ seriously—so far as I can understand them—from certain conclusions of the Archdeacon. I think he is wrong. I think he has misunderstood his brethren. I think he allows himself in an unchristian temper towards them, and thereby causes unnecessary friction and pain. Doing so, I think he does harm to the cause of Christianity. I think that his assertions cannot be sustained, and that he is grossly unfair. Thinking all this, one is bound to show cause *why*.

and I cannot but hope that the Archdeacon will regret in calmer moments what I must call his violence, will regret the misrepresentations which he has put before the public as to the teaching and actions of a large number of the English clergy who are excellent and loyal men, and will come to the conclusion that the blessing of our Master is given to "the peace-makers," and not to "the stirrers-up of strife." So much for the general attack.

### III.

Now as to specific charges. These resolve themselves, as far as I can understand this writer, into three.

1. There is no real priesthood in the Church of England, and we teach that there *is*.

2. Transubstantiation is false, and is denied by the Church of England, and we teach that it is *true*.

3. Auricular Confession is false and bad and corrupting and contrary to the teaching of our Church, and we teach and practise it.

Now, first it would be well to remove, if possible, certain misconceptions. Part of Archdeacon Farrar's anger evidently arises from the fact that he has not taken the trouble to master the meaning of a great many of the teachings which he assaults. Every one of us would agree with him that—(1) "The pretence that the ministry is vicarious not representative" (if anybody *does* make this pretence; I myself have never met such persons) is false; (2) That the "assimilation of the English Clergy" to the "massing priests of the Middle Ages" (by which was meant, those who said masses by the dozen, imperfectly and carelessly and "hocus-pocus," and for money, and neglected their other ministerial functions), that such "assimilation" if, *per impossibile*, it were to take place, would be bad; (3) That "the claims that our Presbyters (he means Priests) perform acts of sacrifice as substitutes for the people are demonstrably unjustifiable." The Archdeacon is astonished, but apparently triumphant, that no attempt to an answer has been given to his condemnation of such things. If you set up a bogie of your own making, and then knock it down again, it is easy to triumph on the ground that it did not resist you. Every "Ritualist"—to use the Archdeacon's ridiculous and insulting title for those who believe that the Prayer-book means what it says—will agree in all these propositions, and will further agree with him that to "thrust a class and a caste between the soul and its free and unimpeded access to God" would be wrong, although I hope they would not follow him in his use of violent language, and talk about the "deadliest virus of Romish error." They would further agree with him that they hate and detest "the tyranny of priestly usurpation, just as they hate and detest all other forms of tyranny and usurpation, although they probably believe that we are in much greater

danger at present from the tyranny of mobs and the usurpation of those who misrepresent us.

We join issue with him, however, upon some points of serious importance.

1. There is a real priesthood in the Church of England. When the Archdeacon asserts that "priest" only means "presbyter," in order to distinguish the office from that of a deacon, that we have in *no sense* a priest called to offer sacrifice, I believe that he departs from the teaching of the New Testament, of the whole Catholic Church, and of the Church of England. Priestly powers in their fulness dwell in the Incarnate Christ. "Thou art a priest for ever." "We have a High Priest." He has "an unchangeable priesthood." Priests on earth, ordained according to His will, in succession from His Apostles, have a *ministerial* but *real* priesthood, not vicarious. They present one sacrifice (once for all offered on the cross as a sacrifice of blood and sorrow) before God the Father "as a perpetual memorial of His passion," sacramentally on every altar of the Church. They minister in the power of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ; and, far from being an assumption or usurpation on their part to do so, it would be a very grave assumption and usurpation if they took upon them the *rôle* of Protestant ministers, and ventured to minister to their fellow-men, unless they were doing so in the power of the One Priest, and with the constant duty of "showing His death," the one sacrifice "by which alone we obtain remission of our sins," "until He come." They offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for the people, not as substitutes for them, but as representatives of them. The priestly idea runs throughout human life. In the father of the family, in the ruler of the State, in the genius who deals with great thoughts of art and literature. A Church that has not a *real* priesthood, coming from Jesus Christ, would be no Church at all. The Priesthood of Jesus is exercised now, *ministerially* but *really*, by the priests of His Church, and, in spite of the Archdeacon's infallible dictum, I venture to assert that this is the teaching of Holy Scripture. I have not the confidence of Archdeacon Farrar, and I will not pretend that in one short magazine article I could venture to exhaust the vast subject of scriptural proof upon this question. Still, I should like to draw attention to a saying of the Archdeacon in this regard. "The Lord Christ," he says, "was not a priest by birth, and never in His life on earth performed a single priestly function." This fairly takes away one's breath. Has the Archdeacon, or has he not, any belief whatever in the Incarnation? If he has not, *cadit questio*, we need argue no more, for we *have* such a belief. If he has, then can he fail to believe that *all* priestly functions were gathered up in "the Word made Flesh"? Has he never read of our Lord's various absolutions to sinners? Has he never meditated upon His ordination of His



Apostles, or His celebration of the Holy Eucharist? The Scripture proofs of the Priesthood of the Lord are innumerable; yes, and of the handing on of His Priesthood for ever; but these are large questions, and cannot be dealt with in a moment. It is more practical to bring the controversy within manageable limits. If the Church of England insists upon a real priesthood, then Archdeacon Farrar, and all of us, are bound to that. If in doing so she is untrue to Scripture and to the Primitive Church, then of course we should be bound to quarrel with her and leave her ministry. But if she holds a real priesthood, we, her priests, are bound to hold it too. Now, fair-minded persons must consider these things. *Sacerdos*—*i.e.*, sacrificing priest—was used in the Latin service books up to the time of the English Reformation. The popular English expression for this word was “priest”; it was definitely fixed in the minds of the English people as *the* word accepted by them to express a sacerdotal ministry. Had our Reformers intended to abandon the idea, they must have abandoned the word. They might have called ministers either “pastor,” or “minister,” or “presbyter,” and they deliberately would not. They knew what they were doing. The Presbyterians at the same moment ejected the term “priest,” for *they* knew what *they* were doing, and they had abandoned the sacerdotal idea. The English Reformers desired to go to the extremest limit of conciliation. That accounts for their permitting the term “altar”—which Archdeacon Farrar so intensely abhors—to be removed from the Prayer-book. Why? Because they knew well enough—(1) that “Holy Table” means the same thing; (2) That if a particular *term* offended good people, they were willing to change it for another which would do its work quite as well; but (3) That as they would not give up the term “priest,” they were well aware that *that* term carried the whole question, *viz.*—the sacrificial Presence and Action in His Church of Jesus Christ. But more, as a testimony the word “altar”—the *thing* itself had of course always been retained in the English Church—was retained in the Coronation Service; “by accident” according to the Archdeacon’s view, by deliberate purpose according to mine; and what is more, lest any appearance of truth should be allowed to remain for the Archdeacon’s contention that “priest” only represents “presbyter,”—*i.e.*, “elder”—and never “*sacerdos*,”—*i.e.*, “sacrificing priest”—in the article on the “Marriage of Priests,” the Church takes care to write in the Latin copy—which is of equal authority as the English copy—not “*De conjugio presbyterorum*,” but “*De conjugio SACERDOTUM*.” After this are we to be told that we are disloyal to the Church of our fathers if we believe that “sacerdotalism,” as taught by the Church of England, is not “presbyterianism,” and is part, not of “usurpation,” or “tyranny,” or “the pride of priestcraft,” or “a caste,” coming between the soul and God, but nothing else than a part of the Gospel of Christ?

But more than this. The Church of England in her Prayer-book uses the following terms in the ordination of her priests: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments. In the name, &c." Here are embodied certain terms of commission: (1) The power to absolve in "the name of the Lord"; (2) Authority to teach; (3) Power to celebrate the Eucharist and generally to administer sacraments and bless in God's name. In other parts of the Prayer-book these functions are carefully restrained to the priest. If the Church of England only meant there were three orders of ministry by accident or for sake of propriety, and that a "priest" only meant a deacon grown a little older, and that the deacon or anybody else could do the priest's work quite as well—then, all one can say is, that the Church of England has—by using awful language for what turns out to be a very trivial matter—run perilously near the edge of profanity, and has gone out of her way to deceive and confuse both the men who enter her ministry and the people to whom they minister. Of course the Church of England has done nothing of the kind. She has carefully repudiated "the presbyter view," and she has through all difficulties clung to "the sacerdotal view." As to the Prayer-book, there can be no manner of doubt, and the Archdeacon has no right to find fault with men who hold, and act upon as real truths, that to which they have bound themselves by their ordination vows. It would be easy to show that the Archdeacon flatters himself too much when he thinks from the evidence of "our greatest divines," "English presbyters are in no sense of the word sacrificing priests," but quotations would be wearying and take up too much room. Suffice it to mention these.

(i.) Bishop Andrewes says: "The ancient Fathers seem to be of one mind, that the same form shall serve both (the Jewish and the Christian system of Church government)," for, first, the Synagogue is called the type or shadow and the Church, the very image of the thing. Secondly: God Himself saith of the Christian Church . . . that He will take of the Gentiles and make them priests."\*

(ii.) George Herbert says: "Christ being not to continue on earth, but after He had fulfilled the work of reconciliation to be received up into heaven, He constituted deputies in His place, and these are priests. . . . Out of this charter of the priesthood may be plainly gathered both the dignity thereof and the duty; the dignity, in that a priest may do that which Christ did, and by His authority and as His viceregent."†

I wonder, if a "Ritualist" had written such words, how Archdeacon

\* Minor Works, Anglo-Cath. Lib. p. 350.

† "Country Parson," chap. i.

Farrar would have dealt with him! But even Archdeacon Farrar can scarcely pretend to be an authority on the mind of the Church of England superior to George Herbert.

(iii.) Bishop Taylor says: "His people is 'a peculiar people,' the clergy 'a holy priesthood,' and all in conjunction and for several excellences 'a chosen nation.' . . . . The priests being enumerated distinct from the people, 'the priests of the Kingdom,' and 'the people of the Kingdom' are all holy and chosen, but in their manner; the people of the Kingdom to bring or design a spiritual sacrifice, the priest to offer it. . . . . The priest by his proper ministry, the people by their assent . . . . chosen to serve God, not only in their own forms, but under the ministrations of an honourable priesthood."\*

(iv.) Isaac Barrow says: "The title of priest . . . . doth no wise deserve that reproach which is by some inconsiderately (not to say profanely) . . . . cast upon it, since the Holy Scripture itself doth, even in that sense (most obnoxious to exception) ascribe it to Christian pastors," and then he goes on to say that the whole thing refers to what the prophet Malachi foretells, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, My Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered in My Name and the pure offering."†

But readers would be wearied, and space would be outrun, if one went on to quote the multitudinous testimony from the great divines of the Church of England, falling in with the plain teaching of the Prayer-Book, that not the *Presbyterian* idea but the *Sacerdotal* idea is the teaching of the Church of England, and part of the Gospel of Christ.

2. The second charge brought by the Archdeacon is this: The whole of that which he politely calls a "retrograde and anti-scriptural system"—that is, in plain English, the system of those who believe that what the Prayer-book says that it means—"is allied to the doctrine of Transubstantiation." This contention I desire to meet with the flattest contradiction which is consistent with courtesy. I do not indeed believe that Transubstantiation is a "heresy." And when the Archdeacon describes it as "a late and gross, corruption of crude materialism," I am afraid one must say that either he does not understand the statements of the Roman Church upon the subject, or if he understands them, he is using reckless and exaggerated language.

Archbishop Bramhall, who may be supposed to know at least as much about the doctrine of the Church of England as Archdeacon Farrar, says, speaking of Transubstantiation: "We place it among the opinions of the schools, not among the articles of our faith." The Church of England, in fact, teaches emphatically and distinctly "the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread

\* Vol. xiv., p. 457.

† Serm. xii., sec. 2, on Ps. cxxxii.

and wine." What *our* part of the Catholic Church does is this: she refuses to say *how* that mysterious Presence is given, and she declines to accept the teaching of the Roman part of the Catholic Church, that "the *how*" of the Presence is to be defined by the term "Transubstantiation." I will venture to say that no "Ritualist," if I *must* use the Archdeacon's insulting term, believes in Transubstantiation. But I am sure that, along with the Bible, the Prayer-book, and the great divines of the English Church, they hold that the Real Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood (after consecration by a properly ordained priest), "under the form of bread and wine," is the doctrine of the Church of England and part of the Gospel of Christ. When the Archdeacon charges us with holding Transubstantiation, I can only meet his charge by a direct contradiction, and I am prepared to prove my words on a fitting occasion. The fact is, the Roman part of the Catholic Church has ventured to make what Archbishop Bramhall calls "an opinion of the schools" into a doctrine of the faith; she has ventured to say *how* the Lord has kept His promise of His presence, while the English part of the Catholic Church has said that His promise is kept faithfully, but she declines to say *how*.

3. The last charge against us is, that we teach Auricular Confession. There can of course be no confession unless it is "auricular," because men can only hear through their ears. The Church of England teaches confession of sin (1) and always to God, (2) to God, and if the soul needs it, to God in the presence of His minister. Confession according to her teaching is a privilege allowed to her children if they choose to use it. She directs her priests to offer to her children the opportunity of making confession to their priest *if they choose*. She *encourages* confession to the priest in certain cases. It is a matter of liberty, not of absolute necessity. The Archdeacon makes much of the abuse of confession. Everything has been abused. The Bible has been abused. Preaching has been abused. The Sacrament has been abused. "Usum non tollit abusus" is a wise saying; "abuse does not take away use." Confession is a most wholesome medicine; in some cases it is the very way of salvation; it checks sin; it relieves the conscience; it is a close approach to Christ. No "big pill" can cure or save a soul. Jesus Christ, in His prevailing sacrifice and His illimitable merits, is the one Saviour, but often His salvation is brought home to a soul, as the Church teaches, by the use of confession and the "benefit of absolution." The Archdeacon, I am glad to see, believes—from his own experience—that a priest should deal with souls. He seems to hate "the confessional," he seems to approve of what I may call "the conversational." He rejoices that he has helped souls. I have no doubt he has, and I heartily rejoice with him; though why he plumes himself—to our disadvantage—on his "never seeking," "never urging," "never inviting" people to be helped—I can't imagine! He is prepared to

tell us of all sorts of abuses of the "confessional"; I am equally prepared to tell him of all sorts of abuses of the "conversational." Bad people will abuse anything, however sacred; but the English clergy—*pace* the Archdeacon—are not on the whole bad people, but men who believe that they should deal with souls, not merely in multitudes and congregations, but soul by soul. It is my conviction that men would be often braver, truer, purer, better men, if they followed the way of the Church and made their confessions; and I fear that those who write wild things about confession, as to its dangers and difficulties—such as the Archdeacon writes—are really—though of course unconsciously—hindering souls. Of course, every priest agrees with him that "none but God can say *Absolve te*," but those who hold the doctrines taught us by the Bible and Prayer Book, believe that God *does* say so to those who confess their sins with penitence by the mouth of His ordained priest. "As my Father sent me, so send I you." "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

I quite agree with the Archdeacon, that foolish things may have been said or written on this subject by those who hold the Catholic Faith. By what section of the Church, I would ask, have foolish things *not* been said and written? Certainly not by the Evangelical section, some of whose pamphlets and leaflets are pregnant expressions of things dangerous and absurd in the highest degree. Were there space, I should be prepared to prove from the accredited documents of the Church of England, and from the writings of her greatest divines, that the views I have stated on this solemn subject are the views of our mother, the Church. I will only add in this connection, for the satisfaction of Archdeacon Farrar, that far from "none of any manliness and intelligence" adopting the "abject thralldom" of confession and absolution, some of the noblest men I have ever known, in every rank from the highest to the lowest, and with intelligence, uprightness, and manliness not inferior to the Archdeacon himself, have found and find in the use of confession and absolution—as taught and sanctioned by the Church of England—gifts of supernatural grace, powers to fight against the encroachments of sin and a greater nearness to the tenderness and strength of Christ.

#### IV.

A few words in conclusion. (1) The Archdeacon is very angry at the use of the word "mass." Does he or does he not believe that Roman Catholics receive the Sacrament? If he *does* believe it, does he believe that our Lord instituted one rite for Roman Catholics and another for Anglicans? If not, then, in the name of common-sense, what does it matter what name you give it? Christians may call it Eucharist, Communion, Sacrament, Lord's Supper, or Mass. And why in an enlightened age may they not call it what they please? If

the Archdeacon call it the Lord's Supper, he uses a name for it, sanctioned indeed by our present Prayer-book, but also, in this connection, unscriptural. If I please to call it "Mass," why am I to be—*I must call it—bullied* by the Archdeacon? The name was used for centuries in the English Church. It is used throughout Western Christendom. It was used in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. That Prayer-book has, so to speak, the *imprimatur* of our present Prayer-book, and has been declared by Act of Parliament to have been "inspired by the Holy Ghost." We may call it what we please, and, being in a free country, I am bound to say I shall do so in spite of the Archdeacon of Westminster—without being called in consequence bad names. (2) The Archdeacon speaks of "the Reformation" with what I consider a positively superstitious admiration. To my astonishment he talks of it as the "foundation" of the English Church. Cardinal Vaughan may thank him for doing so; I do not. In that great movement there was much that was bad and much that was good. Those who read history seriously may regret many evil things connected with it, while they also thank God, indeed, for much that came from it, for "out of darkness He bringeth light." (3) The Archdeacon seems to be extremely angry in the matter of Ritual. It seems to me that, "quot homines tot sententiæ," that in a great communion like the Anglican Communion there must be, and there ought to be, a very various ritual and large liberty in such a matter. (4) The Archdeacon speaks as if the "Evangelical party" were the only true exponents of the mind of the Church of England. I have ever felt that devout "Evangelicals" are "of the truth." How they accept the Prayer-book with its clear teaching of the Priesthood, the Real Presence, and the liberty of Auricular Confession, I do not profess to understand; but I give them credit for being honest, and I can fairly expect them to do the same by me and by my fellow "Ritualists" who believe that the Prayer-book means what it says. The Archdeacon seems to fear "disruption" from the action of "Ritualists." I am sure he is mistaken. I daresay he has, as he implies, a wide knowledge of men. Mine may not be so wide, but during over thirty years of a hard-worked ministry it is at least considerable, and I am thankful to feel that through the mercy of God there is a steady and increasing enthusiasm for the Church, for the Christian Religion, for the Catholic Faith amongst all, and especially amongst the *men* of our dear country and our beloved Church. The way to maintain this is not, I think, controversial bitterness, but generous considerateness, large allowances for our diversities of view, and Christian love. "Brethren, let us love one another, for love is of God, and he that loveth is born of God and knoweth God, and he that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love."

## SPRING IN THE WOODS OF VALOIS.

### I.

"THE prettiest April still wears a wreath of frost!" So runs the old French proverb, proved false for once by this mirific April of 1893. By the end of the month the heat was parched as midsummer; roses and strawberries were hawked through the streets of Paris; the dust was a moving sepulchre, and the sunshine a burden. We longed for a plunge into the great forests of the North. O for the cool grass and the deep glades of woods that have been woods for these two thousand years! 'Tis something to feel oneself in a Gaulish forest—though I can remember older trees in Warwickshire. But here at least, from father to son, the succession is imposing, and the delicate silver birches of Chantilly spring from ancestors which may have shadowed Pharamond.

At Chantilly the train put us down on the edge of the forest. I always wish that we had stayed there, in the little station inn, where the air is still sweet with may and lilies. But we drove on to the town, with its neat, expensive hotels, its rows of training stables, and parched, oblong race-course. 'Tis a true French village, with its one endless winding street, pearl-grey, with a castle at the end of it. From almost any point of it you see, beyond the houses, a glint of waters and hear a rustle of woods. There is an indescribable airy lightness about the place, about the fresh fine air, the loose sand of the soil, the thin green boughs of silver birch and hornbeam, the smooth-trunked beechen glades that are never allowed to grow into great forest trees. It is with an effort of the imagination that we realise the ancient stock of this slim rustling underwood: nothing looks older than Louis Philippe. The Sylvanectes, the Gaulish foresters, have so entirely disappeared!

## II.

Chantilly is the game-preserve of a hunter-prince, and everything about it is ordered for the chase. Those wide-open grassy glades studded with birch or oak-scrub are haunted by the deer; and in those thickets of golden broom the heavy does prepare their nurseries. Great, floundering, russet pheasants come flying by; at every step a hare or a white-tailed rabbit starts up out of the grass. At the further end of the forest, there are deep, unsightly thickets of mud and thorn, left darkling amid the trim order of the place; for the wild boar delights in them. As we walk or drive down the neat-clipt avenues of the forest, the roads appear impassable to the traveller, and we wonder at the contrast between their shoals of sand and the careful forestry that pares and cuts every wilding branch of the over-arching hornbeam roof. But the roads are bad on purpose; every spring they are ploughed afresh, lest they lose the lightness beloved of the horseman.

Every May, a beautiful fault frustrates this skilful venery, for, thick as grass, thick and sweet, the lily of the valley springs in all the brakes and shady places. The scent of the game will not lie across these miles of blossom. The hunters are in despair, and the deer, still deafened with the winter's yelp of the hounds—the deer, who sets his back against the sturdiest oak, and butts at the pack with his antlers, who swims the lakes, and from his island refuge sells his life as hard as he can—the deer, accustomed to be always vanquished, beholds himself at last befriended by an ally more invincible than water or forest oak, by the sweet innumerable white lily, innocent as himself, that every May-time sends the huntsmen home.

The lily that saves the deer is the consolation of poor women. Every morning during the brief season of its blossom they are up before the dawn. Holding their children by the hand they are off to the innermost dells of its forest; and before our breakfast-time they are back at the railway stations of Chantilly or Creil, laden with bunches of lilies, which they sell to the dusty passengers bound by the morning mails for London or for Brussels. Sweet flowers with the dew upon them, fragrant posies, who would not give a five-penny piece for so much beauty? "What would you buy with your roses that is worth your roses?" sings the Persian poet. They would know what to reply, these tired countrywomen of the Oise: new sabots for the goodman, a white communion veil for the second girl, a shawl for the old grandam, and a galette for the children's dinner! The lilies are a harvest to them, like any other—a sweet, voluntary, unplanted harvest that comes three months before the corn is yellow.

The lilies were all out when we drove through the wood at Chantilly. I had never seen such a sight, for we had not yet visited Compiègne,



where they are still more profuse and, I think, of a larger growth. In the Hay-woods in Warwickshire they grow sparsely, in timid clumps; and how proud of them we were! But nowhere have I seen such a sheet of any flowers as these. Anemones and tulips of Florence, tall jonquils of Orange, ye have at last a rival in the North! The whole way to Commelle the glades were sweet with lilies.

Every traveller from Calais to Paris has marked unwitting the beauty of Commelle. You remember the view that precedes or follows (according to your direction) the little station of Orry Coye? The rails are laid on the summit of a hill; the train rushes through a delicate forest of birch. Suddenly we come upon a clearing, and on the one hand we see, in a wide blue vista, the slow declining valley of the Thève, placid and royal amid its mantling woods; while, on the other side, the hill breaks in a sort of precipice, and shows, deep below, a chain of lakelets asleep amid the trees; a turreted white castle rises out of a sedgy island, and appears the very palace of the Belle au Bois dormant. These are the Pools of Commelle—pools or lakes? Pool is too small and lake too large for the good French word *étang*. They are considerable lakelets, some miles round, four in a row, connected each with each. They lie in a sheltered valley, almost a ravine, whose romantic character contrasts with the rest of the forest. Here the clipped and slender trees of Chantilly give place to an older and more stately vegetation. The gnarled roots of the beeches grip the sides of the hills with an amazing cordage, spreading as far over the sandy cliff as their boughs expand above. In the bottom of the combe, one after another, lie the four sister pools. The road winds by their side through meadows of cowslips, past the bulrushes where the swan sits on her nest, and past the clear spaces of open water, where her mate swims double on the wave. The brink is brilliant with kingcup in a film of ladysmock. At the end of the last pool the ground rises towards the forest. There are some ruins; an old grey mill rises by the weir. The swell of the land, the grace and peace of the lake, the sedgy foreground are exquisitely tranquil. It is a picture of Vicat Cole's—*à la dixième puissance*.

We return along the other track to the Sleeping Beauty's Castle—the Château de la Reine Blanche, as the people prefer to call it. It is no castle at all, in fact, but a small hunting lodge belonging to the Prince de Joinville. A tradition runs that in 1227 the mother of St. Louis had a château here. Six hundred years later, the last of the Condés built the château of to-day, with its four white turrets, the exaggerated ogives of its windows, and its steep grey roof. 'Tis the romantic Gothic of Gautier and Victor Hugo, the Gothic of 1830, more poetic than antiquarian. For all its lack of science, there is an ancient grace about this ideal of our grandfathers, a scent, as it were,

of dried rose-leaves, and a haunting, as of an old tune, "Ma Normandie," perhaps, or "Combien j'ai douce souvenance." The mill-race rushes loud under the Gothic arches. A blue lilac flowers near the hall-door. It is very silent, very peaceful, very deserted. The Castle of St. Louis would not have seemed so old-world as this.

We must make a long road home by the Table Ronde, or we shall not have seen the best of the Forest of Chantilly. There is still the village to see, and the castle, and the charming country that stretches on either side of the long village street. I remember one walk we went. A row of steps leads steeply down from the market-place to the banks of the Nonette, which runs demurely as befits its name, between an overspanning arch of lofty poplars. They quite meet at the top above the narrow river. But the river is richer than it looks, and, as sometimes we see a meek-faced slender little woman, mother of some amazing Hebe of a beauty, so the small Nonette supplies the sources of yon great oblong sheet of artificial water, more than two miles long and eighty metres wide! A stone's-throw beyond the poplar walk, it glitters, it shines, it dazzles in the valley, visible from the windows of the castle on the hill. A bridge crosses the bright expanse, and leads to a beautiful meadow caught in between the water and the forest which rises steeply here into a long low hill. There we found a score of bloused, bareheaded workmen, lying on the grass, dreaming away their dinner hour. Chantilly is not picturesque, but at every turn the place is full of pictures.

Before we leave, we must turn round by the castle, with its fine old gardens planted by Le Notre, its vast stables imposing as a church, its sheets of water out of which rises, elegantly turreted, the brand-new château of 1880, so reminiscent of the older castles of Touraine. For once there was an older castle here, built by Jean Bullant for Anne of Montmorency. The great Constable left the splendid palace to his son, and in 1632 Chantilly, as it stood among the waters and the gardens of Le Notre, was a thing to wonder at and envy. Here Henri, Duke of Montmorency, kept his court and filled his galleries with famous pictures. He was a great patron of the arts. His wife, the "Silvie" of the poets of her time, has left her name still, like a perfume, among the avenues and parks of Chantilly. It was a princely life; but the duke was discontented in his castle; private wealth could not console him for public woes, and he joined in the revolt of Gaston d'Orléans. He was defeated at the head of his troops, taken prisoner, and beheaded at Toulouse by order of Cardinal Richelieu. "On the scaffold," says St. Simon, "he bequeathed one of his best pictures to Richelieu, and another to my father."

The duke was a near kinsman of the Prince of Condé. Until the last, "Silvie" had believed that Condé, powerful and in the king's

good graces, would intervene, and save her husband's life. To her surprise, Condé held his peace. The axe fell—and "Silvie" understood, when the king awarded the confiscated glories of Chantilly to Condé.

For a hundred and fifty years, Chantilly continued the almost royal pleasure-house, the Versailles of the Princes of Condé. Then the great Revolution razed the castle to the ground. It was not here, but some miles away—at St. Leu-Taverny—that the last Condé died in 1830. Chantilly, which had come into the family by a violent death, left it also in a sombre and mysterious fashion. The last Prince of Condé was found one morning hanged to the handle of his casement-window. The castle of Chantilly passed to the Duc d'Aumale. In 1840 he began the labour of restoring it; but the Revolution of 1848 sent him into exile, and only in 1872 was Chantilly restored to its rightful proprietor. Then, like a phoenix, the new castle began to rise swiftly from its nest of ash and ruin. It is as like the castle of the Renaissance, from which it descends, as a young child is like its illustrious ancestor. 'Tis a princely and elegant palace, and we find no fault with it beyond its youth. It stands with a swan-like grace amid its waters; it holds, as in the days of Montmorency, a rare treasure of old pictures and priceless manuscripts; and so far as eye can reach from its terraces, the lands and forests are subject to its lord. Chantilly is in truth a great possession; and the Duc d'Aumale, as we know, has no sons. He has chosen the most gifted men of his country for his children, and Chantilly is bequeathed to the Institute of France. May the five Academies watch their laurels flower through many a spring before they enter into their magnificent inheritance!

### III.

If the day is cold or windy, drive through the forest of Hallatte to Craïl, and thence take the train to Compiègne, for there blows a stiffish breeze across the plateau of the Oise. But if mild airs and sun attend you, hire a light victoria, choose a good driver (you can get one to do the thing for five-and-thirty francs or so), and set out by Senlis and Verberie for Compiègne. 'Tis a matter of five-and-forty kilomètres; and to make the drive a success, you must stretch it a little further still, and go through the forest of Chantilly, round by St. Léonard, to Senlis.

Senlis is a charming little town, perched on a hill in true mediæval fashion, and grouped in a cluster round its fine cathedral and the ruins of the castle of St. Louis (a real castle, this one—at least so much as is left of it). Half-way up the hill the antique bulwarks, turned into a raised and shady walk, wear their elms and limes and beeches like flowers amid

a mural crown. From this green garland the streets rise ever steeper, darker, more irregular; yet not so narrow but that here and there we spy some white half-modern house, with pots of pinks in the windows, and a garden full of flowers, which looks the natural home for some provincial heroine in a novel of Balzac's. I should like to end my days, I think, in just such a little town, to sit in my garden and receive my rare visitors under the green roof of the lime-tree walk. The notary, the sous-préfet (is there a sous-préfet?), the curé perhaps, and some of the country neighbours would come once a week to play *écarté*, *tric-trac* and boston with each other, and chat with us in a polished little parlour, with squares of carpet in front of all the chairs. Once a week, on the afternoon consecrated by local fashion, we should walk on the rampart and meet our neighbours, talk of the crops and pull the Government to pieces (it stands a great deal of pulling!). We should shake our heads over the Conseil Municipal, but forgive the individual councillors, who are invariably amiable in private life. The terrible M. Dupont would give me a cutting of Malmaison pinks for my garden, and *that* breach would be healed. . . . Stop carriage! let us begin at once that peaceful imaginary comedy of old age. But, ah, the little white house is already out of sight. We are in front of the shattered round towers of the thirteenth century palace, all fringed with brown wallflowers against an azure sky. We climb higher still, for see—here is the high, sunny little square where the tall cathedral stands.

Senlis cathedral is a fine ogival building, its great porches arched around with sculptured saints and prophets. There are two towers, one of them topped by a surprising steeple, a hundred feet in height, which is a landmark for all the country round. The deep porches rich in shadow, the slender lofty towers, compose an exterior altogether simple, noble, and religious. To my thinking, Senlis, like all Gothic churches, is best seen from without. Within, that bare unending height of pillar, that cold frigid solemnity, that perfume of dreary Sabbath, is less touching than the grand yet homely massiveness of Romanesque, or even than the serene placidity of the classic revival. Who, unabashed, could say his prayers in these chill Gothic houses of the Lord, built apparently for the worship of giraffes or pelicans? Oh, for the little, low-roofed chapels of St. Mark's, the unpretending grandeur of San Zenone or Sant' Ambrogio, or even the simple, pious beauty of such a Norman village church as St. Georges de Boscherville, near Rouen! Think of the quaint, sombre poetry of Notre Dame du Port at Clermont-Ferrand, or Saint Trophime at Arles; or even the elegant and holy grace of the Parisian St. Etienne du Mont—those be the churches in which to say one's prayers. Whereas all your Northern Gothic is a marvellous poem from without, but how frigid the chill interior of those august and chilling monuments! Duty divorced from

charity is not more cold; and I can easier imagine a filial and happy spirit of worship in the humblest square-towered parish church.

As it happened, we did not see the interior of Senlis at its best. The spring cleaning was in full force; the straw chairs heaped in an immense barricade by the font. In the middle of the cathedral—and really in the middle, dangling in mid-air like Socrates in his basket—an energetic charman was brushing the cobwebs from the capitals with a huge besom made of the dried leafy boughs of trees. He had been hauled up there in a sort of crate by some ingenious system of ropes and pulleys. The one solitary figure in that vast chalky interior was not unpicturesque; it was like a caricature of any picture of Mr. Orchardson's.

. IV.

Senlis was the capital of our friends the Sylvanectes. Hence stretched on either hand the vast forests which even to-day are still considerable in a score of relics—the woods of Chantilly, Lys, Coye, Ermenonville, Hallatte, Compiègne, Villers-Cotterets, &c., but which in Gallo-Roman times were still one vast united breadth of forest. To-day, all round Senlis the lands are cleared, and the nearest woods, north or south, are some six miles away. We rumbled regretfully down the hill out towards the windy plains of Valois, windiest plains that ever were; bleak champaigns where the sough and rushing of the wind sounds louder than at sea. The forests of this northern plain are beautiful. O woods of Chantilly! O birchen glades of Coye! O deep and solemn vales of Compiègne, spinnies of Hallatte, and mossy pine-knolls of Villers-Cotterets, are ye not as a necklace of green emeralds upon the breast of Mother Earth? But, shorn of their trees, the plains of Oise have not the grandeur, the ample solemn roll of the plains of Seine-et-Marne. 'Tis a lean, chill, flat, and as it were an angular sort of beauty; like some thin thirteenth-century saint, divinely graceful in her robes of verdure, more graceful beneath those plenteous folds than her better nourished sisters. But never choose her for your model of Venus Anadyomene. Leave her that imperial cloak of woods and forests.

We pass by fields of sun-smitten, withered pasture; by stretches of sad precocious corn, already in ear on its scanty span-high stems of green; by quarries and hamlets, into the deep wood of Hallatte; then forth again by more fields, ever bleaker, ever higher, till somehow suddenly we find ourselves on the steep brow of a down (they call it a mountain here, la Montagne de la Verberie), with below us, half seen through the poplar screens of the precipitous hillside, a lovely blue expanse of country with the Aisne lying across it like a scimitar of silver. Far away beyond the bridge, beyond the village in its

meadows, depths of forest, blue and ever bluer, make an azure background that reaches out to Compiègne.

We dash down the hill and clatter along the sleepy pebbly village street, past the Inn full of blouses and billiards, till the trees press thicker and thicker among the lengthening shadows. The forest is full of the peculiar soft beauty that foreruns the summer dusk. These outskirts are fragrant with thorn-trees and acacia-trees. O white-flowing delicate mock-acacias, were I the king of France, I would multiply ye by all my high roads—for none is more beautiful to the eye and none is more majestic or more bountiful than you. Throughout this parched spring of 1893, when the hay is withered a span-high from the ground, your long green leaves are fodder for our cattle, most succulent and sweet. And what shall I say of your blossom—delicious to every sense—an exquisite rain of white pearls dropping fragrant perfumes from the tree, which, plucked and delicately fried in batter, make a *beignet* worthy of Lucullus? I love your black and gnarled thorny trunk, so dark in its veil of lacy green and white, and it always seems to me that the nightingale sings sweeter than elsewhere from your high and twisted branches.

Here we are still on the rim of the forest. The white may-trees still in flower grow in rounds and rings together on the broken ground studded with silver birch. They stand in the dusky summer stillness, very fair and sweet, their muslin skirts spread white under the gleam of the rising moon. The lanky sentimental young silver birches bend their heads above them, and sigh in the breeze. We pass—and as soon as we have passed, no doubt, they clasp their fragrant partners to their glittering breasts and whirl away in some mystic, pastoral May-dance to celebrate the spring.

But we go on, still on. The trees press closer and closer. They are now great forest-trees. The wind sighs among them in utter melancholy. Far away, here and there, a thin spectre of moonlight glides between their branches. Have you ever felt at night in some deep glade the holy horror of the forest? If not, you have no Druid and no Dryad among your ancestry. You have never felt, with a shudder just how they sacrificed the victim on yonder smooth grey slab, by moonlight, to the Forest God! Think, on this very spot, the moonlight fell even as it falls to-night, among the gleaming beeches, ere ever the Romans entered Gaul. Man has never sown or reaped his harvest on this sacred soil: it is still consecrate to the God of Forests. The beech-boughs rustle immemorial secrets; the oaks shoot up their trunks of mail, like columns to support the temple roof. And there is something in the temple, something vast and nameless—something that sighs and laments and chills, super-human or anti-human, and has no place in any of our creeds. What is it, this obscure, religious dread, this freezing of the blood and

tension of the spirit, that locks us in a holy awe amid the shades of the nocturnal forest? Who knows? Perhaps a dim unconscious memory of the rites of our ancestors, Celts or Germans; a drop of the heart's blood of the Druid or the Alruna-woman, still alive in us after two thousand years. They say that children fear the dark because they are still haunted of the dread of prowling beasts, they long obscurely for the blazing camp fire which keeps the wolves and bears at bay; an old anxious forest-fear survives in them and forbids them to sleep without that bright protection. Brr . . . . I wish we could see the friendly glow to-night in the wood of Compiègne!

At last, far off, there is in truth a glow as of a friendly beacon. 'Tis a blacksmith's forge, and then some straggling houses. Again a space of scantier wood, and we clatter up the streets of the outlying faubourg. The streets grow steeper, the houses taller, our pace quicker and more exhilarating. And at last we draw up with a clack of the whip before the famous friendly Hôtel de la Cloche at Compiègne.

## V.

The market is in full swing when we throw our shutters open in the morning, and the gay wide square is full of booths and country-people, clustered round the bronze statue of Joan of Arc. (It was here, you know, we took her—worse luck to us!—at the gate of Compiègne. But it was at Rouen she made her entry, and that exit for which, alas! we stand ashamed through history.) Nothing could look cheerfuller than the market-place this morning. It tempts us out; and then we find that we could not see the best of it from the windows. For cheek by jowl with our hotel stands the fine Hôtel de Ville, with its fretted Flemish-looking front and its tall belfry for the chimes. It was finished in 1510, when Louis XII. was king. There he rides, on the large arcade on the first story, every inch a king; but the statue is modern.

Gay, bright, with charming environs, Compiègne is a pleasant county town; but it has not that look of age, of historic continuity, which are the charm of smaller places such as Crepy and Senlis. No sign is left of the great palace of the Merovingian kings, no relic of that stalwart fortress whence are dated so many of the acts of Charles the Wise; that castle of Compiègne where, says Eustache Deschamps, "Tel froid y fait en yver que c'est raige," built against the river bridge, "le Chastel que se lance Dessus Aysne, lez le pont du rivaige." Bit by bit one discovers, lost in the modern prosperity of the place, here and there a souvenir of the more illustrious past. Certain roads in the forest were planned and laid out by Francis the First. Here and there, on the limits of the town, a towered wall rises in some private garden, and we recognise a fragment of the

fortifications raised under Joan of Arc. Then there is the city gate, built by Philibert Delorme in 1552, with the initials of Henry and Diana interlaced. A few old houses still remain from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and among them that "Hôtel des Rats" where Henri IV. lived with Gabrielle d'Estrées in 1591. There are one or two old churches, too much restored. And then, of course, there is the great uninteresting palace, the very twin of the Palais Royal, which Gabriel built for Louis XV., and which we remember for the sake of the two Napoleons.

The charm, the attraction, of Compiègne is elsewhere. The forest here is beautiful as Fontainebleau. True, here are none of the wild romantic deserts, the piled crags hoary with juniper, the narrow gorges, and sudden immense vistas of Fontainebleau. The trees themselves have a different character. We find few of those great gnarled and hollow giants whose twisted arms made such uncanny shadows towards sunset in the Bas-Bréau. Here the oaks shoot up to an inconceivable height, erect and branchless, until they meet at last in a roof of verdure just tinged with April rose and gold. If Fontainebleau reminds us of a comedy of Shakespeare, Compiègne has the noble and ordered beauty, the heroic sentiment of Racine. What solemn arches and avenues of beeches; what depths of forest widening into unexpected valleys, rippling in meadow-grass, where the hamlet clusters round its ruined abbey; what magical lakes and waters interchained where the wooded hills shine bright in doubled beauty. Ah, Fontainebleau after all is a blind poet: the forest is ignorant of lake and river. But Compiègne has the Oise and the Aisne, and the Automne—Compiègne has its lakes and tarns, and pools innumerable, its seven-and-twenty limpid brooks, its wells and ripples in every valley-bottom. The loose soil, rich with this continual irrigation, teems with flowers. The seal of Solomon waves above the hosts of lily of the valley. The wood-strawberry and wild anemone enamel the grass with their pale stars. Here and there on the sandier slopes a deep carpet of bluebells, or at the water's edge a brilliant embroidery of kingcups, gives point to the sweet monotony of white and green, which vibrates from the flowers in the grass to the flowering may-bushes, to the acacias only half in blossom, and thence more faintly to the lady birch and beech with gleaming trunks and delicate foliage. White and green appear again in the wide sheets of water amid the shimmering woods. So I shall always think of the wood of Compiègne as of some paradise, too perfect for violent hue and passionate colour—some Eden haunted only by the souls of virgins, sweet with all fresh pure scents, white with white flowers, and green with the delicate trembling green of April leaves.



## VI.

Where shall we go to-day? There are many lovely drives in the forest. Champlieu has its Roman camp, its antique theatre and temple. Morienvil its abbey church with the three Norman towers; St. Nicolas its priory, St. Pierre its ruins, St. Jean its marvellous old trees, and St. Perrine its lakes where the deer come to die. Shall I confess that we know these beauties still by rumour only? For we went first of all by the foot of Mont St. Mard to the hamlet of the old mill and round the lakes of La Rouillie to Pierrefonds. And on the morrow, when we set out for Champlieu or St. Jean, after the first mile, we would cry to the driver, "Go back, and take us the same drive as yesterday." And so three times we drove past the Vieux Moulin.

This is a sad confession. But, reader, if ever you visit Compiègne go *last* to Pierrefonds, round by the Vieux Moulin, or, however long you stay, you will never see the rest.

## VII.

Let us set out again for the Vieux Moulin! We are soon deep in woods of oak and beech. We pass the stately avenues of the Beaux Monts; a steeper height towers above us. See how wonderful is this deep green glen where the oaks rise sheer to an immeasurable height from the sheet of lily of the valley at their feet! The picturesque declivity of the dell, the beautiful growth of the trees, the whiteness and sweetness and profusion of the flowers, the something delicate, lofty and serious about this landscape, makes a rare impression amid the opulence of April. Our glade slopes downward from the base of Mont St. Mard; at its further extremity begins the valley of the Vieux Moulin.

It is a valley of meadow land beside a stream, which, thousands of years ago, must have cut the shallow gorge in which it lies. On either side rises a line of hills, not high but steep and wooded. There is just room in the valley for the small Alpine-looking hamlet and its hay-meadows. They are full of flowers; marsh-flowers down by the stream, with, higher up, sheets of blue sage and yellow cowslip, and here and there a taller meadow-orchid. Somewhere among the flowers, out of sight, but never out of hearing, runs the stream that feeds the mill, the Ru de Berne.

The hamlet is clustered at the nearer end, a hundred or so dark little houses, irregularly grouped round an odd little church with a wide hospitable verandah, all the way round it, and a quaint balconied spire. The houses are gay with climbing roses—out in flower, to my astonishment, on this 28th of April; and in their little gardens the

peonies are pink and crimson. It has quite the look of a Swiss hamlet; and, if you choose, there is an "ascension" to be made! True, the Mont St. Mard can be climbed in some three-quarters of an hour; but none the less its summit boasts a matchless view. See, all the forest at our feet, with its abbeys and hamlets, and lakes and rivers, out to the blue plains streaked with woods, where Noyon and Soissons emerge like jewels circled in an azure setting. The view is quite as beautiful if we keep to the valley. The meadows grow lusher and sedgier, and the kingcup gives place to the bulrush, and the bulrush to the water-lily, till, behold, our meadows have changed into a lake, a chain of winding waters, in which the wooded hills are brightly mirrored. The road winds on between the wood and the water till we reach a long, slow, mild ascent, and at the top of it we find ourselves upon the outskirts of a little town. A sudden turn of the road reveals the picturesque village, scattered over several roundly swelling hills, but clustered thickest round an abrupt and wooded cliff, steeper than the others, and surmounted by a huge mediæval fortress, one frown of battlements, turrets, and watch-towers behind its tremendous walls. Below the castle and the rock, and in the depth of the valley, lies a tiny lake, quite round, girdled with quinconces and alleys of clipped lime. Far away, beyond the hills, on every side, the deep-blue forest hems us in. Except Clisson in Vendée, I can think of no little town so picturesque, so almost theatric in the perfection of its *mise en scène*. And see, the castle is quite perfect, without a scar, without a ruin! Was the wood, after all, an enchanted wood, as it seemed, and have we driven back five hundred years into the Valois of the fourteenth century?

## VIII.

Pierrefonds! It was here that a sad ne'er-do-weel (for whom I have a liking none the less) built himself this famous castle in 1391. It was the wonder of the age, too strong and too near Paris for the safety of the Crown. It was dismantled in 1617; and all that remains of the fourteenth-century fortress is, with the foundations, one side of the keep and part of the outer wall. Its restoration, begun in 1858, was the triumph of Viollet-le-Duc. Before the decoration was finished, the last moats delved, or the palisade laid out, the Second Empire fell; the munificent patron became an invalid in exile, and Pierrefonds was dubbed a national monument, kept from ruin, but no longer an occasion for expense. I own that I should like to have seen it before it was restored, to have seen the real, time-stained, historical document. Yet after all the world has a goodly harvest of ruins, of documents; and there is only one such magnificent historical novel as the Castle of Pierrefonds.

The decoration is often poor and gaudy; but architecturally Pierrefonds is a work of genius. To walk through it is to see the Middle Ages alive, and as they were: a hundred phrases of mediæval novels or poems throng our memory. See there is the great Justice Hall, built separate from the keep above the Salle des Gardes; and these, connecting it with the outer defences, are the galleries or *loggie*, where the knights and ladies used to meet and watch the Palm Play in the court below. Here is the keep, a fortress within a fortress, with its postern on the open country. From its watch-towers, or its double row of battlements, we can study the whole system of mediæval defence. Ah, this would be the place to read some particularly exciting Chronicle of Froissart's, "The Campaign in Brittany," for instance, or one of those great Gascon sieges, full of histories of mining and counter-mining, of sudden sallies from the postern gate, of great engines, built like towers, launching stones and Greek fire, which the enemy wheels by night against the castle wall. I am deep in mediæval strategy when a timid common-sensible voice interrupts:

"Mais comment cela se peut-il que le château soit si ancien, p'isque vous me dites qu'il était construit sous le Second Empire?"

'Tis our fellow-sightseer, apparently some local tradesman, bent on holiday, and tramping the forest with his wife, their dinner in a basket and bunches of *muguets* dangling from their wrists. He is a shrewd little fellow. In his one phrase, he has summed up the sovereign objection to Pierrefonds:

"How is it possible that the castle be so ancient if, as you say, 'twas built under Napoleon III.?"

Decidedly Pierrefonds is too well restored!

#### IX.

The castle is the chief interest at Pierrefonds, but not the only one; for, down by the lake in the overgrown and weedy path, there stands the *Etablissement des Bains*. Here tepid sulphur springs are captured and turned to healing uses. Happy sick people, who are sent to get well in this enchanting village! How they must gossip in the lime-walk and fish in the lake, read on the castle terraces, and wander in the forest! Happy sick people, for, alas! (unless one stand in need of sulphur baths) Pierrefonds, in its lovely valley, is not, they say, a very healthy place. So, at least, from Compiègne, proclaims the trump of Envy: or perhaps the imparadised Pierrefondois, eager to keep their lovely home safe from the jerry-builder, have started these vague rumours of influenza, of languor, of rheumatisms. 'Tis a wise ruse, a weapon of defence against the Parisian—a sort of sepia shot forth to protect the natural beauty of the woods against the fate of Asnières.

There are three courses open to the visitor to Pierrefonds. He may stay there, and that would certainly be the pleasantest course. Or he may take the train, and after little more than half an hour arrive at Villers-Cotterets, where he will sleep, reserving for the morrow the lovely drive through the forest to Vaumoise, and the visit to the quaint old high-lying town of Crépy-en-Valois, whence the train will take him on to Paris. Crépy is a dear old town. No one would think that such a dull disastrous treaty once was signed there. The road that slopes down from Crépy to the plain is full of a romantic, almost an Umbrian picturesqueness. We drove there once, more than a year ago, and visited the knolly forest full of moss and pines. But we have never seen Villers-Cotterets; for when we were at Pierrefonds we followed the third and worst course open to us: we drove back to Compiègne, and thence we took the train direct to Paris.

MARY DARMESTETER.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

THE newly found fragment of the Gospel of Peter is already responsible for a whole literature of books and pamphlets which seek to establish the place of production of the document from which it was taken, the time of its composition, and the relation between it and the Gospels commonly accepted in the Church.

This is due partly to the intrinsic interest of the questions involved, but partly also to the fact that we are a great deal nearer to Germany than we used to be; there are few hypotheses which emerge nowadays from the busy Teutonic brain which do not find some one to endorse them amongst English speculators. Hence, like its central figure, the Gospel of Peter has already acquired a gnostic altitude; emerging from its tomb, it overtops the Canonical texts on which it leans; while the voice of Dr. Martineau is heard from the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, inquiring of the new teacher: "Hast thou preached to the theologians that are asleep?"

My object in the following pages will be to draw attention to certain features in the literary structure of the Gospel of Peter which stamp it indelibly as an artificial and late product, belonging to a lower period than any of the Canonical Gospels. After which, I wish to point out some singular errors in Dr. Martineau's recent treatment of the subject, to which prominence has been given, both by the reports (presumably often incorrect reports) in the newspapers and by the publication of the lecture itself in a corrected form in the pages of a leading magazine. Dr. Martineau will excuse the expressions of mistrust and the serious cautions which are offered by one who is so much his junior, when he is reminded that there is no one left who is his senior among Biblical students, and that his critic is, in all other matters than those which refer to theology and Patristic science, his sincere admirer.

St. Sylvia of Aquitaine, or whoever the lady-traveller of the fourth century may be to whom we are indebted for the recently published *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*, tells us many things with regard to the services that she attended in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which help us to understand the kind of Christian teaching that was current in her day, and to recognise it as a direct development of the doctrine of Palestinian teachers in the second century. She furnishes us with a most vivid and detailed account of the customs of the Church at Jerusalem during the forty days' fast, and especially during the week that is devoted to the contemplation and commemoration of our Lord's passion; and amongst these descriptions, we find mention made of public gatherings for the teaching of the people, when from the sixth to the ninth hour of the day, in the open space between the Golgotha and the Sepulchre, the people are instructed in the mysteries of the faith by means of readings from the Scriptures, imprimis, of those psalms that are predictive of the Messianic sufferings, then of passages from the Acts and Epistles which bear upon the interpretation of such predictions; further, the evidence of the Prophets is brought forward, and, to crown all, the story of the Passion itself is read from the Gospels. The object of this service was, as Sylvia points out, that the people might understand by the Gospel record that whatever the Psalmists and Prophets had foretold concerning the Passion of the Lord had actually taken place. And she sums up her account in the following significant sentence, which is of the utmost importance for the student of early Patristic literature; "and so for the space of three hours the people is taught that *nothing took place which had not been previously foretold, and nothing had been foretold which had not obtained its fulfilment.*" The two halves of this sentence contain the key to a great deal of primitive Christian gnosis, and to the structure of at least the major part of the sub-Apostolic literature, the first half relating to the recognition of the details of History in Prophecy, the second to the amplification of those details of History and the manufacture of fresh details out of the supposed intimations of Prophecy. We will give some illustrations presently out of the Christian literature in support of Sylvia's two statements.

But first let us notice that the accuracy of Sylvia's description is capable of being tested by a study of a series of actual lectures delivered in Jerusalem by an almost contemporary Church Father: I refer to the famous catechetical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. If any one will take the pains to read these lectures, and I would especially instance the thirteenth lecture, in which the phenomena in question are defined with great clearness, he will find that St. Cyril follows the very method which St. Sylvia describes as the Jerusalem

use in her day. But the advantage of a reference to St. Cyril lies just here: that while in the nature of the case, St. Sylvia's guide-book only makes a general statement, in Cyril's lectures we find the very passages which were in popular use quoted and enlarged upon, so that we are able almost to reconstruct the body of Jerusalem divinity in the fourth century. And two things appear at once in the contemplation of St. Cyril's Christian gnosis: first, that the collection of prophetic interpretations was still growing, even in St. Cyril's time; second, that the major part of it is traceable to at least the second century, and coincides with the teaching of Justin and Barnabas, of Irenæus and Tertullian. That the collection of prophetic extracts and interpretations was still growing may be seen from the application which St. Cyril makes of Zeph. iii. 8; the words of the Septuagint are as follows: "Therefore wait for me, saith the Lord, unto the day of my rising up for a testimony." Cyril interprets the rising up to mean the Resurrection, and by a very free handling of the word for testimony (*martyrium*), he finds in the passage the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was commonly known as the Martyrium.\* I do not quote this in order to discredit St. Cyril, who, however, requires to be taken with as many grains of salt as most Patristic writers, but in order to point out that the body of prophetic interpretation must have been still growing in Cyril's own time; how else could the Church of the Holy Sepulchre have been found in the Old Testament?

But while this is certainly the case, it is equally true that the major part of St. Cyril's Old Testament texts and New Testament applications go back into the second century and constitute a body of original Christian gnosis, chiefly of an anti-Judaic character. We might fill twenty pages with the proofs of this; but I will simply say that a sufficient number of cases will probably be found in the course of the following argument.

Returning now to St. Sylvia's summary of the Jerusalem teaching, which we have found by an actual examination to correspond with that of St. Cyril, I will first say a few words on the two divisions of the subject—(1) Prophecy recognised in History; (2) History developed out of Prophecy.

No one can doubt that the early Christian teachers dealt largely in appeals to fulfilled prophecy: the Gospel was witnessed, according to St. Paul, by the Prophets; the prophetic intimations of the sufferings of Christ were, according to St. Peter, the things which the angels desire to peer into (where we see the Christian substitute for the Jewish idea that the celestial world occupies itself in the study of the Torah); and not only St. Peter and St. Paul, but our Lord Himself, taught that all things were to be fulfilled with regard to Himself

\* Cat. xiv. 6.

which had been written in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Now, whatever may be the ultimate dogmatic interpretation of such passages (into which I do not enter), they at least show the primitive Christian method of teaching; it was the natural and obvious method, at all events, in dealing with congregations of Jews. When the Bereans searched the Scriptures, we are to understand by the term the books which were already at hand in their synagogue.

But if it is true that early Christian teachers were constantly appealing to the evidence of prophecy, the apocryphal books of the early Church and the writings of certain Fathers are in evidence for the conjugate statement that prophecy was largely developed into history. To take a single instance: the fact of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem is read by the Evangelists themselves in the prophecy of Zechariah ("Fear not, daughter of Zion," &c.); but since the ass and the ass's colt occur in the prophecy, it was natural, and thoroughly in the Jewish style of interpretation, to recognise the very same ass and ass's colt in the famous Messianic passage where Joseph is said to "bind his ass unto the vine and his ass's colt unto the choice vine"; and it is in consequence of this reaction of prophecy that we find in Justin's account of the triumphal entry that the disciples find the ass tied to a vine. We can in this case and in many others trace the accretions of the story, and possibly the very steps of the accretion, from the primitive fact to the most evolved form of gnosis.

Now no history is, in its ultimate analysis, so trustworthy as Christian history, but if we take the whole body of early literature, of which the Canonical Gospels form the centre and crown, including Apocalypses, party-Gospels and the like, we shall find that there never was a body of history which was so overgrown with legend, and the major part of these legends result from the irregular study of the Old Testament, probably based on the Synagogue methods of the time of the early Christian teachers. This reaction of the prophecy upon history colours the style of authors and affects their statements; and it is only by a close and careful study of the writers and their methods that we are able to discriminate between what is a *bona fide* allusion in the Prophets, or what is a trick of style borrowed from the Prophets, or what is a pure legend invented out of the Prophets.

No sane person, for example, would take St. Matthew's quotation\* of the psalm: "I will open my mouth in parables," as the cause of the Sermon on the Mount or the parabolic discourses; the writer of the Gospel, however, must have read the Old Testament carefully in the light of Christ's sayings in order to be able to make quotation of such a peculiar verse; and it is probable that he had the passage in his mind when he began to transcribe the Logia, and that the words, "He opened his mouth and taught them, saying," † are a phrase remi-

\* Matt. xiii. 35.

† Matt. v. 1.



niscent of the psalm, of which the very same verse is again used to wind up the treatment of Christ's sayings. We have here one of the first faint shadows cast by the prophecy upon the history; in this case it only affects the literary style and adds nothing to the matter.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the Gospels of the Infancy, we see at once that the details of the story are manufactured out of the Prophets; the "cave" in which Christ is born comes in because the Septuagint had rendered the passage which we read in Isaiah: "He shall dwell on high," by the words, "He shall dwell in a cave"; while the ox and the ass that appear in the Apocryphal Gospels, and in all pictures of the Nativity, are the final stage of a prophetic study which was led to find them in the first chapter of Isaiah ("The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's manger"). They are the result of a literary evolution out of a primitive statement that Christ was laid in a manger.

I must not spend time or space in working out these details; it is obvious to those who have made a study of the early Christian literature, that the considerations alluded to are of great weight as the determining causes of literary form, and the real need is a critical method that can distinguish between statements that are genuine history and statements that are prophetic reflexes. For this discrimination our main guide is the Canon, which expresses the judgment of the primitive Christian Church upon its literary materials; but I think it will be generally felt that we shall need finer-edged tools than Church customs or decrees in the more difficult parts of the problem; and certainly we must not assume *a priori*, in a critical investigation, that there is no trace of legendary accretion in the Gospel, and no element of genuine fact in what are called the Apocrypha. What we shall certainly find, however, on any hypothesis with regard to the nature of the documents, is the gradual encroachment of prophetic interpretation upon the historical record; and the measure of this encroachment is, in the first two centuries, one of the best indications of documentary date that we possess. As a test it will settle the period of many a document, and perhaps the measure of the appeal to prophecy will even determine the chronological order of the Gospels themselves: Mark, Luke, John, and Matthew.

Even in communities where we find little sign of reflex influence of the Old Testament upon the nascent literature of the New, we shall see that prophecy is none the less the main feature of early Christian preaching, whether the object of that preaching be personal edification or the conversion (which frequently degenerated into mere confutation) of the Jews. The favourite prophecies early became collected into handbooks of *Testimonia* which passed in growing volume from

church to church and from generation to generation. Although the earliest and simplest forms of these collections are no longer extant, we are able, by a comparative study of second- and third-century Fathers, to restore large portions of them. One of the surprising results of the investigation is the fact that, the further back we go, the more does the appeal lie to the Septuagint or collateral Greek translations in preference to the Hebrew; and there are many things which suggest that the study of Hebrew amongst the Jews is very much in the nature of a revival which began in the second century, and has continued of course to our own time. But upon this we must not enlarge here; the reader is already saying in himself: "What has all this to do with the Gospel of Peter?" It has everything to do with it: the real criterion of the date of the Peter Gospel and of its relation to the Christian literature lies in the determination of its relation to the Old Testament. If, for example, it is independent, or largely so, of the prophetic gnosis which we know to have developed into so rank a growth in the second century, the probability will be that it will stand near the Gospel of Mark, which, of all the Canonical Gospels, is the most free from prophetic allusions and from suggestions that things were done in order "that it might be fulfilled." And indeed I see that this is the position that is already assigned to it by certain writers. Is the Peter Gospel of the nature of a direct and independent narrative? If it is, then, whether it be perfectly accurate or not, it is very likely to be primitive, especially in view of certain points of coincidence between itself and parts of the early Christian literature. It is certain that the recovered fragment presents us with a variety of new details on the history of the Passion; does any one know their origin? These are the questions that have to be settled; and I shall attempt to establish the following thesis:

*The Gospel of Peter shows everywhere the traces of a highly evolved prophetic gnosis, and in particular, most of the apparently new matter which it contains is taken from the Old Testament.*

It is hardly necessary to remind the trained Patristic student of the things that we are to look for; he is already familiar with them from the pages of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. But for the person who is not so familiar with the subject, it may not be amiss to recall the fact that the early prophetic interpretations of the Christian Church take hold of all the best Old Testament passages amongst those which are called Messianic, such as the blessing of Jacob, or the prophecy of the coming of the Branch; of all places in which the Septuagint shows the name of Jesus as the equivalent of the Hebrew Joshua (especially the war with Amalek, in which Joshua is the leader, and the account of the priestly enduement of Joshua, the son of Josedech, in the Book of Zechariah); of all places in which a

reference can be detected to Christ as the Stone or the Corner-Stone, or to His Cross as the Wood or the Tree (the last in particular furnishing illustrations from the plough of Adam and the ark of Noah, down to the cross-beam that cries from the wall in the prophecy of Zechariah); nor must we forget the cases where a juvenile exegesis found the doctrine of the Resurrection in passages where sleepers wake, or where the Lord rises up, as, for instance, in the psalm: "I lay down and slept, and rose up; for the Lord sustained me." It would be tedious to enumerate in detail instances like these on which, before the time of Justin Martyr, the Church had spent its gift of interpretation. I shall show, briefly, that the Gospel of Peter becomes transparent when read in the light of this primitive Christian gnosis of the Old Testament. This may sound astonishing, especially to people who have assumed that Peter shows no acquaintance with the Old Testament at all. But a closer inspection betrays quite a different state of affairs. As no one has thrown more light on this subject than Dr. Swete, I transcribe a sentence from his recently published work on the Peter Gospel, to which I wish, once for all, to express my indebtedness. Dr. Swete says:

"The Petrine Gospel contained no verbal quotation from the Old Testament. One passage which appears to make a formal reference to Deuteronomy gives merely the general sense of the passage; the Petrine version of the Fourth Word from the Cross is as far from the exact words of the psalm as it is from those of the Canonical Gospels. Perhaps the writer has been led by his anti-Judaic spirit to affect indifference to the Jewish Scriptures; there is significance in the phrase *γράφεται αὐτοῖς*, with which his only direct appeal to them is introduced. Nevertheless, he has not been able to escape from the influence of the Psalms and Prophets; his very opposition to Judaism has familiarised him with the Testimonia which Christians of the second century were in the habit of citing in their controversies with the Jews."

Let us examine whether this suggestion of Dr. Swete's throws light on the Peter problem. We will begin with a passage known as the Prayer of Habakkuk. That this passage was early made the subject of Messianic speculation may be seen from its use by Irenæus and Cyril of Jerusalem. Starting from the statement that in our Bible is given in the words: "God came from Teman and the Holy One from Mount Paran," an alteration of tense by the Septuagint: "God shall come," invited Messianic interpretation (most of the passages which contain the words "God shall come," or "The Lord shall come," are taken over into the collection of Testimonia and applied either to the first or the second Advent). In this particular case the interpretation was a little difficult. The Septuagint reads: "God shall come from Teman [*i.e.*, the South] and the Holy One from the thickly wooded shady mountain." And the interpreters refer this to Bethlehem, which is *on the south of Jerusalem*, and assume that the country

was originally thickly wooded. So much for the early exegesis of the third verse of the chapter, of which the nucleus is the simple statement that Christ was born in Bethlehem; but now turn back to the previous verse and notice the Septuagint reading for the text which we know in the English Bible in the words: "In the midst of the years make known." The reading of the Septuagint is: "In the midst of *two lives* [or of *two living creatures*] thou shalt be known." The rendering was susceptible of two meanings, according to the accent placed on the word ζῶων.\* How was this passage to be interpreted Messianically? The end was accomplished in two ways: one method was to refer it to Christ's Incarnation, the other to His Death and Resurrection; in the former case the two animals are the ox and the ass in the cave of the Nativity, in accordance with which explanation the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew expressly tells us (c. xiv.) that "Mary laid the child in the manger, and the ox and the ass adored him. . . . Then was fulfilled the word spoken by Habakkuk the Prophet: 'in the midst of two animals thou shalt be recognised.'"

The second interpretation, which refers it to Christ's resurrection, is, in point of time, the earlier. The living creatures are now the Seraphim, two in number, because in Isaiah "one called to the other and said"; and we have only to find a situation in which Christ is seen between two angels, and the prophecy is fulfilled. This situation is made in the Gospel of Peter by Christ rising between two supporting angels.

No doubt this explanation of the prophecy sounds fanciful at first hearing; the only question is whether it is the explanation of the early Fathers. If any one has doubt on this point, I ask him to notice the way in which Cyril of Alexandria, commenting on the passage, after vainly suggesting that the two living creatures may perhaps be the Father and the Holy Spirit, or the Old and New Testaments, recurs to the interpretation of earlier times, and says, "Thou standest in the midst of two living creatures, to wit, the Cherubim."

I may also draw attention to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on Zechariah,† where the promise of God to *Joshua* the high priest is interpreted as follows: "If thou wilt keep the observation of my word, I will raise thee up in the resurrection of the dead, and set thy feet walking between these two Seraphim." The explanation of this curious Aramaic gloss in Zechariah, itself obviously based upon a gnosis of a primitive incorrect Septuagint text of Habakkuk, seems to lie in the use of early Christian interpretations by the Targumist

\* Origen ("De Principiis," bk. i.); or, at all events, his translator Rufinus knew both interpretations—"In medio vel *duo animalium* vel *duo vitarum* cognoscæris." Eusebius also knows both interpretations, and rejects the translation "animals," while admitting it to be the earlier rendering. See "Demonst. Ev.," vi. c. 15.

† Zech. iii. 7.

in question. At all events, the reader will notice the coincidence with the Peter Gospel; and, on reviewing the argument, to which much might have been added by way of illustration, he will, I think, be able to give a satisfactory explanation of the genesis of the fabulous angels in the Peter Gospel. They are the original angels at the tomb, which have been sought for in the prophecies of the Old Testament.\* As soon as the identification had been made of the two living creatures of Habakkuk with two mighty angels (Cherubim or Seraphim), it was easy to pass over to the ninety-ninth psalm, in which the Lord was said to sit upon the Cherubim. Justin expressly affirms † that this psalm is a prediction of Christ. A little study of the opening words will show some interesting parallels with Peter. "The Lord hath reigned! Let the people be enraged! Sitting on the Cherubim, let the earth be shaken. The Lord in Zion is great and high above all the people." Here we have a parallel to the "Jews burning with rage," and to the enormous stature of the risen Christ, and, perhaps, to the quaking of the earth. Nor is it without interest that Justin, having spoken of this great and high Christ, should turn immediately to another psalm (xix.), where the sun is said to come forth as a bridegroom from his chamber, and to rejoice *as a giant* to run a race. ‡ It seems fanciful, no doubt, to us that any one should try to make the great psalm, which ascends in such magnificent cadences from the starry heavens to the moral law, into a Messianic prediction. But the fact is clear that this interpretation was made, and Justin says expressly that the prophecy was given in order that people might know that He came from the topmost heaven, and that He returned thither ("His going forth is from the end of the heaven, &c."); and that the chamber from which He came forth in bridegroom splendour is understood to be the tomb, may be inferred from the fact that the very same expression is quoted by Apocryphal writers of the raising of Lazarus; for example, the "Anaphora Pilati" (a small tract which is found among the Pilate legends, and which contains very early matter) tells us that "Christ commanded the evil-smelling body which was lying in the tomb to *run*, and he came forth then *out of the bride-chamber as a bridegroom filled with all sweet odour*." The reference to the psalm here is indisputable, and a little reflection shows that it could not have been interpreted of Lazarus in the first instance, but that the connection between Lazarus running as a bridegroom and the language of the psalm has been made through an intermediate interpretation which

\* Of this incident Dr. Martineau strangely remarks, "Matthew, Mark, Peter provide one shining figure, and place him in the tomb; Luke has two not in the tomb, John also two, in the tomb." The Gospel of Peter expressly says of its angelophanies, "Both the young men entered . . . a man descended, and entered the tomb."

† Trypho, 64.

‡ Cf. Trypho, 69, where Justin shows the labour of the mighty Zeus-born Herakles to be a Greek mimicry of this psalm. They did not know that the giant in question was Christ!

saw the resurrection of Christ foretold by David in the solar giant who, coming out of his chamber, joys to run his course! We have the explanation then of the appearing of the risen Christ between two angels who support Him, and of His astonishing height.

Much more might be said on the primitive Messianic interpretations of Habakkuk iii. ; but as the allusion to the Targum has carried us into the famous "Branch" passage in Zechariah; which, by the way, it interprets Messianically, in the words, "Behold, I bring forth my servant Messiah," I shall proceed to ask whether there are any primitive Christian applications of this famous chapter, and whether they have coloured the text of Peter. The Branch (*ἀνατολή*) is well known as the source of the Patristic explanation of Christ as the man whose name is "the East" (*ἀνατολή*); but this was not the only thing that attracted the attention of second-century interpreters. They saw the name of Jesus (the Septuagint form of Joshua) in the chapter, and this, of itself, was sufficient to invite interpretation. A reference to the Testimonia of Cyprian will show that the passage is one of the proofs of the doctrine that the first advent of Christ was to be in lowliness, for was not Joshua the high priest clothed with filthy garments, and was he not afterwards clad with the long priestly robe and the fair mitre? And Justin tells Trypho that he ought to believe the prophet Zechariah when he sets forth in a parable the mystery of Christ; and he proceeds to quote and interpret the prophet, beginning, naturally enough, with "Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, for behold I will come and tabernacle in the midst of thee, saith the Lord,"\* and going on to lay especial emphasis on the passage, "He showed me Jesus, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord." Many other proofs might be adduced of the existence of a primitive Christian gnosis on these verses of Zechariah, a gnosis which probably started from a Jewish Messianic interpretation of the Branch, and afterwards took hold of the name of Jesus and of many other details in the passage.

If my readers will now turn to the passage in Zechariah, they will find certain obscure references which follow the sentence "I will bring forth my servant the Branch"; the passage runs as follows: † "Behold the stone which I have set before the face of Jesus; upon one stone shall be seven eyes." It need scarcely be said that this sentence was likely to provoke all kinds of mystical and gnostic interpretations. One of the first suggestions was to treat the stone with seven eyes as the equivalent of Christ Himself. The Fathers of the second century ranged through the whole Old Testament in search of passages to prove that Christ was the Stone (of stumbling to the Jews, but the corner-stone to believers). What they sought they found. Justin recognised Christ in the stone cut out without hands, of which Daniel speaks; in the stone which Jacob set for his pillow,

\* Zech. ii. 10.

† Zech. iii. 9 (LXX).

and which he anointed with oil (for was not all anointing meant to suggest the Christ?); in the stone on which Moses sat in the battle with Amalek, and the like. And when we turn to the Testimonia of Cyprian we find a whole section devoted to the proof that Christ is also called the Stone. The passage is so interesting, and so certainly based upon a primitive Christian gnosis, that I must transcribe a few lines:

“This is the stone in Genesis, which Jacob set for his head, because the head of a man is Christ; and, sleeping, he saw a ladder reaching to the heaven, on which the Lord stood, and the angels ascended and descended; which stone he consecrated, and anointed it with the sacrament of unction, signifying Christ thereby. And this is the stone in Exodus, on which Moses sat on the summit of the hill, when Jesus the son of Navé was fighting against Amalek, and by the sacrament of the stone and the firmness of Moses’ seat Amalek was overcome by Jesus, that is, the devil was conquered by Christ. And this is the great stone in the First Book of Kings, on which was placed the ark of the covenant when it had been sent back by the Philistines, and returned in a cart drawn by oxen,” &c. \*

It need scarcely be said that the passage in Zechariah is not omitted in these Testimonia.

It seems then from the frequency of the references that the earliest doctrine concerning the stone in Zechariah was to regard it as a symbol of Christ. It will be found interpreted so as late as Theodoret. But, while these early Fathers were not very anxious to secure consistency in their interpretations, it was a little awkward that the stone should be said to be before the face of Jesus.

Bearing in mind that there was certainly an early tendency to connect the language of the “Branch” passage with the Resurrection, we can see that the interpretation took a second form, viz., to regard the stone before the face of Jesus as a prophecy of the stone which closed the tomb in the evangelic story. But what about the seven eyes that are on the stone? There is evidence that they were early interpreted by Biblical Targumists to mean seven seals: the writer of the Apocalypse has a curious and suggestive connection between a book sealed (*ἰσφραγισμένον*) with seven seals, and a lamb slain (*ἰσφαγμένον*) with seven eyes, which has every appearance of being ultimately derived from the language of Zechariah.†

We need not be surprised, then, that the Peter Gospel speaks of the stone as sealed with seven seals; it is an attempt to throw the story into closer parallelism with Zechariah, no doubt for polemic purposes against the Jews. That he uses the curious word *ἐπύχρισε* which we are obliged from the exigencies of language to translate “he smeared” or “plastered” seven seals, but which to the writer meant much the same as if we were to say “he on-christed seven

\* This explanation, which seems the strangest of all, is at least as old as Justin. It arose from the observation of an early reader that the ark had been taken into the house of Joshua at Beth-Shemesh.

† The interpretation was suggested by the words which follow in the Hebrew text, which the Hexapla translators render as follows: “On one stone shall be seven eyes. I will engrave its graving,” presumably the graving of a signet.

seals," is due to the lurking desire to make a parallel with Christ and the stone directly, and with the anointed pillar of Jacob. The stone has a chrism. But this is not all: a little later on in the text of Zechariah (c. iv. 10) comes a passage which the English Bible gives rightly as "they shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel.": but in the Septuagint it runs "they shall see the tin-stone" (τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρινον). The difficulty of an earlier interpreter is to connect this passage with the foregoing passage concerning the "stone before the face of Jesus"; and especially the word "tin" caused perplexity, even to those who were simply readers of the Scripture and not interpreters. How was any gnosis possible of the words "they shall see the tin-stone"? The answer is found in the pages of the Peter Gospel: "a great crowd came from Jerusalem and the neighbourhood to see the tomb which had been sealed." It only remains to identify the stone which they saw with the tin-stone: and then the Jews are fairly in the prophetic net, and the early Christian can say, as Justin does to Trypho, "I marvel that you do not accept the testimony of Zechariah." The word for "tin" in the Hebrew was retranslated by Symmachus, the great Bible reviser, as if it came from the root which means to separate or divide (the same word which occurs in the Book of Genesis, where God divides the light from the darkness), and Jerome, who was a careful student of Symmachus' renderings, tells us that the translation implies "separation," for tin is used as a separating element in metallurgy. Jerome is here trying to ride two horses at once; he wishes to keep the word for "tin" and the new translation of it made by Symmachus.\*

It is this translation of Symmachus (perhaps by a common confusion between the forms ἀποχωρίω and ἀποχωρίζω) that underlies the statement of the Gospel of Peter that "the stone which had been laid on the door of the tomb withdrew (or separated) gradually (ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος)." If this interpretation be correct, the reader will find it not without interest to remark that the Greek text of Peter not infrequently shows coincidences with Symmachus in the use of rare words. I do not pursue the subject, because I do not know the date of Symmachus' translation, and because it is quite possible that earlier translators than Symmachus had been pecking at the troublesome word. What I am concerned with is the underlying prophetic gnosis which is involved in the Peter Gospel, especially, as was to be expected, where it diverges from the Canonical Gospels. The "plummet" of Zerubbabel is used by Peter to make history square with prophecy.

Having now briefly discussed the gnosis of the Messianic passage in Habakkuk, and the famous "Branch" passage where the name of

\* I add his words in a note: "Lapis autem iste, id est, massa, qui apud Hebraeos εὐδαί scribitur, id est stanneus ἐτυμολογείται ἀποχωρίων id est separans et secernens ut . . . stannum mixta et adulterata inter se per ignem metalla dissociat."



Jesus was recognised, I pass on to show that the writer of the Peter Gospel was not ignorant of the gnosis of the Cross, which the early Fathers wrought out in such detail from the pages of the Old Testament. I need not take space to prove that the Fathers are full of gnosis on the "Wood" and the "Tree." But it is well known that there is a passage, at which both Jewish and Christian exegetes laboured heavily, in the second chapter of Habakkuk.\* I refer to the verse where the house that is built by deceit and violence is personified and made to cry out: "The stone cries out of the wall, and the cross-beam answers back to it." The passage is quoted by Barnabas, though no doubt from a corrupted text, with a positive assertion that the Cross is here intimated by the prophet.†

Now the author of the Peter Gospel has been at work on the passage; he wishes to make the Cross talk, and not only talk, but answer back; accordingly he introduces a question, "Hast thou preached to them that are asleep? And the response is heard from the Cross, Yea." As far as I can suspect, the first speaker is Christ, the Stone; ‡ and the answer comes from the Cross, the Wood. It is, then, the Cross that has descended into Hades. But perhaps this is pressing the writer's words a little too far. The student of the Peter Gospel will see that there is not the least need to alter the text, with Harnack and others, to "Hast thou preached *obedience* to them that are asleep?" The word in Peter is the regular term for a liturgical response; I add an instance, which has not been noticed, at the foot of the page.§

Let us turn, in the next instance, to a passage in the prophet Amos (viii. 9-10, LXX); "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that the sun shall set at midday . . . and I will turn your feasts into wailing and all your songs to lamentation, and I will lay sackcloth on all loins and baldness on every head; and I will set him as the wailing for the beloved, and those that are with him as a day of grief." With which must be taken the parallel verse in which Zechariah (xiv. 6, 7) predicts a day in which "there shall be no light, but cold and frost; . . . but towards evening there shall be light." It is well known that these passages were a favourite proof with the early Christian teachers of the events which happened at the Crucifixion; it is, for example, one of the heads of sections in Cyprian's Testimonia (ii. 23), *Quod medio die in passione ejus tenebrae futurae essent. Apud Amos, &c.* The gnosis will be found in a more evolved

\* Hab. ii. 11.

† For a more complete statement see my "Last Words of Baruch," p. 42, where the matter is worked over at some length.

‡ The LXX render it "The stone shall shout from the wall and the Scarabaeus from the wood shall utter these things:" accordingly, the Scarabaeus is identified with Christ on the Cross. "Some persons," says St. Eucherius, "interpret the Scarabaeus to be the Lord."

§ "Dormitio Mariae," v. : *πάσαι αι δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑπήκουσαν τὸ Ἀλληλοῦια.* (I see the reference is given by Dr. Swete.)

form, with even the "frost and cold" accounted for, in the sixth homily of the Persian Father Aphrahat\* against the Jews:

"The light is darkened at midday, according to the prophet Zechariah, saying, 'That day shall be known to the Lord, not day nor night; and at eventide there shall be light.' What day is that which is miraculously divided into dark and light? . . . It is none else than the day of the Crucifixion. . . . Again he says: That day shall be cold and bitter. For as thou, perhaps, Jew, art not unaware, it was cold on that day, and they made a fire and warmed themselves, and Simon Peter came and stood with them."

Now the Gospel of Peter did not apparently possess the gnosis in such a highly evolved form as this; but that he is working on the same passages will be clear to any one who will take the pains to go through the text, and, instead of marking parallels to the Canonical Gospels, will mark in his margin the passages in the Old Testament that come nearest to the text. He will then find how artistically the writer has wrought in the prophetic details into the story, e.g.:

"It was midday and darkness over all the land of Judæa . . . then the sun shone out, and it was found to be the ninth hour [*at evening time it shall be light*]; and the Jews rejoiced, . . . and the Jews began to wail [*I will turn your feasts into mourning*] . . . We also were fasting and sitting down (*i.e.*, sitting on the ground in sackcloth): [*I will lay sackcloth on all loins*]. Mary Magdalene had not done at the tomb as women are wont to do over their dead beloveds, so she took her friends with her to wail [*I will set him as the Waiting for the Beloved*]."

The writer is, therefore, drawing on the details of prophecy, as suggested by the current testimonies against the Jews, and most likely on a written gnosis involving those testimonies. That he veils his sources simply shows that he is not one of the first brood of anti-Jewish preachers. If he had been early he would not have been artificial or occult.

This doctrine, that the Feast should be turned into Mourning, appeared very early in the Christian literature in an attempt to treat the great historical Passover at which our Lord suffered, as if it had been the Day of Atonement. The best exposition of this view is found in the Epistle of Barnabas, where the ritual of the great day, the annual expression of the nation's penitence, is discussed in detail, not only from the prescriptions of the Old Testament, but from some written handbook (apparently a Greek handbook!) which gives the rules of procedure for the Priests and the People, and proves conclusively a variety of local usage such as would not have been suspected from the Scripture, read apart from the rest of the literature of the time. The passages of the Græco-Judaic handbook to which we refer can be picked out of Barnabas' text, for example:

"Let them eat of the goat which is offered at the Fast for all sins. And let the priests alone, all of them, eat the inwards of the goat, unwashed, with vinegar, while the people fast and wail in sackcloth and ashes."

This goat is one of two, over which lot is cast on the Day of

\* And in Greek Fathers also.

Atonement; the other goat, known to English readers as the scape-goat, but to Biblical students as the goat Azazel, was, according to Barnabas, to be treated with contumely and sent away into the wilderness. The regulations which he quotes advise as follows: "All of you spit on him and prick him, and put the scarlet wool about his head," &c.

The two goats both represent Christ, according to Barnabas, who twists these written regulations into prophecies of the first and second Advents, and of the details of the Passion. The mention of the vinegar with which the priests were to eat their bitter portion of the sacrificed goat, suggested the words of the psalm, "gall for my meat, and vinegar for my drink:" the command to spit on the goat, and prick (or pierce) him (which ill-usage, by the way, the Talmud admits to have been the practice of the Alexandrian Jews), is interpreted by Barnabas to be a type or a prophecy of Christ "set at naught and pierced and spat on." Is there then any trace of the gnosis of the two goats in Peter? If we may judge from the conjunction of the words in the account of the Mockery, there is a decided trace: "Others stood and *spat on his eyes* . . . others *pricked him with a reed*;" it is Christ as the goat Azazel. The demonstration is completed by a happily preserved sentence of an almost contemporary Sibyllist, who tells us, in language which coincides curiously with that of Peter: "They shall prick his side with a reed, *according to their law*.\* If the Sibyllist is quoting Peter, he is also interpreting him; and his interpretation is, they shall prick him, as is done to the goat Azazel. We have, then, the reason for the piercing as part of the Mockery. It need scarcely be said that this finds no parallel in the Canonical Gospels; it is far too highly evolved an interpretation to belong to the period in which the Gospels were produced. St. John merely says that the side of the Lord was pierced with a spear, and that the Scripture records, that they shall look on him whom they pierced, and the gnosis on which Barnabas works is ultimately based on the same passage; but contrast the simplicity of the statement of the Evangelist with the complexity of the later commentaries. Moreover the mention of the "reed" by Peter, which was not required by the regulation for the ill-treatment of the Azazel goat, shows that there underlies the Peter story a sentence which must have been very like the words, "They spat on him, and they smote him with a reed."

The reader who has followed our exposition thus far will easily continue it further for himself; and will, I think, come to the conclusion that the Old Testament, with a current written gnosis upon it, is responsible for nine-tenths of the originality which at first sight seems to be stamped on the Peter Gospel. He will, for example, readily recognise, with the aid of his Septuagint, the "Woe" which the Jews call down upon themselves in the language of Isaiah:† "Woe

\* The words "his side" are from the fourth Gospel.

† Is. iii. 9.

unto them, for they have counselled an evil counsel against themselves," the reference being betrayed by the language of the writer himself, who tells us that it was when they saw that they had done an ill deed against themselves that they thus cried out. The language of the prophet is slightly modified, no doubt intentionally. This third chapter of Isaiah is responsible for a good deal else in the Peter Gospel; the very next words to those which we have quoted represent the rulers of Sodom as saying: "Let us bind the righteous,"\* a sentence which is intimately connected with Peter's "Let us hale the Son of God." But enough has been said to indicate the direction in which the interpretation of the fragment lies. It is necessary to understand the document before we proceed to build on it important conclusions which affect the whole of the Gospels; how unfortunate that such preliminary work should have been neglected, in the vain hope to solve at a stroke both the Synoptic and Johannine problems, or the equally vain desire to lower the dignity of the Canonical Gospels.

But now let us remove those Petrine statements which betray the use of the Old Testament, or of a gnosis or collection of testimonies from the Old Testament, and see what lies underneath. We shall find that the whole face of the question is surprisingly changed; the apparent originality of Peter has disappeared. Let us take a single instance; we will set side by side the corresponding matter of Justin, Peter, and John in one of the central passages under discussion: Peter says: † "They set him on a seat of judgment (ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως), saying, 'Judge righteously, O King of Israel.'"

Justin says: ‡ "As Isaiah said . . . they ask of me now judgment, and venture to draw near to God . . . Yea, as the prophet said, They seated him in mockery upon a judgment-seat (ἐπὶ βήματος), and said, Judge for us."

John says: § "Pilate led Jesus forth and seated him [the words may certainly be understood in this sense] on a judgment-seat (ἐπὶ βήματος)."

We here observe that Justin expressly intimates the passage in the prophet with which connection is to be made. It is Isaiah lviii. 1 which we read in the words "They ask of me now just judgment, and delight to draw near to God." That there is an actual dependence of the supposed narrative on this passage is also seen by the extract from Peter (whom we have shown to be a systematic pilferer of the Prophets), for Peter picks up the word "*just* judgment," which Justin has missed, and draws the supposed historical parallel which was suggested by Justin, by attributing to the Jews the expression "Judge *justly*, O King of Israel." It appears, therefore, both from Justin's express statement and from the language as well as the known genesis of the Peter account, that these new details of the

\* If indeed we have the right reading of the Septuagint.

† Chap. iii.

‡ Apol. i. 35.

§ Chap. xiv. 13.

mockery of our Lord are not independent of the passage in Isaiah. Semisch's observation that Justin was referring to Isaiah is confirmed by the recovery of the Peter fragment, which by adding another word-link from the language of the prophet, proves that it was a popular quotation with early exegetes.

But, it will be said, is not all this equally consistent with the fact that Peter is the source of Justin's language? May we not place Peter between Isaiah and Justin? I have no objection to this theory; but we must test it, and, as we have intimated, the way to find the source is to subtract and set on one side the prophetic detail which has been incorporated with the Gospel story. If Peter lies behind Justin, the prophetic testimony lies behind Peter. Let us, then, separate such terms as may fairly be set down as reflexes from Isaiah. As soon as we do this, we find we have left only the simple statement that Christ was on the judgment-seat; and it is noteworthy that what is left in Justin is in close agreement with John as against Peter, for Justin and John use the term *βῆμα* for the judgment-seat, and not *καθῆδρα κρίσεως*; and further, the subtracted matter which, more than anything else, made for a connection between Justin and Peter is divergent in text in the two writers. Justin, who actually refers to the prophet, is further from the prophet in language than Peter is, from whom he is supposed to borrow, though Peter says nothing about the prophet. If we hastily conclude that Justin used Peter and did not use John, we find ourselves in the dilemma of having to explain, on the one hand, Justin's convergence to John in the evangelic part of the story, and, on the other hand, his divergence from Peter in the prophetic detail.

It appears, then, that we must not too hastily conclude that Justin is working over the matter of the Gospel of Peter; he may be, but even then the nucleus of the whole account is "Christ set on the judgment-seat," a primitive statement which is presupposed in the prophetic gnosis and is in its language closely in harmony with the fourth Gospel. Upon this statement the early interpreters went to work, searching for Old Testament confirmations. Whether by reading *ἐκάθισαν* for *ἐκάθισεν* ("they set him on the judgment-seat," for "he set him on the judgment-seat"), or by some other mistake, they made the people responsible for what, in the fourth Gospel, is Pilate's doing, and found the incident in the passage of Isaiah of which we have spoken above.

The nucleus of the incident is, therefore, a statement made by some evangelist behind Peter; and the language of the evangelist in question was certainly in close agreement with that of the fourth Gospel. It is difficult to see why there should be any hesitation in admitting it to be the fourth Gospel itself; but if, for the sake of argument, we call the source in question simply *x*; then we cannot allow that Justin followed Peter who himself followed *x*, without

admitting that Justin changed the language of his source from the words of gospel *x* to those of the fourth Gospel; he, therefore, was acquainted with the fourth Gospel; but if, on the other hand, we suggest that the discrepancy between Peter and Justin is due to Peter, who has changed the language of *x* by the same free handling which he employed in the use of the Old Testament, we have by the very admission of habitual change on the part of the writer done away with the necessity for distinguishing between *x* and St. John. The supposed double of the fourth Evangelist turns out to be the fourth Evangelist himself.

But why multiply hypotheses and documents? The whole phenomena are explained by the supposition of the fourth Gospel and the Gnosis; these were known both to Justin and to Peter. If Justin in addition knew Peter, well and good; but such acquaintance is as yet insufficiently demonstrated.

If I do not examine in detail other passages which have been brought forward in support of the theory of the antiquity of the Peter Gospel and of Justin's dependence upon it, it is because I regard the secondary character of the Peter Gospel as sufficiently established by the examination which has preceded. All the apparent coincidences between Peter and Justin involve a third term, to wit the gnosis; the existence of this third term, to which the similarities in question may be due, makes it difficult to establish conclusively a connection between Justin and Peter. But it is quite possible that this connection may yet be adequately proved.

I now pass on to make some remarks on Dr. Martineau's treatment of the subject in the *Nineteenth Century*.

First of all, it is to be regretted that important arguments should have been based on incorrect texts.

The following sentence from Dr. Martineau's lecture will show what I mean:

"Pilate had forthwith sent to Herod, and asked leave thus to dispose of the body, and the king was apparently present, now to bring his own answer, to this effect, Brother Pilate, by all means let it be so: apart from this request, we should in any case have had to bury him, in observance of the law (against leaving the corpse hanging after sundown), before the first day of Unleavened Bread, their feast."

To this is added the following note:

"Deut. xxi. 23. The law applies indifferently to *any day*, the whole stress being laid on the *before sundown*. The fragment shifts the stress to the *first day of Unleavened Bread*; and our fourth Gospel (xix. 31) to the *approach of the Sabbath*.

I suppose that most critics when they first read the passage in Peter upon which Dr. Martineau builds his argument must have felt that there was something uncanny about a text which read as

follows: "For it is written in the law that the sun go not down on him that is put to death, on the day before the Unleavened Bread, which is their Feast." And the suspicion that something was wrong in the text was verified by the fact that the editor of the manuscript was found to have omitted several most important words from the text which he published. How many people besides Dr. Martineau he has misled by his careless and inaccurate workmanship it would be hard to guess; certainly Dr. Harnack has been caught in the same net, so that Dr. Martineau is in company which he knows how to appreciate.

The passage should run as follows: "It is written in the law that the sun should not go down on him that is put to death. *And Pilate delivered Him to the people* on the day before the Unleavened Bread, which is their Feast."

The correction thus made entirely upsets the argument involved in Dr. Martineau's note; the fragment has not shifted the stress of the law at all, for the words upon which the reasoning is built, belong to a different sentence, and have only a narrative connection with the request for the Burial of the Body. It is the more to be regretted that this error has influenced Dr. Martineau's argument, since the corrected text was already extant when his lecture was delivered; the errors were long ago pointed out in the pages of the *Academy*, and the text was accessible in a facsimile reproduction. No doubt it was very picturesque to be able to throw the Gospels of Peter and John into contiguity in a foot-note as having agreed in independent modifications of a primitive enactment, and it was an artistic preparation for leading the reader to the view which evidently was in the Doctor's mind with regard to the derivation of the two Gospels from lost common matter; the temptation is natural to write a *Tendenz-Commentar* or a *Tendenz-Schrift*, but we must ask him to correct his text.\*

One cannot help thinking, in view of the influence which a single editor's blunder has acquired, that many of the perplexities and confusions which are current in the early Christian literature may ultimately be traceable to such a simple explanation as the omission of a few words by a careless hand. Such considerations should make us all very cautious in handling an argument of which the textual base is confined to a single passage.

There is another place in which Dr. Martineau's lecture is likely to mislead an ill-informed reader by means of an inexact text; this time it is the text of the Gospel that is in error. We are told that

\* The student will be interested to observe that Harnack's discussion still bears, even in a second edition, traces of the first published and erroneous text of the Gospel, though he has corrected his transcript: Pilate still is assumed to have delivered Christ to the soldiers, though the true text expresses the contrary, and important analogies are pointed out between Justin and Peter which are based on the erroneous reading!

“to express the *casting of lots* the Synoptists resort to the usual phrase κλήρον βάλλειν; the exceptional word λαχμόν used in the fourth Gospel, is also found in Justin Martyr’s reference to this incident. Did he take it from the fourth Gospel, or from the Gospel of Peter?” (p. 911.)

The rare word λαχμός is not used in the fourth Gospel at all, but only the common verb that corresponds to it (ἐλαχον). Dr. Martineau was, of course, aware of this, since on p. 923 he tells us that “the term used for casting lots (for the garments), viz., λαχμόν βάλλειν, is unknown to the Canonical Evangelists, but quoted in Justin and found in our fragment.” It is a pity that this accidental confusion over the text has been introduced at the strongest part of the argument, and right in the middle of the facts of the case. I regard it as certain that the reading of λαχμός implies connection between Justin and Peter either directly or through a third source accessible to both. And it is a pity to obscure the connection, whatever may be the meaning of it, by an erroneous statement.

But, in the next place, it should be noticed that Dr. Martineau has entirely erroneous ideas with regard to the early Christian literature. He maintains that “the early Church writings, other than epistolary were all anonymous;” and the further inference is readily to be drawn from his remarks on the subject, that where they had ceased to be anonymous, they were pseudonymous. I do not think anything much more astonishing has been said, for some time, than this. If it means that books or portions of books are sometimes found with no titles, we might reply that they are also found without bindings. The external form of a book is accidental. But this is not what Dr. Martineau means. He is not speaking of the literary form or absence of form which characterises the first and second centuries, but of the literary evolution by which the final form is reached, according to which a book grows from an anonymous fly-sheet to a gospel, and from an unparented waif and stray of literature into the dignity of a great name. I should scarcely think it worth while to discuss mere speculative matters which belong really to the secrets of Dr. Martineau’s inner consciousness, but happily he makes one or two statements which are capable of being tested by an appeal to the facts. Nothing is so medicinal as that simple process; and I may say that it is in reality the only medicine that is good for the disease of mere speculative Biblical criticism. I have no taste for pointing out mere technical errors, but when it comes to a question of what says the Scripture (any sort of scripture), the time is not wasted in securing an exact testimony.

Will Dr. Martineau tell us how he arrived at the following statement (p. 907)?

“Both Barnabas and the Shepherd held a rank so nearly Canonical as to appear in the Sinaitic Codex; and with them there stood, on



leaves now lost, the Revelation of Peter just partially recovered, known in the first century but not named till after the middle of the second."

How does he know what stood on the leaves to which he refers? Did he see them before they were lost, or has he recovered them? or has any one else seen them?

Dr. Martineau is referring, I know, to six missing leaves in the Codex Sinaiticus between the end of Barnabas and the opening of the Shepherd of Hermas. It has long been a matter of speculation as to what stood on these leaves, if indeed anything ever stood there. And this speculation took the form, *inter alia*, of a suggestion that the missing leaves might perhaps have been occupied by the lost Apocalypse of Peter, mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. Indeed Scrivener says of this apparent blank in the MS.\*: "The limited space would not suffice for the insertion of Clement's genuine Epistle . . . but might suit one of the other Canonical books on the list in Cod. Claromontanus, viz., the Acts of Paul and the Revelation of Peter."

Perhaps this is the source of Dr. Martineau's information; but in any case it is clear (1) that the suggestion is a mere guess; (2) that as a guess it is an impossible one. For notice what the Clermont Catalogue says of this Apocalypse of Peter. It tells us that it contains 270 verses. These verses are, as is well known, the equivalent of hexameters, and are normally reckoned by the scribes at 16 syllables each. Now a single page of the Sinaiticus contains about 70 hexameters, and consequently the six missing leaves would require a document measuring 840 verses, or perhaps somewhat less. Only about a third of the space in question could therefore have been occupied by the long-lost and now partially recovered Apocalypse of Peter. Dr. Martineau is, therefore, convicted of guessing in his desire to exalt uncanonical or semi-canonical books, and of wild guessing. Not only so, but when it is said that the Revelation of Peter was known in the first century, but not named till after the middle of the second, he is again guessing. How is it possible to determine that a book was known in the first century when there is not a shred of evidence at present to carry it into that century, or that it was current without a name, when there is no evidence of its currency at all? Am I not correct in saying that the earliest evidence with regard to the Peter Apocalypse is that of the Muratorian Canon, and that it is to this that the Doctor refers when he speaks of its being current with a name after the middle of the second century? And have I not the right to contradict his statement by saying that the first reference to the Apocalypse of Peter expressly calls it the Apocalypse of Peter? There is no objection, theoretically, to its existence as a first-century book; but how is this to be proved, or can he prove it? And how is its original title to be recovered? Concerning these things we are for the present in the dark; but do

\* "Introduction to the New Testament," 3rd edition, p. 93.

not let us pretend to be in the light. It is unjust to the reader, and reacts injuriously upon the estimation of the writer's arguments.

How is an ordinary reader to estimate the accuracy of such a statement as the following (p. 907): "The letter bearing the name of Barnabas towards the close of the second century had a long anonymous currency before"? How is it known that the epistle was anonymous for the first period of its existence? The MSS. do not lend any support to such a theory; it is merely a conjecture on the part of critics, who were agreed that the letter could not be referred to Barnabas, the companion of Paul, and therefore suggested that the name might have been afterwards attached by some well-intentioned person belonging, say, to the Church at Alexandria. But no shadow of proof, as far as I know, has ever been brought forward in support of this conjecture. It rests solely on the presumed keenness of vision of certain critics with regard to matters that are out of sight. But while they normally treat such matters with the hesitancy of language that is appropriate to conjecture, Dr. Martineau gives us a blank statement unsupported by any fresh evidence.

We are further told (p. 907) that "the book of Mandates and Similitudes called the Shepherd after wide circulation for more than a generation, was attributed by some (*e.g.*, the compiler of the Muratorian Canon) to Hermas, brother of Pope Pius the First (A.D. 140-155), by others (*e.g.*, Origen, who deems it 'inspired') to the Hermas whom Paul greets in Romans xvi. 14." The illustration is used in support of the thesis that books previously anonymous became acquainted with their authors during the period I have named—*viz.*, the second century. Now I do not object to the theory that the Shepherd became acquainted with its author in the second century, if it be understood that it became acquainted with its author when it was written, which was in all probability in the second century. But this is not what Dr. Martineau means. He asserts that the book was originally anonymous. Now this is simply impossible; a large section of the book is autobiography (part spiritual and part carnal); the author names himself and his friends, the Church dignitaries and others with whom he was connected, has a non-apocryphal wife and children, and an equally non-apocryphal lady for his former owner. No one takes Origen seriously in his view as to the reference of Hermas to the first century; but it is at least good enough evidence as to the point that it was held to be written by a person named Hermas; and, indeed, no other construction is possible from the book. If Dr. Martineau maintains this Hermas to be mythical or pseudonymous, by all means let him say so; it will be easy to reply to him; certainly the book will never be classed with the pseudonymous Christian or semi-Christian writings, which are of an entirely different stamp, and betray themselves almost at the first glance to be non-original.

I maintain then that Dr. Martineau's treatment of the early Christian literature is, wherever it can be tested, unjust and inaccurate. It is an unfortunate survival from a period of German criticism, which Germany herself has happily, and probably for ever, left behind. But I doubt whether any single German critic ever went to such sweeping denunciations of the genuineness of the mass of Christian literature, or brought forward such bad instances in support of his thesis.

And all this in order to illustrate the theory of pseudonymous gospels, which was not necessary in the case of the Peter Gospel, and was not applicable to the case of the major part of the Canonical Gospels, if, indeed, it were applicable at all. It is a good working rule, that the postulates of an argument should not be more difficult of reception than the reasonings which lead to the conclusion.

I pass on, in the third place, to point out that Dr. Martineau has fallen into a grave inaccuracy in his treatment of those who have preceded him, especially in the matter of the relation between the Peter Gospel and the Gospels which underlie the text of Justin Martyr. As I have said before, this is the centre of the whole question; it is also a point in which I am especially interested, as I have succeeded in emending the text of the fragment in such a way as to throw light upon the Justin text, and the emendation is generally held to be the actual reading of the MS. I refer to the passage where by reading *σύρωμεν* for *εἴρωμεν* we obtain the following sequence:

"Let us *drag away* the Son of God, now that we have obtained power over Him. And they clothed Him with purple, and set Him on the seat of judgment, saying, Judge righteously, O King of Israel."

And the corresponding passage in Justin's "Apology" is that in which Justin tells us that "they set him in mockery on the judgment-seat and said, Judge for us." On the interpretation of the relation between these two passages, our view of the antiquity of the Peter Gospel largely depends. The interesting point is that the word which Justin uses for "mockery" is a compound of the word which in the Peter Gospel means "to drag about" (*διασύρω* for *σύρω*). Dr. Martineau boldly translates *διασύρω* as if it were *σύρω*; but for this I can find no support.\*

And now to come back to the question from which we started—viz., the history of the interpretation of the passage in Justin with which we have to deal. Dr. Martineau says that the inference that Justin used the Gospel of Peter is "not new in itself. In 1851 Hilgenfeld found evidence in this passage of Justin's acquaintance with some historical materials other than our canonical Scriptures, probably the 'Gospel of Peter.' His suggestion passed away without approval. Forty-two years have elapsed; our fragment is disinterred, and there the passage is!"

\* For example, how are we to render the following passage of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: *ἀλλὰ διασύρουσιν ἡμᾶς Ἕλληγές τε καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ φασιν ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθῆναι* ?

Did Hilgenfeld refer this passage to the Gospel of Peter? that is the question.

The work to which Dr. Martineau alludes, is Hilgenfeld's "Evangelien Justin's," published in 1850. It will be easy to correct me, if Hilgenfeld modified his opinion in a second edition in 1851; but as the dates are so near, I take for granted that this is the work to which reference is made.

In this book Hilgenfeld makes a close study of the Gospel quotations and allusions in Justin, with the view of assigning them to their several authors. As Hilgenfeld was firmly persuaded (and probably not without reason) that there was uncanonical matter underlying the language of Justin, and some suggestion was noticeable in his text of a book of Memoirs of Peter, it is not surprising that he assigned the evangelic matter in Justin, right and left, to the lost Peter Gospel.

He gives a special section (§ 33) to those passages which relate the trial and condemnation of Jesus; the second of these passages is the one to which our attention has been called. Hilgenfeld points out the peculiar details of the account, objects to the explanation which had been made by Semisch, that the story was based on the Canonical Gospels plus an interpretation of Is. lviii. 2 ("They ask of me righteous judgment"), and finally concludes that Justin took his account from the lost "Acts of Pilate" ("Was ist nun wahrscheinlicher, als dass Justin eben aus den Acta Pilati diesen zug entlehnte?").

It is, therefore, incorrect to make the reference to Hilgenfeld as the first person who suggested that Justin had at this point borrowed from the Gospel of Peter. For Hilgenfeld made no such suggestion. Further, Hilgenfeld entirely misunderstood the passage, if there be any connection between Justin and Peter. For he translates the text of Justin in this sense, that the Jews dragged (so, for *διασύροντες*) Jesus before the judgment-seat of Pilate, and appealed to Pilate in the words: "Judge for us" (die Juden Jesum vor einen Richterstuhl schleppten und riefen, *κρίνον ἡμῖν*). He certainly never suspected that the whole proceeding was a mockery, and that Jesus was the person seated on the judgment-seat. But the fact is Semisch was far nearer to the meaning of the passage than Hilgenfeld.

Last of all, while it is true that Hilgenfeld named the Gospel of Peter as one of Justin's sources, and with good probability (though the matter is not by any means cleared up), his idea of the Gospel of Peter is a very different one from that suggested by the fragment. His Gospel of Peter is the *Grundschrift* of the Canonical Mark, what is commonly known as the Ur-Markus; but I fancy no one is likely to claim this honourable title for our recovered fragment.

We have shown, then, that Dr. Martineau has, in addition to many other errors, a wrong impression of Hilgenfeld's work, over which he

exults. In concluding this correction of his statements, I should like to add that I was surprised to find that in giving credit so freely to a foreign scholar, he had refrained from pointing out how the discussion which is going on over these passages in the trial of our Lord had brought to the front a remarkable exposition, made by Dr. Drummond, of the passage in St. John's Gospel where Pilate brings Jesus out and seats Him (so, according to Dr. Drummond, following Whately, in a transitive sense) on a judgment-seat. The evidence is very strongly in favour of Dr. Drummond's interpretation now that the passage in the Peter Gospel has been added to that in Justin. Dr. Martineau ignores this most important piece of research, and contents himself with saying that "there is [*i.e.*, in the fourth Gospel] a curious *verbal* approach to it (*viz.*, the Justin passage), when Pilate, charged with being no friend of Cæsar, leading Jesus out, *seated himself on the judgment-seat* to pronounce the sentence." If Hilgenfeld's interpretations were to be regarded as successful prophecy, what are we to say of Drummond's, which had, before the recovery of the Peter Gospel, received the endorsement of some of the most careful scholars, such as the late Ezra Abbot, Dr. Salmon, and others. I hope Dr. Martineau was not unwilling to have the Gospel of John introduced as a factor in the elucidation of Justin; and in any case, it is a satisfaction to me to refer him to what is one of the most important pieces of research that ever appeared in the *Theological Review*.

So much for the thankless work of fault-finding. I cannot but think that it will be difficult for any one, after examining the errors into which Dr. Martineau has fallen in this article, to follow him with any confidence in matters where we have no documentary tests for his results, such as the analysis of the ultimate sources of the Gospel and of the Creed. But I do not wish to be interpreted as if I failed to appreciate his discussion of some of the questions involved. I have no objection to the date (A.D. 130) which he assigns for the production of the Peter Gospel, though I am not quite convinced of it; the argument for this early date may possibly be sustained from other quarters; and it is satisfactory that Dr. Martineau recognises the fundamental Docetism of the work, which some persons have taken unnecessary pains to deny; but whatever may be the date finally assigned to the fragment, it certainly presupposes earlier gospels which have been made the subject of an extended study side by side with the Old Testament, and it will be very difficult to prove that these are any other than our primitive authorities, the Canonical four.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

## LESSING AND HIS PLACE IN GERMAN LITERATURE.

NOT long ago a friendly reviewer of a small book of mine on the life and work of Lessing observed that in dealing with Lessing's scholarship, with that knowledge of the literatures of Greece and Rome which so largely contributed to make him a great originaive force in the literature of his own country, I had not laid sufficient stress on the limitations of that scholarship, or, what my reviewer called, its essentially "eighteenth-century" character. By which he meant that Lessing, like most scholars of his day, concerned himself with the text of the ancient literature and not with what lay behind it, not with that body of legend and tradition, or the social or historical influences, which form as it were the soil out of which literature grows. Of course it is quite true that in this respect Lessing did belong to the earlier, the pre-Wolfian, generation of scholarship. It is also true that the fact was altogether a favourable one for the work he had to do. His mission was to create a modern German literature. For this purpose he was obviously much better equipped in knowing the literature of the ancients as a product of imaginative art than as a field for scientific investigation. Of course no one who knows anything of these investigations, or of the vast and rich field of interest which they open up, would dream of disparaging them. Nor do I. But it is highly necessary to dwell upon the fact that these investigations, however full and complete, however valuable and necessary, are not in themselves a study of literature, and will not yield to those who pursue them what it is the function of literature to yield. They are a branch of science, and their main interest is scientific; literature—imaginative, creative literature—is a branch of art, and its main interest is æsthetic. Now, as everybody knows, the scientific interest has been very keenly and almost exclusively

pursued in Germany for some two generations. And Germany is great in philology, great in mythology and folklore; but she has ceased for the present to produce, I will not say writers like Goethe or Lessing, but like our own Tennyson or Matthew Arnold—poets, these, without any very conspicuous endowment of native force, but whose loving familiarity with the supreme types of literary art gave them no small measure of the height, the dignity, the disdain for every cheap and vulgar success which mark in all ages, in all languages, and in all materials the art called classic.

Yet if one happens to hear the question of higher education discussed in Germany, one is pretty sure to find it taken for granted that German education at the present day is based on the literature of Greece. And it is easy to verify the assertion that the German "gymnasiast" of to-day is very largely concerned with Greek. But what does he get from Greek—what does he ask from it? Let me here quote a remark of an acquaintance of mine who has had a large practical experience as an assistant-master in one of the historic public schools in England, and who has also had unusual opportunities for making himself acquainted with German classical education. I had asked him what he thought of the relative attainments in Greek of the average English and the average German schoolboy of the same standing. His reply was to this effect: "The German schoolboy will be posted in the latest theory of the composition of the Homeric poems, the English boy will perhaps be but dimly aware that there is any question in the matter at all. But if you set them both down to a piece of unseen translation, the English boy will leave the German a long way behind." Now, it is better, incomparably better, to be able to read the "Iliad," than to know, or to know that we cannot know, how the "Iliad" came to be written. To English readers this might seem a truism of a very obvious-kind, yet it is certain that the ideas of literary study, which have long prevailed in Germany, and which are beginning to prevail in France, are making themselves distinctly visible in England too. Thus we have a scholar of the eminence of the late Mr. F. A. Paley, asserting, in his introduction to the "Œdipus Coloneus" (Cambridge Texts), that without believing the plot to be founded on a solar myth it is impossible to have other than "a partial and imperfect conception" of it. Mr. Paley probably did not realise that he was denying to Sophocles himself any genuine understanding of his own play. Struck with the importance and significance of modern investigations into the sources of literature, he confounded for a moment the scientific interest of these investigations with the æsthetic interest of a great poetic work—an interest always, surely, centring not upon the raw material, but upon the poet's conception. And of this we may be sure—that the quickening and inspiring influences of Greek literature which acted so conspicuously and so momentously in the revival of German literature in the last century will never be felt, or

communicated, by scholars who see little or nothing in that literature but the materials for philology or folklore.

I am writing of the origins of modern German literature. The phrase may need, perhaps, some justification. There is no such thing as a modern English literature; there is no chasm between Tennyson and Chaucer. But between German literature in the epoch of Lessing, and German literature in the epoch of the "Nibelungenlied" there is a chasm of some 600 years. Not, of course, that German histories of literature are a *tabula rasa* for that period. But if, as was once suggested, all German books likely to be read outside Germany were to be printed in Latin characters, then by far the greater part of the literature—I speak of the secular literature—of those 600 years might safely be left in Gothic. This is in itself a somewhat singular fact, for the Germanic peoples are not notably lacking in the literary impulse, and never have been. The famous library of Charlemagne contained a collection of *barbara carmina*, among which were doubtless some relics of those ancient hymns, described as *antiqua* by so early an authority as Tacitus, who, like a modern *savant*, is chiefly interested in them for the light they throw on Teutonic mythology.

Among the luminous and pregnant criticisms on German literature of which Goethe's "Wahrheit und Dichtung" is full, he observes that during this long period of barrenness the thing which seems to have been mainly wanting to that literature was substance, contents, *Inhalt*—and that, he adds, a "national" *Inhalt*. Beside this remark let us place a sentence from the interesting "Allgemeine Litteraturgeschichte" of Johannes Scherr. "The idea of Fatherland," he writes, "must be the soul of every achievement of culture, and hence also the fundamental motive of literature." Now Germans are at present possessed by this idea of Fatherland to a degree which is not favourable to a perfectly clear, unbiassed view of things; yet here, I think, with certain restrictions, with certain explanations, Scherr states a very important truth. At any rate, what he here asserts is really the unexpressed background of nearly all literary criticism. Literature is universally regarded as being something peculiarly national. How far does the actual history of literature justify this view? And can we discover a rational basis for it?

Let us begin, in Lessing's fashion, by considering what is naturally and necessarily implied in the very existence of literature as such. We observe first that the written word, like the spoken word, implies an audience. And by the nature of that audience, by its characteristic influence upon the person who addresses it, the nature of his utterance must, one would think, be very largely determined. Speaking broadly, may we not say that no great, worthy, and enduring work of literature could ever be addressed save to an audience which the writer regarded with a profound love and veneration, and which



had power to stir and sway to their very depths the tides of noble passion? Now two such audiences there are, and only two: as a matter of fact, the great literatures of the world have been addressed to Fatherland, or they have been addressed to God. These are the august presences—these, and not Fatherland alone, which have hitherto dominated all literature. Take, for instance, the literature of Greece, which ran a course so singularly self-impelled, so free from complicating external influences, that any true law of literary evolution will surely be mirrored there with singular clearness. To begin with the Homeric poems: little, comparatively, as we know of the external conditions under which they were produced, they bear internal witness of the most unmistakable kind to the fact that they took form among a people who had a proud and keen sense of Achaean unity. It was stronger than that which existed in Hellas in the period closely preceding the Persian wars. But when those wars had roused the Hellenic spirit into vivid life and energy, when, in the words of Mr. Swinburne—

“All the lesser tribes put on the pure Athenian fashion,  
One Hellenic heart was from the mountains to the sea”—

then the second epoch of Greek literature began. It began with a poet who fought at Marathon, and with whom did it end? With an orator who fought at Chæronea. The Macedonian conquerors dispersed Greek culture throughout the world, but they ended the national life of Greece. There was Hellenism, but there was no longer a Hellas. And secular literature, now the pastime of courtiers and scholars, ceased to attract the noblest powers and ambitions of the race. In what direction, then, did those powers turn? They turned to the divine. It was now that the great ethical systems of antiquity began to take shape. The illustrious names of the epoch are Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Epicurus, and it was they who handed on to future generations the torch of Greek intellect. Yet there is one poetic work surviving to us from the Hellenistic epoch, one, no doubt, of many that have perished, which suffices—to quote the words of Mr. Mahaffy—to redeem the whole literature of that epoch “from the charge of mere artificiality and pedantry.” And what is this work? It is a hymn, the profound and majestic Hymn to Zeus written by the Stoic Cleanthes. This we owe to the Hellenistic, the denationalised epoch—this, and the creed its author helped to found, a creed which, though Pagan, was destined never to be outworn.

The secular literature of Greece was succeeded by that of Rome, and we find the flowering time of the latter coinciding with the final establishment of Roman unity and power. That unity was dissolved, that power dethroned, and that literature perished. But when the flood of barbarism which had submerged the ancient civilisation began to sink, then, one by one, like islands above the waste of

waters, the different European nationalities made their appearance. There began to be an England, a France, a Germany. And then, and not till then, there began to be an English, a French, a German literature. There was not indeed then, or for long afterwards, an Italy, though there was an Italian literature. But there were in Italy many centres of an intense municipal patriotism. There was a Milan, a Florence, a Pisa, and literature and art found there the soil in which they could strike root and grow. But was there, then, no literature in the preceding ages of tumult and dissolution? There was a literature, majestic and impressive to the utmost height ever reached by the human spirit, but it was not a secular literature addressed to Fatherland, it was a religious literature, addressed to God. This was the age which saw the development of the hymnology and the liturgy of the Christian Church. That was the direction in which literary power then went, and if we seek for a poetic work which may stand as a type of the most serious, the most impassioned, the most central utterance of the time, we shall no more think, let us say, of the "Hero and Leander" of Musæus, lovely as it is, than in a previous age we should think of the "Idylls" of Theocritus. We shall think of the "Te Deum," of the "Veni, sancte Spiritus," or of the tremendous heart-shaking rhythm of Bernard of Cluny.

And now to fix our eyes on Germany alone. Only in one spot amid her chaos of warring tribes did the eye of Tacitus discern the beginnings of anything like a national organisation. The name "Suevi," he tells us, unlike the other names noted by him, was applied not to one tribe or clan but to a kind of military confederacy. Some century or so after Tacitus, however, events of profound importance, which have never found, and never will find, an historian, began to be accomplished in the obscurity of the German forests. When Germany again emerges into historic light a great change has taken place. Clans have grown together and become nations, the old tribal names have largely disappeared, and instead of them we hear now of Saxons, Bavarians, Alamanni, or they win a wider significance like that of the Lombards or the Goths. That new and powerful sentiment which the Germans brought into European politics, the sentiment of *Treue*, of passionate fidelity to a personal leader, suffers nothing in these changes. With every advance in centralisation, the kingly power is strengthened and consolidated. Germany hitherto had been on her defence against Rome. Now the situation is reversed, Rome is the defender, Germany the aggressor. With centralisation has come power, the power which broke in pieces the civilisation of the south, and which made, if ever anything made, a breach in the continuity of history.

After this amazing triumph one might have looked for the speedy formation of a great and united German Empire. But for a time many causes conspired to prevent this consummation. Religious

differences were amongst the principal. Many of the German clans or confederacies were Arian, others orthodox, others heathen, or half-Christian, half heathen. Add to this, that the very power and dignity which the centralising movement had conferred upon the German leaders made further steps in the same direction increasingly difficult after a certain limit had been reached.

But the time, of course, did come when the conception of a strong and united Germany became an object of policy, and in great measure an attained object. We may set it down as having been first consciously pursued in the tenth century, the period of the great Saxon Emperors. Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great building an impregnable rampart of German valour against the deluge of Hunnish barbarism; Otto II. besieging Paris, and restoring Lothringen to the Reich; Otto III., the "World's Wonder," with his soaring imagination, the German and the Greek mingled in his blood, who took the insignia of empire from the dead hands of Charlemagne—this great dynasty left a legacy of aspirations and memories which sank deep into the heart of the German people. Giesebrecht notes that it was in the reign of Otto the Great that the word *Deutsche* was first used in official documents to signify the mass of German-speaking peoples, a memorable landmark indeed.

Under the Franconian Emperors the same movement went on, and we note here a decisive token of the height it had reached in the expression "Teutonica Patria," first used, and used by two independent annalists, towards the close of the eleventh century. But that epoch was marked by an historic event from which, as from a fountain head, we can trace, down the history of Germany, a long sequence of barren and devastating warfare, of rebellion and anarchy, of oppression and plunder, of the encouragement of all lawless and the enfeeblement of all lawful power. In 1075 a German Emperor was summoned to give an account of his government before the Court of Rome. For long the German Emperors had encouraged the authority and increased the territory of the Church in Germany, hoping thus to check and balance the growing power of the secular princes. The fruits of this short-sighted policy were now evident. Henry IV., treating the summons of the Pope with contempt, was forced to expiate his contumacy in dust and ashes. And henceforth the prime object of Papal policy, policy successfully pursued for many centuries, was to prevent the growth of a strong central power in Germany. But the national impulse once given could not be subdued by one defeat. The predecessor of Henry IV. had made and unmade Popes at will, and the Pope who brought a German Emperor to the dust at Canossa himself died in defeat and exile. It was not until the tragic ruin of the great House of Hohenstaufen that fortune finally declared against the hope of German unity, a hope which even then continued for many a generation to haunt the imagination of the German people, embodied in

that strange and significant legend of the great Hohenstaufen Emperor, alive in his mountain sepulchre and waiting but the fulness of the time to awaken from his enchanted sleep, and drive out the oppressors and robbers who had made the "Teutonica Patria" their victim since his death.

It was in the time of the Hohenstaufens that Germany began to possess a great national literature. And it is not perhaps idle to note that while Tacitus found the first indications of a national organisation in the "Suevi," it was Swabia, the home of that organisation, which gave to Germany the Hohenstaufen Emperors, under whom Germany reached her highest pitch of unity and power, and it was Swabia which became the centre of the poetic movement of the time. Out of that movement issued a literature of heroic greatness, a literature which was the indisputable authentic product of the German spirit and of a German nationality.

To have produced such a king as Barbarossa, and such a poem as the "Nibelungenlied," was to have taken a step towards national self-consciousness which could never be retraced. The word "Teutonica Patria" had been uttered, and had become more than a word. Yet, even in the full glory of the Hohenstaufen period, it was evident that the realisation of this idea was to be left for other times and other men. When Henry VI. conquered Sicily in 1194, every German province sent its contingent to his army. When, forty years later, his son, the wizard Emperor Frederick II. set forth to subdue rebels in Lombardy, his main reliance was on the Saracen troops with whom he had surrounded himself, and who had this essential superiority over Germans, that they were proof against excommunication. And when, in 1239, this terrible sentence was launched against himself, the ferment which took place all over Germany showed what a blow had been struck. "Robbers rejoiced," says a contemporary annalist, "ploughshares were turned to swords, and pruning hooks to spears." Aided by the all-important fact that the Empire was elective, not hereditary, the Papacy had by this time succeeded in driving a hundred lines of cleavage through the heart of the nation. That Germany should be wholly subdued was not written in the book of fate, but henceforth for many centuries Pope and Kaiser could do nothing but mutually enfeeble each other, and aggrandise the petty princes and feudal lords whose minute territories and boundless pretensions made the future work of consolidation one of such infinite difficulty.

The history of this disastrous conflict is the history of Germany for 600 years; and in those dismal centuries German literature, which had produced the "Nibelungenlied" and the "Song of Gudrun," the "Parzival" and the "Tristan," withered well-nigh to death. By which, as I have already observed, it is not to be understood that German histories of literature are a blank for this period. But

certainly the best powers of the nation did not then go into literature, as that word is commonly understood. They did precisely what we have seen them do in the period intervening between the fall of Greece and the rise of Rome, and again in the period intervening between the fall of Rome and the emergence of the modern European nationalities. They turned to religion. Now was the time of Tauler and the mystics, now was the time of the religious and didactic verse of the Meistersinger. The Reformation, essentially a national movement, would doubtless have led to the growth of a great national literature; and, indeed, in the poetry of the typical Meistersinger, Hans Sachs, and in the dramatic movement which roughly coincided with the great Elizabethan period in England, the promise of such a literature is distinctly visible. But the fresh struggle with the Papacy, which culminated in the devastations, the incredible horrors, of the Thirty Years' War, drowned this bright promise in a sea of blood. From the time of Hans Sachs to the time of Lessing, German literature, as it is commonly understood—that is, secular literature, was at the lowest depth of insignificance and feebleness. And again, true to the thesis with which I introduced this somewhat too prolonged retrospect, it was now that the great hymnology of the Lutheran Church took shape—the names which really ennoble and illuminate the period are not those of Opitz and Hoffmannswaldau, they are those of Gerhardt and Paul Fleming.

The Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, marked in truth not the close of the Thirty Years' War, nor the close of any war, but it was a notable crisis and turning-point in a much longer war, the war in which Germany suffered her first defeat at Canossa, and won her final victory at Sedan. After the Peace of Westphalia, North Germany, Protestant Germany, may be regarded as practically independent, and the time when this assertion of the national idea in politics and religion should evoke a corresponding outburst of energy in literature was approaching. But the final, the decisive, stimulus to this literature was still to come. The tortured nation, just released to light and freedom, was yet to feel something of the pride and glory as well as of the agony and desolation of war. The Thirty Years' War had been a war of desperation, waged very largely for Germany by non-German powers, and ceasing only when both parties were *saignés à blanc*. But the wars of Frederick the Great were wars of consolidation, wars of mighty achievement and mightier promise.

The form of a German nationality was indeed still to seek and was hardly thought of. Yet it is substantially true to say that at that time Prussia was Germany and carried the fortunes of Germany. When Frederick the Great drove the Croat before him at Leuthen or the French at Rossbach, every German was prouder of the name he bore. Here again, for the first time for many a century, a

“Teutonica Patria” began to take visible shape before the eyes of Europe, and Frederick the Hohenstaufen, as the old legend prophesied, returns to earth in the person of another Frederick, Frederick the Hohenzollern. And if, as seems to be now made out, the personality round which the legend originally gathered was not that of the rugged old Crusader, Frederick Barbarossa, but his grandson, the humanist Emperor, the philosopher, Frederick the Second, then the new avatar was not very unlike the old one. Frederick the Great, too, was subtle, mocking, sceptical, accomplished, full of intellectual life, a passionate lover of culture in every form. But he happily lacked that strain of moral depravity, the vicious self-indulgence, the fantastic cruelty which stained the character and career of the Hohenstaufen, and beneath his veneer of French *politesse* and persiflage he had many of the stern virtues of Barbarossa. In particular he had his love of justice, his resolve that, cost what it might, justice and law should prevail throughout his dominions. The meanest Prussian who was wronged might make his direct personal appeal to Frederick, just as men did when Barbarossa’s shield swung high above his tent in the fields of Lombardy. As a lawgiver, as a conqueror, as a reformer, he dominates the whole history of his day, and he rightly enjoys that title of “Great” which is never granted save to monarchs who have been illustrious both in government and in arms.

If one should wish to see a veritable concrete example of what the influences of the hour and of the man did for German literature I think we may find it in the mere juxtaposition of two quotations from the works of a single writer, the poet Gleim. Gleim was a considerable literary figure in his time, though he is little heard of now. He wrote with eminent success in the fashion described as “Anacreontic”—elegant, dexterous, and lifeless—which at that time infected all German poetry. Roses, kisses, wine; wine, kisses, roses—you have only to supply a certain vapid connective medium and there are German Anacreontics:

“Rosen pflücke, Rosen bluhn,  
Morgen ist nicht heut!  
Keine Stunde lass entfliehn,  
Flüchtig ist die Zeit!  
Trinke, küsse! Sieh es ist  
Heut gelegenheit!  
Weisst du, wo du morgen bist?  
Flüchtig ist die Zeit.”

There is Gleim, the “Anacreontiker.” But listen now to Gleim in the character of a Prussian Grenadier, Gleim when his spirit had been fired by the tremendous events of the Seven Years’ War and he became the Tyrtæus of Prussia:

“Was helfen Waffen und Geschutz  
Im ungerechten Krieg?  
Gott donnerte bei Lowositz  
Und unser war der Sieg!”

Und weigern sie auf diesen Tag  
Den Frieden vorzuziehn,  
So stürme Friedrich erst ihr Prag  
Und dann führ uns nach Wien!

Surely we have here passed with one stride into another world of feeling and of utterance. Not for centuries had that note resounded in the German language, that note of passion and power. To quote that is to show at one glance what Frederick the Great did for German literature. He awakened it by the cannon of Rossbach. What does it matter that he never thought that literature worthy of the slightest direct encouragement—that to the last he consistently despised and ignored it? German literature in the hands of Lessing and his contemporaries was little likely to wither under the frown of royalty. One may even say, so profound, so naturally and inevitably beneficent is the action of a great personality, that Frederick helped the literature of his country as much by his contempt as he could have done by his favour. Power evokes power, the scornful glance of the great king was a summons and a challenge. The "*Teutonica Patria*" sent a man to answer it, and that man was Lessing.

It is mainly of Lessing that I wish to treat, but of which Lessing, of which side of Lessing's manifold activity? Travel back to the close of the eighteenth century, that day of great beginnings, by what road we will, and again and again we shall find Lessing as a pioneer at the head of it. He who reads "*Modern Painters*," reads Lessing; he who reads "*Essays and Reviews*," reads Lessing. Let us dwell for a moment on Lessing as the source of the movement which produced the last-named of these two epoch-making books. When he found himself forced to take part in the religious controversies of his day, Europe was divided into two hostile camps—there was on the one hand a barren and shallow Deism for which revelation simply meant imposture, and there was on the other hand a Bibliolatry hardly to be distinguished from fetish worship, which wrote above the portals of Christianity, "Reason abandon, ye who enter here." How quickly and how completely have these schools become things of the past, how spectral and unreal is the kind of existence which either of them still continues to enjoy! It is primarily to Lessing that we owe the immense advance in religious insight which has made a Voltaire or a Goeze alike impossible among men of culture at this hour. And it is very noticeable that Lessing had the penetration to anticipate one particular development which was not reached for more than a century later. Writings like those of Dr. Mivart among Roman Catholics, and of the authors of "*Lux Mundi*" among Anglicans, have revealed a remarkable and hitherto unsuspected harmony between what is called "Catholic" theology, the "Catholic" conception of Christianity, and the freest application of critical methods to the letter of the Scriptures. I venture to think the announcement of this harmony the most significant event, the most

pregnant with momentous consequence, which has taken place in the religious history of this day and land. Yet it was clearly announced a hundred years ago by Lessing. He saw that this alliance was a natural and necessary one, he saw that it must take place. "There was a Christianity before there was a New Testament." That was the ground taken by Lessing for his criticism of the Scriptures; it was the ground on which he defied the Lutheran Consistorium; and it was distinctly Catholic ground. I have often wondered how it is that in this country, where Lessing's great work of literary criticism, the "Laocoon," has been so abundantly dealt with by translators, annotators, and editors, so little attempt, comparatively, has been made to bring to the knowledge of English readers his equally profound and stimulating religious thought. Many and many a time I think those who are in search of a link between the scientific intellect and religious faith will find that the very word which is capable of forming that link has been uttered with incomparable force and depth of insight by Lessing.

But it is not with Lessing as the critic, it is with Lessing as the creator, that the student of literature is mainly concerned. And even here we have more than one Lessing to deal with. There is the Lessing of the lyrics, and there is the Lessing of the dramas. And these are very different writers indeed. The lyrics, I venture to say, are read at this day by no human being, unless those whose business it is to read everything that a writer of such eminence has produced. They are simply the dreary, artificial, imitative products of the "Anacreontic" school, dashed occasionally with a satire of a rather "derb" quality, but rarely giving us a note of music or a stroke of imagination. And they are curiously deficient in that feeling for nature which was one of the great characteristics of the new epoch. Like Socrates, Lessing thought he had "nothing to learn from fields and trees, but from men in the city." "When you go to the fields," he said to his friend, the poet of nature, Kleist, "I go to the coffee-house." But with "men in the city" Lessing was thoroughly at home. The dramas—I do not speak of the works of Lessing's 'prentice-hand, but of the fruit of his ripened powers—can be neglected by no one who desires to have a general acquaintance with European culture. They hold the stage in Germany to this day, and in them Lessing speaks in that manner in which the great works of literature are written, the manner which can never grow antiquated, which is fresh and new in Homer, and fresh and new in Tennyson, because it springs direct from the sincere vision and the creative passion of the artist.

The fact is, that it was the hour of the drama in Germany, and it was not the hour of the lyric. England, France, Italy, Spain, had produced dramatic literatures of great and native power. Germany had begun to move in this direction after the Reformation, and the



same impulse reappeared when movement was once more possible. Whenever we see any literary stir, any debate and effort, going on in Germany at this time, it is almost sure to be concerned with the drama. The movement had penetrated even into the little Saxon town where Lessing was born. The schoolmaster there, Heinitz, greatly to the alarm of that very Puritanical community, lectured his pupils on the drama, and even prepared pieces for them to act on days of festival. Yet no region of literature could have offered a more unpromising field than that to which so many of the finest minds in Germany, obeying the sway of some profound impulse, turned at this time. Lessing declares in plain terms that Germany possessed neither audiences, authors, nor actors. The playhouse was usually a wooden booth, the audiences were rude and uncultivated, or if cultivated, still ruder. It was the habit of fashionable people to sit in the two front rows and raise such a cloud of tobacco smoke as to obscure the stage from the rest of the audience, a form of diversion which some apparently yearn to make feasible in the present day. The performance itself was either a piece of stupid buffoonery, or one of the mechanical productions of the pseudo-French, the Gottsched, school, in which your drama was turned out in obedience to an unvarying scheme, the lover and the lady, the soubrette, the valet, and the clown, playing their part with dreary regularity. As for the actors, if we find among them now and then a Neuber, an Ackermann, an Eckhoff, the mass of the company were, in Lessing's language, people "without knowledge, or cultivation, or talent: here a master-tailor, there a thing that a couple of months ago was a washerwoman." But perhaps the most convincing sign of the absolute dearth of poetic feeling which prevailed in the German drama, and in German poetry generally, is the addiction of the poets of the day to the rhymed alexandrine. This was in German, as in French, the accepted and usual vesture for high tragic themes, as prose was for comedy. Now in French, *pace* Mr. Matthew Arnold, the rhythm of the language lends itself well to that metre—the prolonged, continuous, elastic sweep of the line has a rhythmical effect of a very satisfying kind. But in a strongly accented language like German, the rhymed alexandrine becomes absolute doggerel.

"O, Bern! O, Vaterland! Ja, ja Dein grosser Geist  
Für Bern zezugt weiss nicht was mindre Sorge heisst.  
Wie selig, Henzi, ists fürs Vaterland sich grämen,  
Und sein verlornes Wohl freiwillig auf sich nehmen!  
Doch sei nicht ungerecht, und glaube dass in mir  
Auch Schweizerblut noch fliesst und wirket wie in Dir."

This was the vehicle for tragedy when Lessing began to write, the vehicle in which he himself wrote some of his early pieces! And from that fact alone a discerning critic will understand the abject condition of dramatic poetry which then prevailed. But the stir of

life was there, and a single generation saw a striking change, brought about mainly by the strength of a single man.

Our own English drama of to-day is far from being in so deplorable a condition, yet it seems to be generally felt that something better might be expected of it; there is certainly something of the same intellectual stir and movement, the same search for new principles, and the same tendency to arraign old ones before the bar of criticism. Quite recently a number of distinguished authors in the department of poetry and fiction complied with the invitation of a popular newspaper to state the reasons why they did not write plays. They complied in a manner very slightly instructive. Apparently when a successful novelist is asked why he does not write plays, the last thing he thinks of replying is, "Because I don't know how." Let us turn to the example of Lessing. Here was a writer who found the German drama in the lowest condition that it is possible to conceive, and who made it a classical literature, fit for the stage and fit for the study. What was his training? What were the influences which shaped his inborn dramatic genius? I think we shall find that the foundations of his subsequent achievements were laid in his student days at Leipzig. Here it happened, fortunately for Germany, but to the intense alarm and distress of his parents, that Lessing fell in with the famous actress-manager, Frau Neuber, who had brought her company to that city. He had already been powerfully attracted by the dramatic literature of Rome; in his school-days at Meissen he had lived, he tells us, in the world of Plautus and Terence. The world of the imitation-French plays, which mainly composed the *répertoire* of Frau Neuber and her company, was not at all unlike this, and it was with wonder and delight that Lessing saw it visibly incorporate before him. He saved and he slaved to get admission to the theatre; he sought out the members of the company and became intimate with them. He drudged for them; he translated and adapted French plays for them—an invaluable piece of practical training. The world behind the scenes had no disillusionment for him, for behind the means of the illusion he sought its laws. He read, reflected, questioned, compared; he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the dramatic literatures, not of France only, but of Spain and Italy. He assisted at rehearsals; ere long his advice and suggestions were eagerly sought; he became a kind of informal stage-manager, and had abundant opportunities for turning to practical account the theories he was developing and the immense book-knowledge which he was amassing. It was currently reported that he intended to go on the stage himself. Had he done so he could hardly have gained a more intimate knowledge of the principles of dramatic art than he did through his close connection with Frau Neuber's company in Leipzig. He was no amateur; he served an arduous apprenticeship, mastering the style which he

found prevalent before attempting to substitute another. That was the discipline of the man through whom the German drama underwent one of the most striking and sudden reforms that has ever taken place in any province of literature. Is it necessary to point the moral of the tale?

Thus behind Lessing's published work as a dramatic author there lies a vast amount of unpublished, fragmentary, unrecorded work done whilst he was rubbing shoulders with the actualities of the German stage. And again, behind the published work in which Germany became endowed with a classical literature, there lies a great deal of work which the reader will find in collected editions of Lessing's writings but which he need be at no pains to seek out. Lessing also wrote tragedies in rhymed alexandrines, *horresco referens*, and mechanical comedies. They were better than the similar productions of his contemporaries. But before he could write "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Emilia Galotti" he needed the vivifying contact of the greatest dramatic literatures the world has yet seen, that of Greece and that of England. These were the days before Winckelmann's memorable work, the "History of Ancient Art," had given so powerful an impulse to the study of Greek in Germany; and Lessing's first real knowledge of the Greek drama appears to date from his residence in Berlin, 1757-1760, where we find him collecting materials for a life of Sophocles. About this time, as an experiment in the severe Greek manner, he produced one short tragedy, "Philotas," which showed very clearly that a new force had entered into German literature. Here the rhymed alexandrine is discarded and the daring experiment is made of treating a lofty tragic theme in prose. But it is Lessing's prose, a prose such as no German ever wrote before and but too few since, a prose which is swift, rhythmic, brilliant, and lucid, moving with an elastic, marching stride, instead of dragging forward an unmanageable bulk in a series of tortuous convulsions. "Philotas" shows that Lessing had learned from Sophocles to economise and control his power. The plot is bare and simple in the extreme. There are but four characters. The hero, Philotas, on whom attention is riveted throughout, is the young son of a Greek monarch: he has been slightly wounded and taken prisoner in his first skirmish with the forces of a rival, with whom his father was at war. From the outset Philotas reveals his character as one of great simplicity and great intensity, his soul is a pure flame of warlike and patriotic passion. He resolves to slay himself in captivity rather than allow the enemy to retain the advantage they have gained in being able to hold him to ransom on terms injurious to his country. His chivalrous captor, Aridæus, visits him, endeavours by his courtesy and his praises to make the fiery young prince forget his shame, and at last, when the question of a ransom is talked of, informs him that the ransom will be simply a case of exchange on equal terms: his own son had been

captured in the same engagement, and he will send a fellow-captive of Philotas, the soldier Parmenio, to assure the father of Philotas that his son is alive and well, and to make arrangements for the exchange. We now believe that the self-sacrifice of Philotas will not be consummated, and the young prince is himself relieved as he sees life with all its allurements again opened before him. "Gods!" he cries, "Nearer the thunderbolt could not have fallen, unless it had dashed me in pieces."

But in the true Lessing manner the situation which, at first, seemed to sway the course of the plot away from the ordained end, in reality brings us nearer to it. He thinks of the terms which Aridæus might have extorted had Philotas alone been taken. Even such might the father of Philotas now obtain if Philotas were no more. And so in a blaze of heroic passion the fiery young soul goes out; he obtains a sword by stratagem, and stabs himself in the presence of Aridæus. "King," he gasps, "we shall meet again"—

"ARIDÆUS. And meet as friends, O Prince!

"PHILOTAS. And so take my victorious soul, ye gods—and, goddess of peace, thy victim!

"ARIDÆUS. Prince, hear me!

"STRABO. He dies. Am I a traitor, King, if I weep for your enemy?

"ARIDÆUS. Ay, weep for him. And I too. Come! I must have my son again. [What a dramatic stroke that is!] But do not seek to dissuade me if I buy him too dear. In vain have we shed rivers of blood; in vain have we conquered territories. There he departs with our spoil, the greater victor! Come! Get me my son! And when I have him, I will be King no more. Man, do you think one cannot have too much of it?"

Shortly before "Philotas," another experimental drama, as we may call it, had been written, by no means so successful as a work of art, but of much greater historic importance because much more fitted to be a determining force in the literary evolution of the time. This was "Miss Sara Sampson." The title is significant—in itself it is a summons to German authors to turn their eyes towards England. A tale of seduction, vengeance, and retribution laid entirely within the limits of middle-class life, a *tragédie bourgeoise*, in short, it marks in Germany that great break with the time-honoured traditions of tragedy, which in plays like "George Barnwell," and the "Gamester," and in tales like "Clarissa Harlowe" had already been accomplished in England. Lessing was now a close observer of everything that took place in that country. But if Lessing was Graicising in "Philotas," and Anglicising in "Miss Sara Sampson," he begins to be German in the immortal drama of "Minna von Barnhelm," written while he was living in Breslau as the Secretary of the Governor of Silesia. The contemporary importance and significance of this play can hardly be exaggerated. The Seven Years' War had just closed, and the gigantic transformation which it announced in the fundamental conditions of German politics, the extraordinary and heroic adven-

tures, the dazzling triumphs, the crushing defeats, the "sudden making of splendid names," with which its history teems, and with all this its markedly national character—no alien Gustavus Adolphus now fighting the battles of Germany, but a right German King with a German people at his back—all this had left the minds of men in the right temper to recognise true power and passion when they saw it; they were exalted, dilated, liberated. And Lessing's creative power, too, was now finally set free. "Minna von Barnhelm" rose from amid the disasters and glories of that age like a vision in which the spirit of the German nation took shape before the eyes of men. More than all the victories of Frederick this noble drama gave men the right to say, "There is then a Germany, a 'Teutonica Patria'; in these robust, war-hardened limbs, there is indeed a soul."

Goethe has somewhere spoken of the "vast culture," *die ungeheure Cultur*, displayed in Lessing's dramas, "a culture," he adds, "beside which we all become barbarians again." What does this culture mean? Lessing was a learned man, a scholar, but his scholarship is not displayed in his dramas as, for instance, that of Ben Jonson is. Goethe was speaking of a quality of which learning forms, indeed, a part, but not the whole. The essence of culture is not to know facts, but to perceive relations. It sees each thing, not isolated, but as part of an organic whole. Useless and barren without facts, it is to facts what Kant's categories are to phenomena, it gives them unity and significance. It is the mark of the dramatic writer who has this quality that the things which he makes us see and hear contain the suggestion of a world of things which we do not. His appreciation of the historical, social, religious, philosophical meaning of each episode governs, more or less consciously, his presentation of it, and hence his work has a richness and depth of interest such as passion alone, or the creative instinct alone, can never give us. The complete dramatist, in fact, has a power analogous to that possessed by a great actor, of making the visible suggest the invisible. I have often noticed that when Mr. Irving enters upon the stage, he somehow suggests irresistibly the notion that he has come not from the wings or the green room, but from some region quite similar to that which we behold. To the illusion of the scenery which we see, he adds the illusion of a scenery which we do not see, and which, in fact, is not there to be seen. If such an actor enters a room, we at once feel that this is a room in a house full of other rooms, he has just left one of them. If he is Orlando, he makes us feel, far better than the scene-painter can, that the stage is surrounded by the whole forest of Arden, he has walked through it for leagues. An analogous power of creating the spiritual background of the visible action is pre-eminently the power of the great dramatist, and it is pre-eminently the gift of culture, applied for the purposes of art. Through this power it is that the masters of the drama invariably make us feel that each

character presented by them had a history, had experiences before we made his acquaintance, and that these experiences have helped to make him what he is. But a writer whose mind has covered so wide a field of study as Lessing's will do far more than this. He may suggest the complete character, not only of the individual but of the class, not only of the class but of the nation, not only of the nation but of the epoch; and he may, as Shakespeare so often does, suggest the relations of mankind at large to those great questions which are of no epoch and of no nationality.

"*Minna von Barnhelm*" is full of interest of this complex character. It is a picture painted in vivid and enduring colours of the period which had just closed, a period dominated, as the play itself is, by the towering personality of Frederick the Great. It is also a prophecy of the future, and a prophecy, so far as the union of Prussia and Saxony went, by no means within the reach of ordinary observation. For Saxony had sided with Austria in the great war, and had played her unhappy part with fierce resolution. Again and again, when the Prussians were driving before them the wrecks of an Austrian army, they had found some battalion of Saxon infantry standing rock-fast amid the stream of defeat, and had found that they were not to be driven, only to be killed. Yet Lessing saw and declared that Prussia and Saxony were really one, and with his tale of a Prussian officer and his Saxon bride he overarched the vehement hatreds of the time with a word of reconciliation, "word over all, beautiful as the sky." This Lessing did in "*Minna von Barnhelm*" for the future of his country. What he did for the present was to ennoble the common, everyday life of the German nation. Beside the sweet and gracious humour which runs through this play, the most notable thing in it is its beautiful, unstrained, wholly untheatrical nobility of feeling. Hitherto German comedy had moved upon the level on which it is always found to move in countries backward in refinement and civilisation. It was devoid of serious interest, of elevation; its laughter was a mockery and a degradation of the object. Even at the present day the eminent German historian Rudolph Gneist, in an essay written shortly before his death, deplored the barbarism of German comedy, and its habit of seeking its material purely on the base and ugly sides of life. But in Lessing's comedy the Russian proverb holds good: "What you laugh at you love." Lessing was a lover of Cervantes, and I imagine that Don Quixote, the most lovable of all laughable characters, suggested to him the conception of his disbanded Prussian officer. Tellheim is, of course, a perfectly rational and self-possessed human being. Yet his ideas are not without a certain dash of the fantastic element, and beneath his exaggerated punctilio there beats a heart as simple and heroic as that of the Knight of La Mancha himself. How significant was the appearance of such a character on

a stage which had never before seen a soldier, except in the character of some cowardly, swaggering Bobadil? How especially significant in the case of a great military nation like Prussia!

How fine, too, is the art by which the conduct of the plot is marked at every step! Goethe has described the opening scenes as a model of exposition. The conclusion is not less admirably contrived, and is particularly noticeable in this respect, that the exterior action is accompanied by an interior moral action which adds much to the depth of the interest. Tellheim, while his fortune and his reputation are clouded, rigidly refuses to allow the noble and wealthy maiden whose heart he has won in better days to link her fate with his. She has recourse to a stratagem; he is led to believe that she is disinherited, and cut off by her family, and immediately his instincts of protection and devotion start into eager life, and he feels himself ready to champion her against the world. But another unexpected turn takes place in the action—it is now *her* turn to be punctilious: to his dismay she reminds him of his own scruples, and asks if he will have her less sensitive, less honourable than himself. He has been fully cleared of the charge brought against him, and reinstated in the Prussian army; the king himself has sent his congratulations; and she bids him tread the path of glory unencumbered by a runaway Saxon girl of whom society will never forget that her relations disowned her. And so he learns to look through others' eyes as well as his own, to appreciate better the true proportions of things, and when the pair are united at last, we know that their souls have met with a clear-eyed confidence born of a "new acquit of true experience."

The fact that Lessing's initiative was not followed up, and that the dramatic vein was never thoroughly worked out, was perhaps a greater misfortune for German literature than is commonly supposed. For in the evolution of literature age is linked to age, the future grows out of the present. And the discipline of the drama seems to give, as nothing else can give, a strong, athletic, sinewy fibre to the literature which has passed through it. It is easy to see how this comes about. A drama is a *doing*, an action. Place the poet under the necessity of making the passion with which he deals visible in *action*, and that an action which must strike an audience as natural and appropriate, and it is obvious that the passion is at once submitted to a severe test of its genuineness. Nothing that is artificial and hollow will pass muster here, and no mere magic of expression will avail to hide that hollowness if it exists. Hence the severe psychological study which the drama exacts—the wholesome necessity of keeping closely in touch with fact. Again, mark the conditions under which alone a drama can make a successful appeal to an audience—the variety it demands, and the conspicuous unity of action which it no less strictly demands—what a training

in composition is here involved! Compare fiction as it exists at the present day in England and France with fiction as it exists, or tries to exist, in Germany, and we see what German literature lost when it turned away from the path pointed out by Lessing. Finally, it is an essential condition of the drama that the author shall keep himself out of sight. He must not comment, he must not explain or justify; he must gain the right moral and the right æsthetic effect by the bare presentation of what his audience will accept as a rendering of Nature. In dealing under these conditions with a great and moving theme, what a power of concentration, what a mastery of expression, what delicacy of judgment are involved! As a piece of artistic training it has precisely the same effect as it has on a human character to be forced to wrestle with the grim realities of life. To be told, "Words, intentions, will not avail you here—show what you can *do*," is bracing to the strong in the measure of their strength, disastrous to the feeble in the measure of their weakness. And it is the drama above all forms of literary art which lays upon the poet that severe and wholesome ordeal.

All this Lessing knew well, and in his "Hamburgische Dramaturgie" he clearly pointed out the road which German literature would have to travel; in "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Emilia Galotti" he led the way as far as it was given to him to go. But Germany at the last moment shrank from that rugged path, and instead of the strenuous wrestling with, and conquest of, a stubborn material, there came an opening of the floodgates and a limitless gush of lyrical sentiment. Not, of course, that German literature turned away from the stage. But it did turn away from the true dramatic form. Goethe became the dominating influence in German literature after Lessing's death; and, unfortunately, there was nothing in the character of Goethe's genius which fitted him to carry on and complete the work of his predecessor. Nor would he, as Lessing has acknowledged himself to have done, make up for the lack of genius by the exercise of a strenuous critical intelligence. Compare the methods of the two men: Lessing doing hackwork for a company which had to earn its living by filling the house, adapting, re-writing—just like Shakespeare, in fact—then writing on his own account tentative, crude performances, but always aiming at a true popular success (which he obtained abundantly), and always determined not to steal for a bad drama the admiration which might be paid to clever dialogue. Compare with this Goethe governing his subsidised theatre at Weimar, imposing upon the actors all manner of artificial and mistaken rules, clapping them into the guardroom if they presumed to know their own art better than he did, domineering over the audience, forbidding it to hiss, forbidding it to laugh, finally forbidding it to applaud! Really it is not surprising that, after Weimar had for thirty years endured the misguided experiments of an irre-



sponsible amateur, it should have welcomed with insuppressible delight the performances of that accomplished poodle, whose advent, as we know, was the occasion of Goethe's resignation.

The true position of that poodle in the history of German literature still remains to be vindicated. What its performances were like we know not—historians have contented themselves with levelling insulting observations at its innocent head. But let us glance at the performances it supplanted—at the dramatic works of Goethe himself. We need not speak of "Goetz" and "Clavigo," on the one hand, which are hardly to be taken as serious dramatic efforts, nor of "Faust," in which, as in Lessing's "Nathan," the interest is avowedly philosophical. But consider "Iphigenie," a poem, indeed, of serene and stately beauty, but a drama in which, as Schiller observes, "everything which specifically belongs to a dramatic work is wanting," studiously avoided it would appear, lest it should clash with the moral interest which is the main concern of the piece. Or consider "Tasso," where the tragic interest is made to turn upon a mental aberration, which at once removes the central figure from the range of normal human sympathies. One can pity Malvolio, but one cannot make him the hero of a tragedy. Or consider "Egmont," where Goethe, unable to give us the right dramatic impression of an heroic figure triumphant in defeat, such as we find, for instance, in the Brutus of Shakespeare, has to reconcile the spectator to the tragic issue by means of a puerile vision, in which we behold the Genius of Freedom, who, after a long performance in dumb show, is to *andeuken*, to suggest (in some unexplained fashion) that the "death of Egmont will secure the freedom of the Provinces." Or consider the last speech of Egmont, an eloquent and moving appeal addressed to persons not one of whom is within earshot!

Now let us call to mind Lessing's treatment of a tragic situation in "Emilia Galotti." She has been kidnapped by the Prince of Guastella, and is absolutely in his power. She knows his designs upon her honour, and entreats her father, who has gained access to her, to give her his dagger that she may slay herself. He shrinks from this dreadful issue, and she puts her hand to her head to search for the long dagger-pin which secures the coils of her hair, when she touches the rose she had placed there on her bridal morn.

"Thou still here?" she cries. "Down with thee; thou art not for the chair of one such as my father will have me."

"ODOARDO: 'O, my daughter——'"

"EMILIA: 'Father, did I guess right? Yet no—you would not have that! But why did you then restrain me?' [*She plucks the rose to pieces.*] 'Long ago, indeed, there was a father who, to save his daughter's honour, seized the nearest blade his hand could find and drove it to her heart. He gave her life a second time. But all such deeds are of long ago. There are no such fathers now!'"

"ODOARDO: 'There are, my daughter, there are [*stabbing her*]. God, what have I done?' [*She sinks to the ground in his arms.*]"

“EMILIA: ‘You have plucked a rose before the storm had stripped it of its leaves. Let me kiss it—this fatherly hand.’”

I do not speak of the manner in which this conclusion is motivated and led up to; there, it appears to me, Lessing has been wanting in judgment. But the actual issue itself is satisfying—it is great dramatic art. We pity and we fear, but in our pity and fear there is a sense of exaltation and triumph; and we need the aid of no vision or other intrusive comment of the author to tell us that the pure soul of Emilia has taken the nobler and better part.

But if the dramas of Goethe tended to lead the development of German literature out of its true course, what, it may be asked, of those of Schiller, who made the drama quite as much an object of serious effort as Goethe did? Here we are certainly on a different ground. Schiller had a genuine dramatic instinct. But unfortunately that instinct was never entirely successful in combating his overmastering tendency to prolixity and diffuseness. Page after page is filled with empty declamation—declamation which is sometimes very good in its way, but which does nothing either to advance the action or to illustrate character. Sometimes, as in the death of Gessler, he grasps with more or less unsteady hand a true dramatic situation. But how much in vain Lessing had written for him may be judged from the conclusion of “Tell,” where he inserts a long scene which is a mere unsightly excrescence on the play, for the sole purpose of making it quite clear that he was not prepared to extend an absolutely unqualified approval to the practice of tyrannicide.

Every one knows the fine epigram devoted by Goethe and Schiller to the memory of Lessing:

“Living we honoured thee, loved thee, we set thee among the Immortals.  
Dead, and thy spirit still reigns over the spirits of men.”

Alas! the shade of Lessing, if this noble tribute could have reached its ears, might have murmured in reply the lines of the epigram in which he himself had long ago begged the German people to praise their poets less and study them more:

“Wir wollen weniger erhoben  
Und fleissiger gelesen sein.”

In the preface to a recent volume of translations from the German I find Mr. Gladstone taken to task for declaring, in the columns of the *Speaker*, that the whole of German literature might be said to lie within the period covered by the lifetime of Goethe. Assuming that Mr. Gladstone intended to refer only to modern German poetry, written in the modern German tongue, this statement is still rather too sweeping. The limit must, at least, be extended to the death of Heinrich Heine, who outlived Goethe by some twenty years. But it is certainly true that in the present day the best powers of the German intellect are going into science, into politics, into music, into anything but creative literature. And this is the more remarkable,

in that we should have expected the great war with France, which crowned the struggle of so many centuries, to have given, as such events usually do give, a mighty impulse to that form of art which can mirror more intimately and more completely than any other the aspirations and passions of a people. Not that the German poets have neglected that subject. From Geibel downwards it has, of course, been taken possession of by every purveyor of poetical platitudes to the German people. I have read, or tried to read, one portentous work, much lauded by some German critics, which is nothing less than a history of the Franco-German war, written in a sonnet-sequence of five hundred sonnets. This is the kind of literature produced by the Franco-German war: the Seven Years' War produced "Minna von Barnhelm." But the writer of "Minna von Barnhelm" had prepared the soil for the growth of a great literature in a way which no one attempts at present. And the preparation was of the nature of a very fierce and rigorous harrowing and tearing. In the "Laocoon" and the other well-known critical works of Lessing large questions of permanent interest are handled. But besides these works, which we all know more or less, there was a vast body of work of a more fugitive character, in the shape of the critical notices which for many years Lessing contributed to various German newspapers. In these notices Lessing covered the whole field of contemporary literature. In the great works he stated the great principles which have governed all æsthetic criticism ever since. In his journalistic work he applied those principles in the concrete, and drove the lesson home. The path to Parnassus under these circumstances was not an easy one in Germany; it was indeed raked by an artillery fire against which no complacent mediocrity could make head. With human complacency, Lessing waged a relentless and truceless war. And he was endowed for this war with a style of extraordinary force and incisiveness, a spirit of the true leonine temper, loving to fly at the tallest quarry, a scholarship of which it seemed hopeless to discover the limit, and an all but unerring perception of what was fine and what was worthless, what was sense and what nonsense, what had the germs of life and power and what was mere windy pretension. That was the preparation for the renaissance of German literature. And when we see such a force in German criticism again, we shall have seen the most hopeful sign of another renaissance. German literature, creative and critical, is correct, erudite, complacent, prolix and anæmic. It has a host of excellent writers, but no one to whom truth, reason and beauty are sacred enough or their opposites detestable enough. What it needs, and what I doubt not the "Teutonica Patria" will one day supply, is just that which it so eminently had in Lessing—a man.

T. W. ROLLESTON.

## SCOTLAND AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

WE Scotsmen, like the Americans, have reason to complain of the ignorance of our "institutions" sometimes displayed by Englishmen; and there is perhaps no Scottish institution regarding which the ignorance is greater than the Church of Scotland. In order to make myself understood by such persons I ought to say "The Kirk" of Scotland, because many seem to think it the correct phrase in this connection, although they would never imagine it equally necessary to speak of "The Église of France" or of "The Lutheran Kirche." Others, especially if High Church Anglicans, use it for another reason. They fancy that the term "Kirk" happily differentiates what is to them the Samaria of Presbyterianism from their own Episcopal Jerusalem. They are not aware that the usage of the time when Scotch was prevalent in the northern kingdom, applied "Kirk" to the Roman Catholic and Episcopal communions as much as to the Presbyterian. This, however, is of no consequence; but the revelation sometimes given of a state of information which might be pardonable if it had reference to Central Africa rather than a part of the United Kingdom, becomes serious when a great public question arises for an Imperial Parliament to decide. "Does your Church use *our* (!) Commandments?" "Do you baptize?" "You are what we call Unitarians, are you not?" "I notice that you use *our* 'Creed?'" are questions which have come within the writer's knowledge, and were put by persons supposed to be educated. One would imagine that curiosity might have stimulated a little inquiry respecting a Church which has not unworthily moulded the character of a people so closely united with themselves. It would be quite beyond the limits of our space—perhaps of possibility—to convey to the average Englishman a clear idea of the various "persuasions" in

Scotland.\* These are mysteries beyond the power of the average Scotsman as well. I have only found two Englishmen who could tell the difference between "Burgher" and "Anti-Burgher," "Old Light" and "New Light." The one was the late Dean Stanley, who knew everything; and the other the present Secretary of State for Scotland, who ought to know a good many things better than certain utterances of his seem to indicate.

My object is not to unravel such puzzles, but to set forth, in as fair and clear a manner as I can, the question of Disestablishment in Scotland, and the exceeding unfairness of the movement as it appears to Scottish Churchmen, and to thousands of others outside of the Church. The manner in which the true issue has been manœuvred so as to prevent its being put fairly to the people, is discreditable both to the clerical and political agitators.

I. Let me state some facts respecting the past and present of the Church.

The existing Church of Scotland has been the recognised Church of the country ever since the Reformation, except during the comparatively brief interval when Charles I. and Archbishop Laud tried to force Episcopacy on the people. Presbyterianism in Scotland was not originally a dissent from Episcopacy, as so many imagine, but the first shape which the Church assumed when it threw off Romanism. The existing Church, therefore, claims historic continuity, and those who value such matters claim for her also a true apostolic succession through her Presbyters. There was a time when Presbyterians asserted the divine right of their Orders as keenly as High Church Anglicans of the present day assert that of Episcopacy. There are High Church Presbyterians still, but on the whole the Scottish Church does not attach importance to any such mechanical succession.

The creed and constitution of the Church were not imposed upon her by the State, as was to a large extent the case in England. Creed and constitution were, on the contrary, dictated to the State by the Church, and were merely recognised and sanctioned by the State. The Church of Scotland has been since the Reformation the most truly popular institution in the country, because she has consistently been the representative of the convictions, the independence, and the patriotism of the people. She has been the chief factor in moulding the national character. By means of her Parochial System, her Parish Schools, and her care for the poor, she fulfilled for centuries a work of incalculable benefit for the country. "No institution has ever existed which at so little cost has done so much good," are the terms used by the Parliamentary Commission regarding the Church of Scotland in 1834. So representative has she been of the convictions of the people that any dissent from her communion has been not out of disloyalty to her traditions and principles, but from the belief that the existing Establishment had not been loyal enough.

Nor was there ever any secession from her ranks on the question of the union between Church and State. Political Voluntaryism has in every case been an after-thought—the product of circumstances, and slowly emerging many years after the original severance. There is therefore no real religious grievance in the case of non-conforming Presbyterians, because the Church which is established holds the same creed and observes the same forms of worship as themselves. Nor is there any social grievance, as in England. “I have been for years in Scotland, and never yet felt that I was a Dissenter,” was the public testimony of a celebrated English Nonconformist who exercised his ministry till recently in Glasgow.

The Church of Scotland, we may add, is at the present moment perhaps the freest Church in Europe. No Voluntary Church has the independence from all civil interference which her constitution guarantees. Within the spiritual sphere her courts are recognised as supreme as is the Court of Chancery within its proper jurisdiction.

The preservation of the Church in all her privileges “for ever” forms a vital part of the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland. It is the substance of the “Act of Security.” British Sovereigns are bound to take an oath to maintain the Church of Scotland among the first ceremonies of every coronation.

There are in all 1696 Churches, Chapels, and Mission Stations connected with the Church of Scotland.

Of these, there are: (1) 876 Parish Churches dependent on the old endowments from “teinds,” which is the Scottish equivalent for tithes. In Scotland these teinds are levied, not on the tenants, but on the landowners, who have either inherited or purchased their property subject to this burden—a burden which represents the value of ancient Church property, assigned by the Crown, or bought at nine years’ purchase, under liability to increase the stipend at certain periods, until what are called “the unexhausted teinds” in any Parish—or teinds not yet applied for—are expended. The amount of such “free teinds” still held by proprietors is of the annual value of £133,348. The teinds, therefore, belong to the Parish, and are for the religious benefit of parishioners; the Church, as a corporation, being little more than trustee to take care that they are used in the manner which the laws of the country and of the Church prescribe. The continuity of the Church of the Reformation, as being the ancient Church reformed, is freely set forth in the old Acts of Parliament, wherein “the patrimonie of the Kirk” is amply safeguarded. If Mr. Gladstone could say with truth of the Church of England, as he did in a recent utterance, that she receives nothing from public funds, we are at a loss to know what those “public funds” are to which he elsewhere refers as being received by the Church of Scotland, and which he proposes to take from her, without being more than replaced by what the State receives on her behalf.

(2) There are 42 so-called Parliamentary Churches in poor districts in the Highlands, which receive an annual grant from the Exchequer of £5040. Besides this sum, £12,000 comes annually from the Exchequer to augment the value of certain poor livings, or in all, £17,040. But if a reckoning were taken of the amount annually received by the Exchequer from the Bishops' teinds which have fallen to the Crown, the balance would be largely in favour of the Church. In point of fact, not one penny of the £17,040 comes out of the pocket of the taxpayer.

(3) There are 383 Parishes *Quoad Sacra*, each possessing an endowment of at least £120. These Parishes have been erected and endowed since 1845, entirely from the benefactions of Scotsmen interested in the Church of Scotland, and at the total cost of a capital sum of £1,372,200; or, including the value of the Church fabrics, over £2,200,000.

(4) There are 41 Parishes in Burghs sustained out of old endowments, and also from local funds. The Church property which has fallen to the Burghs more than compensates for what is given from the local funds.

(5) There are, besides, 194 non-parochial Churches, and 155 Chapels and Mission Stations. Of the first, some are self-supporting; to the latter the Home Mission of the Church contributes largely.

Through the advantages which these ancient and modern endowments afford, supplemented by the voluntary giving of the people, the Parochial or Territorial System has been able to meet the requirements of the whole country—the poorest district as well as the richest—with an efficiency such as no Voluntary Church has been able to approach. It has been the cant of disestablishers to speak of Disendowment as a means whereby the existing Church and the country at large would benefit. Mr. Gladstone assumes a similar tone when he tells us that the anomaly of endowments is accentuated in Scotland, as it is the country, next to America, where Voluntaryism has gained its greatest triumphs. We have no desire to undervalue these triumphs, far less to depreciate voluntary giving within or without the Church. The Established Church presents herself a marked instance of what can be accomplished by voluntary giving. Last year her financial report showed £441,828 contributed for religious and philanthropic objects. We also agree with Mr. Gladstone's tribute to the generosity of the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches. But the very fact of the greatness of their efforts makes their failure to meet the case all the more suggestive, when we find that there are no less than 356 rural Parishes in Scotland, with a population of 386,000, where there is no Free Church, and 736 with no United Presbyterian Church, while there are 276 Parishes without either. It is the poorer districts which would suffer most by Disestablishment. Voluntaryism thrives

in rich localities, and it is to rich localities that Voluntary Churches usually gravitate. In many of our cities this drift from the east to the west is characteristic. But were it not so, the position of dependence in which poorer charges and their ministers are placed in reference to the wealthier congregations is far from being morally healthy, while the burden placed on the latter is almost intolerable. The extent to which this holds true may be measured from the fact that, out of the 1047 Free churches in Scotland, 735 are not self-supporting, and are more or less dependent on the remaining 312; while about 200 of the 571 United Presbyterian churches are similarly assisted. It is no wonder if Churchmen, and thousands of sensible Scotsmen who are not Churchmen, fail to see the great advantages which Disendowment would bring. It is undoubtedly the poor who would suffer, and it is the preservation of their property for which the Church contends.

Never did Voluntaryism appear in such glowing colours as during the first years of the Free Church. There was not only an outburst of enthusiastic self-sacrifice on the part of those who left the Church, but it was the chivalry of Scottish generosity as then displayed which stirred the sympathy of the world. Undoubtedly the most heroic figure of that time was the venerable Dr. Chalmers. He was the organiser of the finances of the Free Church, and the most potent factor in her success. Yet the testimony he bore in later years was significant: "I can afford to say no more than that my hopes of an extended Christianity from the efforts of Voluntaryism alone have not been brightened by my experience since the Disruption. We rejoice, therefore, in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a National Establishment, and most sincerely do we hope that she will never fall away from it." And again, shortly before his death: "The longer I live the more firmly persuaded I am that the Voluntary principle is utterly unfit to furnish Christian people with the means of Christian instruction." And he was right. His anticipations have been justified by the very triumphs of which Voluntaryism boasts, in view of its failure to accomplish what the National Church has done and is doing for every district, without regard to its wealth or poverty.

II. We now turn to another important point—viz., the strength of the Church of Scotland in relation to other Churches, and to the population generally, as well as the feeling of Scotsmen regarding Disestablishment.

We have been taunted in the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone and Sir George Trevelyan have not hesitated to declare, that, as there is a majority of the Scottish members in the House favourable to Disestablishment, Scotland has committed herself to that issue. We shall afterwards show by what feats of political legerdemain this result has been so far attained, and how ill-fitted it is to bear the



interpretation put upon it. As a preliminary, however, we must revert once more to statistics.\*

The Disestablishment party is responsible for our not being able to quote from Census Tables. When the last Census was taken the Church pressed for a column wherein the Church connection of the population might be notified, but the same influences which now resist the question of Disestablishment being put as a clear issue to the people, prevented the adoption of this simple method.

But we have several sources of information from which something more than an approximately true estimate can be reached.

By the last return of the Registrar-General for Scotland (1890) we ascertain that marriages were celebrated by clergymen or otherwise in the following percentage:

	Marriages.	Percentage.
Church of Scotland . . . . .	12,408	45·17.
Free Church . . . . .	5,347	19·47
United Presbyterian Church . . . . .	3,097	11·27
Roman Catholic Church . . . . .	2,791	10·16
Episcopal Church . . . . .	768	2·80
Other denominations . . . . .	2,025	7·37
Denomination not stated . . . . .	—	0·00
Irregular marriages . . . . .	10,33	3·76
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>27,469</b>	<b>100·00</b>

Deducting Roman Catholic and irregular marriages, the Church of Scotland has 52·00 per cent., or an absolute majority over all other Protestant denominations.

According to these marriage statistics, the proportions of population adhering to the various Churches should be:

Church of Scotland . . . . .	1,808,252
Free Church . . . . .	779,232
United Presbyterian . . . . .	451,334
Roman Catholics . . . . .	406,740
Other denominations and no Church . . . . .	557,594
<b>Total estimated population in 1890, according to Registrar's Report . . . . .</b>	<b>4,003,132</b>

These returns are confirmed when the following table of the number of communicants, as reported upon by the various Churches, are considered:

Church of Scotland . . . . .	599,531
Free Church communicants and adherents . . . . .	336,223
Deduct adherents not communicants, as in the Highlands . . . . .	43,405
<b>United Presbyterian communicants in Scotland . . . . .</b>	<b>272,818</b>
Episcopal . . . . .	35,684
Smaller denominations . . . . .	43,000
<b>Church of Scotland majority over all other Protestants . . . . .</b>	<b>534,887</b>
	<b>64,644</b>

We do not doubt that these facts will surprise many English readers who have been taught by the Liberation Society to regard the Church of Scotland as in an indefensible minority. Others, who may have been impressed by the pictures given of the crippled state of the Church after the Disruption of 1843, but who are ignorant of the extraordinary advance she has made since then—an advance that for two decades has been by “leaps and bounds”—may be equally surprised. The sooner, however, that the true state of the case is realised the better.

But these figures by no means represent the strength of feeling in Scotland in favour of maintaining the union between Church and State. We will not indulge in generalities, but give the grounds on which we assert without hesitation that, if the question was referred to the *people, separate from all other issues*, as Mr. Gladstone led Gladstonian Churchmen and others in Scotland to believe it would be referred, the reply would be an overwhelming majority against the measure.

The Episcopalians as a body are opposed to Disestablishment. So are the Roman Catholics. Neither of these Churches loves Presbyterianism—very far from it; but their convictions as to the duty of the nation in regard to religion are such that they prefer some recognition of religion by the State to none at all.

Among Presbyterian Nonconformists there are Churches which, like the Original Seceders, would vote against Disestablishment *en bloc*.

The two great Presbyterian bodies—the Free Church and United Presbyterian—from whose ranks the cry for Disestablishment has almost solely emanated, are by no means united on the question.

The United Presbyterian Church, as a whole, professes Voluntary principles, although these do not belong to her original constitution. Yet it is well known that there are large numbers of the lay members of that Church, and some of the most influential, who, while holding Voluntaryism as a theory, refuse to support Disestablishment, because they are in doubt as to the practical benefits which would flow from it. The proof of this feeling is found not only in common report, but from a memorial to that effect, most influentially signed, which was forwarded to the Supreme Court of that Church, against the maintenance of the Disestablishment propaganda.

The Free Church stands differently, because Disestablishment is directly contrary to her Standards and her traditions. She holds the same Confession of Faith as the Established Church, and in that Confession National Religion, in the sense for which the Church of Scotland now contends, is a prominent doctrine. When the Free Church seceded in 1843 it was with the avowal of her then Moderator: “Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment

principle ; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise, we are *the advocates for a national recognition and support of religion, and we are not Voluntaries.*"

The Free Church has celebrated its jubilee this year, and it is curious to recall these words in the light of recent events. The change which, under the leadership of Principal Rainy, has passed over that Church is not more remarkable as respects National Religion than other matters. We do not find fault with any honest change of opinion if it is manfully confessed ; we rather congratulate the Free Church that she now practises observances and tolerates opinions which a few years ago formed the subject of anathemas against the National Church for observing and tolerating. Dr. Robert Lee, Norman Macleod, and Principal Tulloch had to bear many a bitter taunt and misrepresentation about divergences now openly permitted in the Free Church. The organs and "human hymns" which, when introduced into the National Church, were denounced as "prelatical" and "ritualistic," are now freely admitted and authoritatively used. Dr. Robertson Smith was an ecclesiastical martyr, offered by the leaders to appease the scrupulous who have since been educated to tolerate the new tide of thought. This advance in charity is a subject for congratulation.

But there is undoubtedly a large number of the ministers and a still larger proportion of the laity out of all sympathy with this change of front in regard to National Religion. There are many ministers and tens of thousands of the laity of the Free Church who still hold the tenets of Chalmers and of the Disruption, "We are not Voluntaries." Lord Moncreiff and the Laymen's League do not stand [alone in their protest against the new departure. It is true that Disestablishment has been carried by large majorities year after year in the Free Church Assembly, but it is because the ministers are the most extreme, and the lay representatives who sit there too often reflect the opinions of their particular ministers. The dissident laity will sign petitions against Disestablishment, but they hesitate from entering upon an ecclesiastical broil.

When therefore we consider what has been stated in respect to the large membership of the Established Church, the probable voting of the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, and the proportion of Nonconformist Presbyterians opposed to Disestablishment, we feel warranted in emphatically denying the assertions so confidently made by men like Sir George Trevelyan, that Scotland is ripe for Disestablishment. On the only occasion on which a Bill for Disestablishment was ever tabled, the reply of Scotland was in the form of 1258 petitions against the Bill, signed by 688,195 persons, while only 109 petitions were presented in its favour, with 2779 signatures. Of the

688,195 petitioners against it, more than 90,000 were in the Highlands, the very stronghold of the Free Church. This occurred in 1885, and the facts speak for themselves.

It will, however be asked: "If these things are as you describe, how is it that there is a majority of the Scottish representatives in Parliament in favour of Disestablishment? Do they misrepresent Scottish opinion on this matter, and, if so, how is it to be accounted for?"

The history of the movement may be briefly stated. It took active shape about twenty-five years ago, interest being roused by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the abolition of patronage in the Church of Scotland, the failure of an attempt after union between the Free Church and United Presbyterian in consequence of opposition by members of the Free Church holding Establishment principles, and finally through the great increase and success of the Established Church. Ecclesiastical leaders and paid agents of the English Liberation Society began to stump the country. Principal Rainy, accompanied by the late excellent Dr. Cairns—whose frequent outbursts of emotion showed how distasteful the task was to him—addressed meetings, advocating Religious Equality and denouncing the "injustice" which the existence of the Establishment inflicted on the other Churches. In 1878, Lord Hartington, then leader of the Liberal party, gave the first important political utterance on the question to the effect, that when Scottish opinion was fully formed on this subject the party would deal with the question on its merits, and without reference to any other consideration. This statement thoroughly roused Liberal Churchmen, and the consequence was that, in view of a probable division in the ranks of his party, Mr. Gladstone, when he visited Midlothian in 1879, used his utmost skill in reassuring the minds of his supporters within the Church. He told them at Dalkeith that if the Church was put on its trial "it shall have a fair, full, and open trial." Speaking at the same time of the Irish Church he said:

"The Parliament was dissolved upon the question, the country from one end of it to the other considered it fully, made up its mind, and returned a Parliament with a vast majority empowered to speak and act for them in this matter. So that the very chain of facts which is chosen by the Government in order to inspire suspicion in the minds of Liberals who are Established Churchmen—that very chain of facts shows that *even in the case of the Irish Church, which was far weaker than that of the Scottish Church—even in that case there was, after the subject had been raised in Parliament, a dissolution expressly upon the case.* The verdict was given only after a full trial and consideration; and that is *what the Established Church of Scotland fairly and justly asks.*"

We may add that this is what that Church now asks from Mr. Gladstone, and what has been scornfully refused by him.

What we have chiefly to note, however, is the effect which these

and many similar assurances had upon voters who wished to be true to their Church and were yet devoted to their political leader.\* Their suspicions were put to rest. They said, "No fear of the Kirk!" and so voted for Gladstone and Home Rule. In this way there came to be a strong Disestablishment element in the representation. But Mr. Gladstone, having obtained his Scottish majority, rapidly advanced. In 1890 he voted for Dr. Cameron's Disestablishment resolution, having previously declined to do so, and ascribed as his reason that "because there had been a majority of Scottish members in its favour on two occasions, he was of opinion the time had come when the sense of Scotland had been sufficiently and unequivocally declared." In other words, members elected on totally different grounds are held to represent Scotland on a question which had not only not been put as a distinct issue, but which the country had been long assured would not under such circumstances be recognised as being an issue at all!

It may be said that while these strictures may hold true respecting previous Parliaments, they do not apply to the present. Every one engaged in the last contest knows that the contrary is the case. Only in a few constituencies did the Church move at all. Over the minds of such Scottish Churchmen as were politically Gladstonians two influences were at work. One was the persistent belief, founded on former utterances of their leaders, that the Church was in no real danger. The other was passionate devotion to Mr. Gladstone, and the determination, in view of his extreme age, to give "the Auld Man" an opportunity of carrying Home Rule before he dies. Indeed the personal enthusiasm for Mr. Gladstone displayed by many of his Scottish adherents can only be paralleled by the unreasoning devotion once shown to "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

The Church asserts, however, that the Scottish members of Parliament do not represent Scotland on the Church question, and she is ready to test that belief by a census of the constituencies, or in any other way best fitted to reach the truth.

Where that census has been already taken, the results are as remarkable as they are indubitable. \*From Mr. Gladstone's own constituency documents were put before him showing that in 36 out of 38 Parishes 69 per cent. of the electors were opposed to Disestablishment. Had many of them not been under the glamour of Gladstone and Home Rule at the last election, there would have been something more than the reduction of his majority from 4631 to 690.†

\* There are few greater curiosities in recent political literature than the statements, re-statements, and subsequent denials of them all, made by Mr. Gladstone.

† Mr. Gladstone, who accepts without protest the interference of the Irish priests when it secures votes for him, bitterly resents the action of the ministers of the Established Church in defending its existence. As yet, comparatively few of them have entered on the contest; but we may be certain that, although unwilling to follow the example of the priests when it is a question of secular politics, they will throw their whole strength into the struggle when the Church crisis really arrives.

In other constituencies where a similar census was taken the results in favour of the Church were: Elgin and Banchory, 89 per cent.; Kincardine 69 per cent.; Banffshire 62; West Aberdeenshire, 68; East Aberdeenshire, 66.

If one remembers how even Home Rule paled in some constituencies before Labour Questions, they can understand how the Church, not being considered in danger, was shelved for the time in favour of Ireland.

Minor influences were also at work. Impulsive people are easily captured by a phrase, and such high-sounding watchwords as "Religious Equality," "Injustice to other Churches," "Disestablishment the way to Re-union," took the imagination of the unreflecting.

Nothing can be more insincere than the term "Religious Equality" from the lips of most of those who use it. Absolute "Religious Equality" is the last thing they intend. The Free Church, in its formal reply to the proposal of the Established Church for union, states its resolution "to maintain the principle of a nation's recognition of the Christian religion in accordance with the Confession of Faith." No "Religious Equality" is therefore in store for Roman Catholics or Episcopalians. There is to be no "Religious Equality" in the Public Schools, or in the Protestant Succession to the Throne, or in the laws protecting the Lord's Day or marriage, and such like. There is only to be the levelling down of the National Church, while power is to remain in the hands of the Presbyterians to enforce the Confession of Faith on all others. And this is "Religious Equality" forsooth! The Church, as representing National Religion, is in favour of no Religious Equality whose logical outcome is Secularism, but it feels keenly the insincerity of those who shout the watchword without meaning what they say. And there is a worse "Religious Inequality" than what sectarian jealousy seeks to remove, which would ensue were Disestablishment accomplished. For Disendowment would create a deplorable Religious Inequality between rich and poor. Poor districts would necessarily be either left without the ordinances they have been accustomed to, or become dependent on the doles of their wealthier brethren. The old independence of ministers and people would disappear from every Parish.

"Injustice" is also pleaded because the historic Church retains her historic endowments. So might every private School or Denominational College complain of the injustice done them by the endowed Oxford or Edinburgh, Eton or Fettes. The question is, What is best for the people? rather than such miserable nibblings at so-called "privilege."

And the dream of Re-union through Disestablishment is equally misleading. The Church of Scotland has declared her readiness

to share to the utmost all her privileges with her sister Presbyterian Churches; but let this agitation go on, and let the bitter feelings already excited be intensified, then there are many alternatives which the members of the Church, were it disestablished, would prefer to union with those who, in their opinion, will have carried their point by a trick.

The demand of the Church is for what Lord Hartington promised and Mr. Gladstone promised—"a real reference to the people and a real consideration in order to a real decision." Mr. Gladstone now laughs at such a reference as was accorded in the case of Ireland. "Good heavens!" was his exclamation at Dalkeith when he alluded to it. And why? Because the money value is so paltry. Does he forget the Treaty of Union and its solemn securities? Is it with a contemptuous "Good heavens!" that he flouts the idea of consulting the Scottish people before shattering the compact to which both the Kingdoms have sworn, and to which every Sovereign takes the oath at coronation? Is it only Ireland and the Irish Church that are worth a direct reference to the people? And does Scotland stand where she did if she submits to such treatment?

But if a dissolution on what seems to him so trivial a matter, and affecting so inconsiderable a portion of the United Kingdom as Scotland be impossible, let there, at all events, not be the double shuffle, whereby the votes of members elected on the Irish question are held to be "the unequivocal voice of Scotland" on Disestablishment.

Churchmen might well appeal in the name of common fairness to their Dissenting brethren to assist them in some attempt, failing a dissolution of Parliament, to discover the actual wishes of the people—it may be by a plebiscite, or by a census of the electors conducted with every safeguard against deception. If they are so confident that the voice of the people is in favour of Disestablishment, they have nothing to fear; but if they decline every possible and adequate test, they will strengthen the belief that they wish to snatch by jockeying what cannot be gained by a fair trial. The persistency with which the frank appeal to the Democracy has been hitherto resisted is too suggestive of the story told of the Irish peasant who was in great terror at being summoned to appear before a Court. "Do not be afraid," said a friend; "you will be sure to get justice." "Justice, do ye say? Bedad! it is the last thing I want." The feeling of personal respect which Churchmen wish to retain for their opponents will be destroyed, if, by dealing the cards of Home Rule and Gladstone, they elect members to Parliament, and then by a kind of political "thimble-rigging" produce the men thus elected as representing Scotland upon a totally different question. We know that it is in vain to appeal to those who work the Caucus. It is

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equally in vain to appeal to the consciences of those who have termed the impious compromise by which the Government handed over their co-religionists in Ireland to a Disestablishment, in return he will Disestablish their Mother Church. But there are surely very many Disestablishers who value the common sense of fair play over any advantage to be gained by its neglect; the ultimate decision be clear, honest, and unambiguous, and the Church will accept it; but let it be managed by "a dodge," and the language can exaggerate the sense of injury and alienation which must ensue.

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Glasgow.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, Sir Charles Cameron has tabled a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Scottish Church; and rumour has it that the Government, forgetting its earlier pledges, means to support it. The Bill is cleverly constructed as a piece of all-round bribery, but when one reads the variety of the objects—from the stocking of crofts to the building of harbours—which it proposes to accomplish out of an annual income of some £300,000, and that not fully available till forty years hence, a sense of astonishment supervenes at the unblushing assumption of credulity on the part of those for whom the bribery is intended. In other respects the Bill is admirably fitted to produce a repetition of the recent Linlithgowshire election in every constituency in Scotland.

D. M.



## THE ASSOCIATED LIFE.\*

IT has seemed to me—for reasons which I hope to make clear to you—that the present occasion, the opening of one newly-acquired Place of Gathering, is one on which something may be said upon the subject of the Associated Life: that is to say, on the union, or combination of men, or of men and women, in order to effect by collective action objects—objects worthy of effort—impossible for the individual to attempt.

It would seem at first sight that combination should be the very simplest thing in the world. It is self-evident that those who want anything have a much better chance of getting it if they join together in order to demand it, or to work for it. Like one or two other simple laws of human nature this, though the simplest, is the hardest to get people to understand and to accept. Nothing is so difficult as to persuade people to trust each other, even to the extent of standing together and sticking together and working together in order to get what they want.

The first association of men was forced upon them for protection. I wonder how many ages—hundreds of thousands of years—it took to teach men to join together in order to protect themselves against starvation, wild beasts, and each other. The necessity of self-preservation first made men associate, and changed hunters into soldiers, and turned the whole world into a camp. It was war which brought men together; it was war which taught men the necessity of order, discipline, and obedience; without the necessity for fighting, without the military spirit, no association at all would now be possible. We should all be, as a vast number of men practically use modern safety at this day for the purpose of being fighters, every

\* The substance of this paper was delivered as the presidential speech at the opening of the Hoxton Library and Institute.

man against his neighbour. Just as no one would, even now, do any work but for the necessity of finding food for himself and his family, so no one would ever have begun to stand side by side with his neighbour but for the absolute certainty that he would be killed if he did not.

Let us, however, consider a more advanced kind of association, that of men united for purposes of trade and profit. The craftsman of the town, who made things and sold them, found out by the experience of some generations that his only chance, if he would not become a slave, was to combine with others who made the same things for the same purposes. He therefore formed—here in London, as early as the Saxon times—an association for the protection of his craft—a rough-and-ready association at first, a religious guild or fraternity, something which should persuade men to come together as friends, not rivals; what we should now call a benefit society; gradually developing into an association of officers, a constitution, and rules; growing by slow degrees into a powerful and wealthy body, having its period of birth, development, vigour and decay. In illustration of such an association, I will sketch out for you the history of a certain London Company—what was called a Craft Company; a society of working-men who were engaged upon the same craft; who all made the same thing: as the Company of Bowyers who made bows, or of Fletchers who made arrows. The society began first of all with a Guild of the Craft such as I have just mentioned; that is to say, all those who belonged to the Craft—according to the custom of the time, they all lived in the same quarter and were well known to each other—were persuaded or compelled to belong to the Guild. Here religion stepped in, for every Guild had its own patron saint; and if a craftsman stood apart, he lost the protection and incurred the displeasure of that saint; so that, apart from considerations of the common weal, terror of how the offended saint might punish the blackleg forced men to join. Thus, St. George protected the armourers; St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, the bowyers; St. Catharine the Virgin, the haberdashers; St. Martin, the sadlers; the Virgin Mary, the clothworkers—and so on. On the saint's day they marched in procession to the parish church and heard Mass; every year each man paid his fee of membership; the Guild looked after the sick and maintained the aged of the Craft. The next step, which was not taken until after many years, and was not at first contemplated, was to obtain for the Guild—i.e., for the Craft—a Royal Charter. This favour of the Sovereign conferred certain powers of regulating their trade; and, this once obtained, we hear no more of the Guild, it became absorbed into the Company. The religious observances remained, but they were no longer put forward as the chief "articles" of association.

The powers granted by Royal Charter were very strong. The Company was empowered to prohibit any one from working at that trade within the jurisdiction of the City who was not a member of the Company; it could prevent markets from being held within a certain distance of the City; it could oblige all the youth of the City to be apprenticed to some company; it could regulate wages and hours of work; it could examine the work before it could be sold; and it could limit the number of the workmen. The Company, in fact, ruled its own trade with an authority from which there was no appeal. On the other hand, the Company exercised a paternal care over its members. When they were sick, the Company provided for them; when they became old, the Company maintained them; if any became dishonest, the Company turned them out of the City. You, who think yourselves strong with your Trades Unions (things as yet undeveloped and with all their history before them), have never yet succeeded in getting a tenth part of the power and authority over your own men that was exercised by a City Company in the time of Richard II. over its Livery.

Then, in order to maintain the dignity of the Craft, a livery was chosen, the colours of which were worn by every member. On their saint's day, as in the old days of the Guild, the Company marched in great magnificence, with music and flags and new liveries, with their wardens, officers, schoolboys, almsmen, and priests, to church. After church they banqueted together in the Company's Hall, a splendid building, where a great feast was served, and where the day was honoured by the presence of guests—great nobles, city worthies, even the Lord Mayor, perhaps, or some of the Aldermen, or the Bishop, or one of the Abbots of the City Religious Houses. Every man was bidden to bring his wife to the feast of the Company's grand day—if not his wife, then his sweetheart, for all were to feast together. During dinner the musicians in their gallery made sweet music. After dinner, actors and tumblers came in, and they had pageants and shows and marvellous feats of skill and legerdemain.

Ask yourselves, at this point, whether it is possible to conceive of an institution more purely democratic than such a company as originally designed. All the craftsmen of every craft combining together, not one allowed to stand out, electing their own officers, obeying rules for the general good, building halls, holding banquets, and creating a spirit of pride in their craft. What more could be desired? Why do we not imitate this excellent example?

Yet, when we look at the City Companies, what do we find? The old Craft Companies, it is true, still exist; they have an income of many thousands a year, and a livery, or list of members, in number varying from twenty to four hundred, and not one single craftsman left among them. What has become, then of the Association? Well,

that remains, the shadow remains, but the substance has long since gone. Even the craft itself, in many cases, has disappeared. There are no longer in existence, for instance, Armourers, Bowyers, Fletchers, or Poulterers.

What has happened then? Why did this essentially democratic Company—in which all were subject to rules for the general good, and none should undersell his brother, and the rate of wages, and the hours of labour were regulated—so completely fail?

For many reasons, some of which concern ourselves: it failed, because the members themselves forgot the original reason of their combination, and neglected to look after their own interests; it failed, because the members were too ignorant to remember, or to know, that the Company was founded for the interests of the Craft itself, and not for those of the masters alone or the men alone. Now every Association must needs of course, have wardens or masters; it must needs elect to those posts of dignity and responsibility such men as could understand law and maintain their privileges if necessary before the dread Sovereign his Highness the King. The men they necessarily elected were therefore those who had received some education, master workmen—their own employers—not their fellows. It speedily came about, therefore, that the masters, not the men, ruled the hours of work, the wages of work, the quantity and quality of work; the masters, not the craftsmen, admitted members and limited their number. Do you now understand? The officers ruled the Company of the Craftsmen for the benefit of the masters and not the men. Nay, they did more. Since in some trades the men showed a disposition, on dimly perceiving the reality, to form a union within a union, the masters were strong enough to put down all combinations for the raising of wages as illegal; to attempt such combinations was ruled to be conspiracy. And conspiracy all Unions of working-men have remained down to the present day, as the founders of the first Trades Unions in this country discovered to their cost. So the men were gagged; they were silenced; they were enslaved by the very institution that they had founded for the insurance of their own freedom. The thing was inevitable because they were ignorant, and because, if you put into any man's hands the power of robbing his neighbour with impunity, that man will inevitably sooner or later rob his neighbour. I fear that we must acknowledge the sorrowful fact that not a single man in the whole world, whatever his position, can be trusted with irresponsible and absolute power—with the power of robbery coupled with the certainty of immunity.

Well, in this way came about the first enslavement of the working-man. It lasted for three hundred years. Then followed a time of comparative freedom when, the wealth and population of the city increasing, the craftsmen found themselves pushed out beyond the

walls and taking up their quarters beyond the power of the Companies. But it was a freedom without knowledge, without order, without forethought. It was the freedom of the savage who lives only for himself. For they were now unable to combine. In the long course of centuries they had lost the very idea of combination; they had forgotten that in an age we call rude and rough they possessed the power and perceived the importance of combination. The great-grandchildren of the men who had formed this union of the trade had entirely forgotten the meaning, the reason, the possibility of the old combination. In this way, then, the Companies gradually lost their craftsmen, but retained their property.

One very remarkable result may be noticed. Formerly, the Lord Mayor of London was elected by the whole of the commonalty. All the citizens assembled at Paul's Cross, and there, sometimes with tumult, and sometimes with fighting, they elected their mayor for the next year. But since every man in the City was compelled to belong to his own Company, to speak of the commonalty meant to speak of the Companies. Every man who voted for the election of Lord Mayor was therefore bound to be a liveryman—*i.e.*, a member of a Company. This restriction is still in force; that is to say, the City of London, the richest and the greatest city in the world, now allows eight thousand liverymen, or members of the Companies, to elect their chief magistrate.

Why do I tell over again this old threadbare tale? Perhaps, however, it is not old or threadbare to you: perhaps there are some here who learn for the first time that association, trade union, combination is a thousand years old in this ancient city. I have told it chiefly, however, because the history should be a warning to you of London; because it shows that association itself may be made the very weapon with which to destroy its own objects; in other words, because you must find in this history an illustration of the great truth that the forms of liberty require the most unceasing vigilance to prevent them from becoming the means of destroying liberty. The Companies failed because they could be, and were, used to destroy the freedom of the very men for whose benefit they were founded. At present, as you know, some of them are very poor indeed: those which are rich are probably doing far more good with their wealth in promoting all kinds of useful work than ever they did in all their past history.

There followed, I said, a long period in which association among working-men was absolutely unknown. The history of this period, from a craftsman's point of view, has never been written. It is indeed a most terrible chapter in the history of industry.

Imagine, if you can, crowded districts in which there were no schools, or but one school for a very few, no churches, no newspapers

or books, a place in which no one could read; a place in which every man, woman, and child regarded the Government of the country, in which they had not the least share, as their natural enemy and oppressor. Among them lurked the housebreaker, the highway robber, and the pickpocket. Along the riverside, where many thousands of working-men lived—at St. Katherine's, Wapping, Shadwell, and Ratcliff—all the people together, high and low, were in league with the men who loaded and unloaded the ships in the river and robbed them all day long. What could be expected of people left thus absolutely to themselves, without any power of action, without the least thought that amendment was possible or desirable? Can we wonder if the people sank lower and lower, until, by the middle of the last century, the working-men of London had reached a depth of degradation that terrified every one who knew what things meant? Listen to the following words, written in the year 1772:

“To paint the manners of the lower rank of the inhabitants of London is to draw a most disagreeable caricature, since the blackest vices and the most perpetual scenes of villany and wickedness are constantly to be met with there. The most thorough contempt for all order, morality, and decency is almost universal among the poorer sort of people, whose manners I cannot but regard as the worst in the whole world. The open street for ever presents the spectator with the most loathsome scenes of beastliness, cruelty, and all manner of vice. In a word, if you would take a view of man in his debased state, go neither to the savages nor the Hottentots; they are decent, cleanly, and elegant, compared with the poor people of London.”

This is very strongly put. If you will look at some of Hogarth's pictures you will admit that the words are not too strong.

Union had long since been forbidden; union was called conspiracy; conspiracy was punishable by imprisonment. If men cannot combine they sink into their natural condition, and become savages again. All these evils fell upon our unfortunate working-men as a natural result of neglect first, and of enforced isolation. Union was forbidden. During all these years every man worked for himself, stood by himself; there was no association. Therefore, there followed savagery. There was no education. Had there been either, association or rebellion must have followed. The awakening of associated effort took place at the beginning of the French Revolution. It was caused, or stimulated, by that prodigious movement; and the first combinations of working-men were formed for political purposes. Since then, what have we seen? Associations for political purposes formed, prohibited, persecuted, formed again in spite of ancient laws. Associations victorious; we have seen Trade Unions formed, prohibited, formed again, and now flourishing, though not quite victorious. And the spirit of association, I cannot but believe, grows stronger every day. In this most glorious century—the noblest century for the advancement of mankind that the world has ever seen, yet only the beginning

of the things that are to follow—we have gained an immense number of the things—the suffrage, vote by ballot, the Factory Acts, abolition of flogging, the freedom of the press, the right of public meeting, the right of combination, and a system of free education by which the national character, the national modes of thought, the national customs, will be changed in ways we cannot forecast; but since the national character will always remain British we need have no fear of that change. All these things—remember, all these things; every one of these things—is the result, direct or indirect, of association. Think, for instance, of one difference in custom between now and a hundred years ago. Formerly, when a wrong had to be denounced, or an iniquity attacked, the man who saw the thing wrote a pamphlet or a book, which never probably reached the class for whom it was intended at all. He now writes to the papers, which are read by millions. He thus, to begin with, creates a certain amount of public opinion; he then forms a society composed of those who think like himself; then, for his companions, he spreads his doctrines in all directions. That is our modern method; not to stand up alone like a prophet, and to preach and cry aloud while the world, unheeding, passes by, but to march in the ranks with brother soldiers, exhorting and calling on our comrades to take up the word, and pass it on—and when the soldiers in the ranks are firm and fixed to carry that cause.

We are now witnessing one of the most remarkable, one of the most suggestive, signs of the time—a time which is, I verily believe, teeming with social change—a time, as I have said above, of the most stupendous importance in the history of mankind. We read constantly, in the paper and everywhere, fears, prophecies, bogies of approaching revolution. Approaching! Fears of approaching revolution! Why, we are in the midst of this revolution; we are actually in the midst of the most wonderful social revolution! People don't perceive it, simply because the revolutionaries are not chopping off heads, as they did in France. But it has begun, all the same, and it is going on around us silently, swiftly, irresistibly. We are actually in the midst of revolution. Everywhere the old order of things is slipping away; everywhere things new and unexpected are asserting themselves. Let me only point out a few things. We have become within the last twenty years a nation of readers—we all read; most of us, it is true, read only newspapers. But what newspapers? Why exactly the same papers as are read by the people of the highest position in the land. Perhaps you have not thought of the significance, the extreme significance, of this fact. Certainly those who continually talk of the ignorance of the people have never thought of it! What does it mean? Why, that every reasoning man in the country, whatever his social position, reads the same news,

the same debates, the same arguments as the statesman, the scholar, the philosopher, the preacher, or the man of science. He bases his opinions on the same reasoning and on the same information as the Leader of the House of Commons, as my Lord Chancellor, as my Lord Archbishop himself. Formerly the working-man read nothing, and he knew nothing, and he had no power. He has now, not only his vote, but he has as much personal influence among his own friends as depends upon his knowledge and his force of character, and he can acquire as much political knowledge as any noble lord not actually in official circles, if he only chooses to reach out his hand and take what is offered him! Is not that a revolution which has so much raised the working-man? Again, he was, formerly, the absolute slave of his employer: he, too, was obliged to take with a semblance of gratitude whatever wages were offered him. What is he now? A man of business, who negotiates for his skill. Is not that a revolution? Formerly he lived where he could. Look, now, at the efforts made everywhere to house him properly. For, understand, association on one side, which shows power, commands recognition and respect on the other. None of these fine things would have been done for the working-men had they not shown that they could combine. Consider, again, the question of education. Here, indeed, is a mighty revolution going on around us. The Board Schools teaching things never before presented to the children of the people; technical schools teaching work of all kinds; and—a most remarkable sign of the times—thousands upon thousands of working lads, after a hard day's work, going off to a Polytechnic for a hard evening's work of another kind. And of what kind? It is exactly the same kind as is found in the colleges of the rich. The same sciences, the same languages, the same arts, the same intellectual culture, are learned by these working lads in their evenings as are learned by their richer brothers in the mornings. In many cases the teachers are men of the same standing at the University as those who teach at the public schools. There are, I believe, a hundred thousand of these ambitious boys scattered over London, and the number increases daily. If this is not revolution, I should like to know what is. That the working classes should study in the highest schools; that they should enjoy an equal chance with the richest and noblest of acquiring knowledge of the highest kind; that they should be found capable actually of foregoing the pleasures of youth—the rest, the society, the amusements, of the evenings—in order to acquire knowledge. What is this if it is not a revolution and an upsetting? As for what is coming out of all these things, I have formed, for myself, very strong views indeed, and I think that I could, if this were a fitting time, prophesy unto you. But for the present, let us be content with simply marking what has been done, and especially with



the recognition that everything—every single thing—that has been gained, has been either achieved by association, or has naturally grown and developed out of association.

Through association the way to the higher education is open to you ; through association political power has been acquired for you ; through association you have made yourselves free to combine for trade purposes ; through association you have made yourselves strong, and even, in the eyes of some, terrible ; it remains in these respects only that you should make, as one believes you will make, a fit and proper use of advantages and weapons which have never before been placed in the hands of any nation, not even Germany ; certainly not the United States.

But what about that other side of life—the side for which all these things are directed—the social side, the side of recreation, the side which has been so persistently ignored and neglected up to the present day ? Now, when we look round us and consider what side of life we observe the plainest and the most significant proof possible of the great social revolution which is among us ; plainer—more significant than the success of the Trade Unions. For we see sprung up—already a vigorous plant, the associated life applied to purposes above the mere material interests. You have made them safe, as far as possible, by your unions. The social and recreative side of life you have now taken over into your keeping, you order recreation which shall be as music or as poetry in your associated lives, harmonious, melodious, rhythmic, metrical. All this I have said to-night leads up to this that the Associated Life is necessary for the enjoyment and the attainment of the best and the highest things that the world can give, as the Guild and the Company formerly, and the Trade Union is now, for the safeguarding of the Craft. In entering upon this new association, men and women together, learn the lessons of the past. Be jealous of your democratic lines. Let every step be a step for the general interest. Let the individual perish. Let the wishes and intentions of your founders be never lost to sight. Be not carried away by religion, by politics, by any new thing ; never lose the principles of your association.

And now, I ask, When, before this day, has it been recorded in the history of any city that men and women should unite in order to procure for themselves those social advantages which up to the present have been enjoyed only by the richer class, and not always by them ? When, before this time, has it been reported that men and women have banded themselves together resolved that whatever good things rich people could procure for themselves, they would also make for themselves ? Since the magistrates refused to allow dancing, one of the most innocent and delightful amusements, they would arrange their own dancing for themselves without troubling

the magistrates for permission. Since going to concerts cost money, they would have their own musicians and their own singers. Since selection of companions is the first essence of social enjoyment, they would have their own rooms for themselves, where they would meet none but those who, like themselves, desired education, culture, and orderly recreation. In one word, when, when in the history of any city, has there been found such a combination, so resolute for culture, as the combination of men and women which has raised this temple, this sacred Temple of Humanity? You are, indeed, I plainly perceive, revolutionaries of the most dangerous kind. As revolutionaries you are engaged in the cultivation of all those arts and accomplishments which have hitherto belonged to the West End; as revolutionaries you claim the right to meet, read, sing, dance, act, play, debate, with as much freedom as if you lived in Berkeley Square. Where will these things stop?

WALTER BESANT.

## THE NEW ISLAM.

ONE of the most interesting of the many intellectual movements now going on in India is that which may be described as the New Islam. The title will not be accepted by its supporters, who maintain that it is only a return to the purity and simplicity of the early faith; but as it is, undoubtedly, in striking contrast to what is commonly known as orthodox Islam, and to the system formulated by the great Imams and the canonical legists, it is a convenient term to use, on the understanding that this use of it is not to prejudice the question thus raised.

The clue to the spirit which underlies this very earnest attempt to bring Islam into accord with the progressive tendencies of the nineteenth century is to be found in a statement made by one of the most distinguished and most cultured of Indian Musalmans. Syed Amir Ali, in the introduction to his valuable work on the "Personal Law of the Muhammadans," speaking of the development and growth of new ideas amongst Indian Musalmans, says, "The younger generation is tending unconsciously toward the Mutazala doctrines." He also declares himself to be a Mutazala, and regards with high favour those Khalifs of the Abbasside Dynasty who supported that movement. Who, then, were the Mutazalas? In order to have an intelligent appreciation of the principles at work in the New Islam, it is necessary to have some acquaintance with the earlier efforts to cast off restrictions to the exercise of reason in religious matters. The Mutazalas are generally referred to as a heterodox sect. The great conflict between them and the orthodox men of their day was on the question of the eternal nature of the Quran and its inspiration. The orthodox view is that the Quran is an objective revelation, given through Muhammad, in which no human element at all is found. The thought and its outward expression are both divine, and have existed from eternity. Ibn Khaldoun

says: "Of all the divine books, the Quran is the only one of which the text and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and other divine books; the prophets received them under the form of ideas." The result of this theory is that the Quran is not subject to the usual laws of criticism, and its interpretation is largely dependent on the *hadis*, or recorded sayings of the Prophet, which also are considered to be in a lesser degree inspired of God. The first commentators were companions of the Prophet, the next were their followers; and the great merit of succeeding commentators is that they kept close to the traditions, and simply collected and wrote down what previous teachers had said. Thus, in the early days of Islam a barrier was placed to the development of any true exegetical science.

This hard and hopeless condition of things met, however, with some resistance. About the middle of the second century after the Hegira, the Zindiqs arose. They were called atheists, and it is now difficult to fix their exact theological position. They were not atheist in the strict acceptation of the term, but they protested against the hardening dogmatism of Islam. They spread amongst the more learned and wealthier classes doubt, and amongst the more orthodox dismay. The Persians, on whom Islam had been forced, were also men given to speculative thought, and with little respect for the orthodox views of their Arab masters. This wave of freethought thus prepared the way for the remarkable sect of the Mutazalas, whose tenets are now, after the lapse of many centuries, spreading, so we are informed on good authority, among the younger Indian Muslims, and whose opinions are now helping to mould a distinctly progressive and reform movement.

According to the historian, Ibn Khaldoun, the sect arose thus: "A famous theologian, Al Hasan by name, was one day teaching in the Mosque at Basra. During the course of his lecture a discussion arose on the question whether a believer who had committed a mortal sin became thereby an unbeliever. The Kharijites, a branch of the Shiah sect, affirmed that it was so. The Sunnis denied it." Then one of Al Hasan's scholars, Wasil Ibn Ata, rose up, and said: "I maintain that a Muslim who has committed a mortal sin should be regarded neither as a believer nor as an unbeliever, but as occupying a middle station between the two." He then withdrew apart from the company, and was joined by a few persons who agreed with him. A man who just then entered the Mosque pointed to the little crowd, and said: "These are the seceders (*al mutazala*)." The name thus given, apparently as a joke, clung to them. Wasil was finally expelled from the class of his master, and became the founder and leader of this important sect. Sharastani gives us an outline of the views which the Mutazalas afterwards developed. They are chiefly negative in character, and are directed against the orthodox dogmas of the day. They denied that the

attributes of God are eternal, that the Quran had existed before the creation of the world, that God had any connection with evil. They also asserted, in direct opposition to the common fatalistic belief of the age, that man was the creator of his own acts—good or evil—and that the nature of all actions could be ascertained by the use of reason alone. They maintained that the position of the believer in the future life would not depend on his profession of a correct creed only, but upon his past conduct. But most important of all was their defence of the use and exercise of human reason in religious matters.

It is well-known that Muslim theologians divide religious questions into two classes—*usul* and *faru*—roots and branches. The former include all questions relating to the existence of God, a future life, and matters of special revelation; the latter, dogmas and duties arising out of these. Ibn Khaldoun thus sums up the result of the teaching on this point: "Intelligence is a balance perfectly just, it furnishes us with certain results without deceiving us; but we must not employ this balance for weighing subjects connected with the unity of God, the future life, the nature of prophecy, the true character of the divine attributes, and all the matters connected with these subjects. It is an absurdity to wish even to do this." The Mutazalas entirely cast aside this distinction between the *usul* and *faru*, and maintained that all the articles of faith were within the cognisance of reason.

The Mutazalas, though powerful advocates for the use of reason, did not entirely depend on it for the position they occupied. They accepted the Quran as a divine revelation, and from it defended their rationalistic views. The fifth verse of the third *sura* of the Quran reads thus:

"He it is who hath sent down to thee the book. Some of its signs are of themselves perspicuous (*muhkamāt*), these are the basis of the book, and others are figurative (*mutashābihāt*). But they whose hearts are given to err follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation, yet none knoweth its interpretation but God. And the stable in knowledge (*rasikhun*) say, we believe it, it is all from our Lord; but none will bear this in mind save men endued with understanding."

From this passage it is quite clear that God only can understand the *mutashābih*, or figurative, verses, and that men must without question accept and believe them.

The Mutazalas and some commentators do not admit the correctness of this inference. They say that the full stop should not be placed after the word "God," but after "knowledge," so that this part of the verse would read thus: "None knoweth its interpretation but God and the stable in knowledge. (They) say, we believe it," &c. &c. If this punctuation is correct, and if the "pause" may be made in this place, it follows that the Quran teaches that men of intelligence can understand questions which it is commonly supposed none but God can fathom. This opens the door for much freedom of thought, and gives much support to the claims of the Mutazalas.

It is not, however, at all orthodox, and goes right against a traditional saying of Muhammad, who told Ayesha to "avoid those persons who dispute about the meaning of the Quran, for they are those to whom God refers in words, 'whose hearts are given to err.'" Ibn Khaldoun rightly interprets the general opinion when he says that this claim of the Mutazalas was "a pernicious doctrine which has worked great evils." It was, however, the basis of a great intellectual movement, which seemed at one time as if it would change the character of Islam, but it lacked the spiritual and moral element. It was, in the main, a dialectic contest, a battle of the schools, and nothing more. The nobler spirits amongst the Mutazalas failed to reform the Faith or to make a permanent impression on it. The reason is well put by Dr. Kuenen: "The caprice of a tyrant may have been the occasion of the overthrow of the Mutazalas, but its real cause lay deeper in the essence of Islam which the popular instinct had apprehended justly. Their effort struck at once upon the rock that must ultimately wreck it—the fixed character of Islam, fixed even then; nay, fixed from the very outset. Hence, too, the fact that their fall was followed by no resurrection."

It is true that under the bitter persecution of the orthodox Khalif, Al Mutawakhil (232 A.H.) and his successors, the Mutazalas lost for ever all political power, yet their writings remained, and as a school of freethinkers they exercised some influence for awhile in Basra; but the final blow was given them by Abu Hasan Al Ashaari, a famous controversialist who flourished about the beginning of the fourth century A.H. He was the founder of the scholastic system which flourished for a very long time. It was influenced in its methods by the Mutazalas, but it defended orthodoxy, and it was said that "the Mutazalas held up their heads till such time as God produced Al Ashaari to the world." We must not, however, follow further the fortunes of the ancient Mutazalas. They came to an end, and except in the writings of the scholastic theologians, all trace of them was lost. Many centuries passed away, and it needed a class of men, liberal in sentiment, cultured in art and science, alive to the progress of the Christian nations of the West, to revive these earlier views, and to enlarge and improve them. These men, the modern Mutazalas, form the New Islam in the India of to-day. Our schools and colleges are turning out, year by year, numbers of young men to whom the old orthodox position seems untenable, who are known as *ghair-e-mukal-lids*—that is, not blind followers of the Moulvies of the past and the present, men who hope to find in a reformed and purified Islam a religion which will meet their spiritual needs and conserve their patriotic and devout admiration of Muhammad.

The most important of recent books by the leaders of the school of thought, for as yet it is not more than that, are "Reforms under Moslem Rule" and "Critical Exposition of Jihad," both written by

Moulvie Cheragh Ali Sahib, an officer of the Nizam's Government; and "The Spirit of Islam," by Syed Amir Ali Sahib, a judge of the High Court in Bengal. There are other works of less importance and articles in magazines which cover the same ground, but all necessary information concerning the present movement can be gained from these three books. The English reader must, however, remember that the very liberal views therein expressed are those of men highly educated in western knowledge, well read in English literature, and hearty appreciators of modern culture, art, and science. They do not, so far as I am aware, represent the views of any sect now in Islam, nor are they at all in accord with recognised teachers; but the younger men, who learn English, are becoming more and more receptive of new ideas, and are coming under their influence. The educational department of missionary schools and colleges is a great solvent of ancient, unreasonable, dogmatic beliefs.

Let us now see how these men deal with questions which undoubtedly bar the way to the progress and development of Muhammadan nations, the stationary position of which is generally attributed to the intimate connection between Church and State, and to the fact that the Shariat governs all spheres of life, the political and moral as well as the religious. Syed Amir Ali says :

"The Church and State were linked together; the Khalif was the Imam -- temporal chief as well as spiritual head. With the advance of time, and as despotism fixed itself upon the habits and customs of the people, and the Khalif became the arbiter of their fate without check or hindrance from jurists, consult or legist, patristicism took hold of the minds of all classes of society. . . . What has been laid down by the Fathers is unchangeable and beyond the range of discussion. The Faith may be carried to the land of the Esquimaux, but it must go with rules framed for the guidance of Irakians!"\*

This is not approved, but it states the historical fact, and justifies all that non-Muslim writers say on this point. Palgrave, a close and correct observer of the practical working of Muhammadan rule, says : "We cannot refrain from remarking that the Islamitic identification of religion and law is an essential defect in the system, and a serious hindrance to the development of good government and social progress." The State has a divine stamp on it, and the whole of its constitution, as well as the individual laws, possesses a character absolutely sacred. It is thus evident that mere human institutions, calculated and fitted only for a certain degree of culture, will come to be considered as of divine authority, and hence unchangeable. The State is then placed in a difficult position, and when it is surrounded by nations not thus trammelled with a supposed divine and ancient legislation, it must either become petrified and gradually decay, or, if it seeks to change and to conform to new conditions, it destroys its religious basis, and develops within itself antagonistic principles, the conflict with which

\* "The Spirit of Islam," p. 521.

also renders destruction imminent. We see all this illustrated in Turkey now. The Sultan is bound, in the last resort, to yield to the dictates of the Ulama, who, under the guidance of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, are the authorised expounders of the Law. Recent events have also shown that the Moollas in Persia are the supreme power and ultimate authority there. All this is not a mere accidental exercise of priestly power, but is part of the system. The Sultan, as Khalif, is the executor of a law given long ago, and now held to be fixed and final. It is not his province to make departures from it. The exigences of modern political life compel him, at times, to bend to the will of his stronger neighbours. This may involve a dereliction of his duty as Khalif, but he is excused this as he has to submit to *force majeure*. Thus it is a kindly act, when the Sultan is required to do what it is probable the Ulama will condemn, to support the request with a show of force. It really saves him from his friends. There is no doubt but that the Shariat, however useful it may have been for Arab tribes, and in the early days of the Khalifate, is now in these modern times nothing less than an anachronism. Syed Amir Ali clearly shows that this is so. He says :

“The present stagnation of the Muhammadan community is principally due to the notion which has fixed itself in the minds of the generality of Muslims, that the right to the exercise of private judgment ceased with the early legists, that its exercise in modern times is sinful, that a Muslim, in order to be regarded as an orthodox follower of Muhammad, should abandon his judgment absolutely to the interpretations of men who lived in the ninth century, and could have no conception of the needs of the nineteenth. . . . No account is taken of the altered circumstances in which Muslims are now placed; the conclusions at which these learned legists arrived several centuries ago are held to be equally applicable to the present day.”\*

Thus the law of Islam is quite incompatible with any real hope of improvement. The men of the New Islam see this clearly. They do not seek to find in the Shariat principles which lead on to progress; they take the much readier and, in some respects, more satisfactory method of discarding it as a sacred thing, and of calling it “common law.”

It is admitted by Moulvie Cheragh Ali that to the “teachings of the Muhammadan common law, called *Fiqh* or *Shara*,” the following objections more or less apply—viz., that an imperfect code of ethics has been made a permanent standard of good and evil, and a final and irrevocable law; that the Shariat deals with precepts rather than principles; that it has led to formality of worship; that morality under it is viewed in the abstract, and not in the concrete; and that by it Islam is rendered stationary, and unable to adapt itself to the varying circumstances of time and place.

This is a very open and honest admission, but the difficulty raised is met by the theory that the Shariat is only “common law,” and that

\* ‘The Spirit of Islam,’ p. 287.



it can be changed, and that all the evils which have grown up around the false conception of its nature are by no means necessary parts of the Islamic system. He goes on to say: "The Muhammadan common law, or Shariat, as it does not contain any statute law, is by no means unchangeable or unalterable. . . . The legislation of the Muhammadan common law cannot be called unalterable; on the contrary, it is changeable and progressive." These statements were published in 1883, but in 1879 the Turkish Ulama, in a *fatwa* delivered in connection with, and in opposition to, Khair-ud-din Pasha's proposed political reforms, speak of the "unalterable principles of the law."

It is, however, admitted by the modern Indian reformers that the Mukallids—and these now constitute nearly the whole of the authorised teachers of Islam—hold that the law is stationary, but they are summarily disposed of thus :

"No regard is to be paid to the opinions and theories of the Mukallids."

Again,

"Slavish adherence to the letter, and the taking not the least notice of the spirit of the Quran, is the sad characteristic of the Quranic interpreters, and of the deductions of the Muhammadan doctors. . . . There are certain points in which the common law is irreconcilable with the modern needs of Islam, whether in India or Turkey, and requires modification. . . . It was only from some oversight on the part of the compilers of the common law that, in the first place, the civil precepts of a transitory nature, and as a mediate step leading to a higher reform, were taken as final; and, in the second place, the civil precepts adapted for the dwellers of the Arabian desert were pressed upon the neck of all ages and countries. A social system for barbarism ought not to be imposed on a people already possessing higher forms of civilisation.\*"

I have given these quotations at some length, because they fully bear out all that European writers have said on the subject. Intelligent Muslims admit the facts, but meet the difficulty caused by them by discarding altogether the acknowledged position, by declaring that the Shariat is not understood by its past and present interpreters, whose opinions are not worthy of the least credence. The Shariat is no longer to be considered a sacred law, incapable of change. It is competent to the ruler of a Muhammadan State of his own will to set it aside. If this is really the case, the commonly received opinion of the immobility of Muhammadan Governments must be modified or given up. Against this new theory, however, must be set that of the Ulama in such countries, and the fact that no responsible and perfectly independent Muhammadan ruler has so dealt with the Shariat.

Still, the fact that such a position can be taken up and defended with much skill marks a very great advance in the relation of intelligent Muhammadans to the Shariat. Whether such views can ever be

\* "Critical Exposition of Jihad," p. xcii.

translated into action in any Musalman State is a matter of doubt. If they can, a great barrier to progress will be removed.

The next subject of importance is that of the nature of prophetic inspiration, important because it is intimately connected with the exegesis of the Quran. It is said "that the Quran keeps pace with the most fully and rapidly developing civilisations, if *rationaly interpreted*, and not as expounded by the Ulama in the Common Law Book." Thus the canon of interpretation becomes a matter of the highest importance, and this is necessarily affected by the view taken of inspiration. Musalman theologians consider inspiration to be of two kinds. *Wahi* is the term given to the inspiration of the Quran, and it means that the words are the very words of God. They proceed immediately from God, and the word "say," or "speak," precedes, or is understood to precede, every sentence. There is some difference of opinion about the exact form of the inspiration of the *Hadis*, or traditional sayings of the Prophet. Sharastani speaks of "the signs (sayings) of the Prophet which have the marks of *wahi*." This opinion is supported by the verse, "Your companion Muhammad erreth not, nor is he led astray, nor doth he *speak of his own will*" (Sura 51, 1). The other form of inspiration is called *ilham*. It is the inspiration of a saint or of a prophet when, though rightly guided as to the matter of his communication, he puts it in his own words. The science of Quranic interpretation has been fully worked out in complete accord with the theory of the *wahi* mode of inspiration, and is very rigid and formal. The best commentator is he who accurately reproduces what was written before, and who keeps close to the traditions. The true interpretation was made known to the Prophet, and through him to the Companions, and so now all interpretation should agree with theirs. Fresh life and new ideas are out of the question.

It speaks well for the moral courage of the men of the New Islam that they do not hesitate even in so serious a matter as this to discard the theory of *wahi*, and to adopt that of *ilham* alone. Moulvie Cheragh Ali says :

"A prophet is neither immaculate nor infallible. A prophet feels that his mind is illumined by God, and the thoughts which are expressed by him, and spoken or written under this influence, are to be regarded as the words of God. This illumination of the mind or the effect of the divine influence differs in the prophet according to the capacity of the recipient, or according to the circumstances—physical, and moral, and religious in which he is placed."

This leaves room for a much more liberal system of interpretation, but whether such a statement will ever be accepted by any considerable number of Muslim theologians is a matter of grave doubt. It entirely does away with the dogma of the eternity of the Quran, and in this respect brings the modern movement into accord with that of the earlier Mutazalas.

As regards questions of morality, it appears that the ancient Mutazalas considered that monogamy was taught in the Quran. They do not appear to have touched the subject of divorce and slavery, and generally their influence on morals was slight. The movement was almost entirely an intellectual one, and in this respect falls far short of the utility of that of the modern Mutazalas, who are very strong advocates of an improved and high morality in Islam. Now, putting aside all controversy as to the real and exact teaching of the Quran, the fact remains that polygamy, freedom of divorce, concubinage, and slavery have been invariably practised amongst Musalmans, and no one has been officially declared a bad Muslim, or put out of the pale of Islam, on this account. A few years ago a man was solemnly excommunicated in Madras because in his prayers he recited verses of the Quran in Hindustani instead of in Arabic. He might have divorced wives innumerable, and have constantly replenished his harem, and no word of excommunication would have been uttered.

All this freedom in matters of morals has been professedly built up on the Quran, and, with regard to polygamy, on the example of Muhammad himself; and so it is perfectly clear that the only way to remedy matters is, if possible, to show that the permission given in the Quran was of a temporary nature, and that it has now come to an end. Such a line of argument necessarily comes into conflict with the orthodox view of the eternal nature of the Quran, its rigid inspiration, the finality of the revelation given, and the unchangeableness of Muhammadan law. The ground has, in the case of this modern movement in India, been cleared by the repudiation of these dogmas, and by the reassertion of the Mutazala teaching, that the Quran is subject to criticism, and that human reason can be exercised on matters of revelation.

It is not our object now to accept or to reject this view of the matter; but simply to state the fact that it is held by many intelligent Muslims in India, who thus seek a way of escape from the difficulty of defending the grave moral evils of Islam as they now exist. Take the case of polygamy. Syed Amir Ali says: "The conviction is gradually forcing itself on all sides, in all advanced Muslim communities, that polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Muhammad as it is to the general progress of civilised society and true culture." The many marriages of Muhammad are excused on the general principle that he contracted them to afford protection to certain females, and that in undertaking "the support of the old women he married he undertook a self-sacrifice of no light character." He is also said to have married many wives with a view "to unite the warring tribes, to bring them into some degree of harmony." A limit to the number of wives a Musalman might at one time possess was fixed by, the verse: "Of women who seem good in your eyes, marry but two, or three, or four, and if ye shall fear that ye shall not act equitably,

then one only, or the slaves whom ye have acquired" (Sura iv. 3). This restriction did not apply to the Prophet, but it is said that after this verse was revealed he did not contract another marriage, but bound himself by the verse: "It is not permitted thee to take other wives hereafter, or to change thy present wives for other women, though their beauty charm thee, except those whom thy right hand possesses. And God watcheth all things" (Sura 33, 52). His self-denial in this matter has been much praised by his apologists. "He had this disadvantage that any other woman was prohibited to him, except those already possessed, whereas other persons were allowed the number of four wives, with every liberty of substituting any woman with lawful marriage in the cases of demise or divorce of some of them." As Muhammad had then nine wives, and concubines besides, it requires a good deal of special pleading to put his conduct in a favourable light. The admitted facts are, that whilst other men were restricted to four wives at one and the same time, he was not; but he was allowed "those whom thy right hand possesses"—that is, concubines. It is somewhat difficult to see the "disadvantage" in which he was placed. But the contention now is that he did really take effectual steps towards the abolition of polygamy, and in proof of this assertion this verse is quoted: "Certainly you have not in your power to treat your wives with equal justice, even though you fain would do so" (Sura iv. 128). This is described as "the virtual abolition of polygamy." It is very much to be regretted that the case for abolition, if this indeed is the proof of it, is so much weaker than the many and the very plain passages which undoubtedly authorise polygamy. The simple fact is that the men of the New Islam see clearly the great social blots in their system, and they earnestly, and we may well believe honestly, try to explain away much of which they are rightly ashamed. A good deal might be said to contravene the arguments used, and to show the inherent weakness of the defence; but, after all, it is a good sign that such arguments should be adduced, and such a defence made. "For my own part," says Syed Amir Ali, "I look upon polygamy in the present day as an adulterous connection, and as contrary to the spirit of Islam, an opinion which is shared by a large number of Musalmans."

The other subjects need not detain us long. The general principle on which they are dealt with is expressed in the following statement about divorce. It equally applies to concubinage and slavery: "As usual, the Fathers of the Church (*i.e.*, of Islam) have taken up the temporary permission as the positive rule, and ignored the principles of humanity, justice, and equity inculcated by the Master."

Connected with the question of divorce, there is a custom which the law in certain cases renders obligatory, and which is justly described as a "disgusting ordeal." It is not denied that Sura ii. 230 inculcates this; but it is said that the rule was only a temporary one, and Syed

Amir Ali thinks that the following *vêrse* abrogates it. This, however, is only a private opinion, and the law actually stands now as at the beginning.

European writers are sometimes reproached with dealing unfairly with these subjects, and with making out the case to be worse than it really is. They can only take the law as they find it in actual operation, and as it has been from the beginning. Their position is fully justified, for Moulvie Cheragh Ali confirms it when he writes thus: "It is only Muhammadan Civil Law which has made the Law of Muhammad anything else but a mere abomination on this subject."

One Muslim writer says that the Quran abolishes slavery "by implication"—and, as a consequence, concubinage with slaves—in the *verse*: "When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads, till ye have made a great slaughter among them, and of the rest make fast the fetters, and afterwards let there be free dismissal or ransoming till the war hath laid down its burden" (Sura 17, 4, 5). The implied abolition has not been apparent to any one till recent times, for it is freely admitted that Muhammadan jurists have legalised slavery, and that the followers of Muhammad have utterly ignored the spirit of his teaching, and have allowed slavery to flourish. The practice is, however, denounced in eloquent terms.

"The time is now come when humanity at large should raise its voice against servitude in whatever shape or under whatever denomination it may be disguised. The Muslims especially, for the honour of their noble Prophet, should try to efface that dark page from their history. . . . It remains for the Muslims to show the falseness of the aspersions cast on the memory of the great and noble Prophet by proclaiming in explicit terms that slavery is reprobated by their faith and discountenanced by their code."

The sentiment here expressed is worthy of all praise, though the correctness of some of the statements may be doubted.

The writers of the New Islam school sometimes make extravagant claims with reference to the influence of the founder of Islam upon the culture and civilisation of the world. It is said that he completed the unfinished work of Christ, by systematising the laws of morality, that by his voice the dead were quickened into life, the dying revived, and the pulse of humanity was brought to beat with the accumulated force of ages. "Called by his voice from the abyss of barbarism and ignorance in which they had hitherto dwelt, with little hope of the present, with none of the future, the Arab went forth into the world, not to slaughter like the Israelites of old, but to elevate and civilise. Afflicted humanity awoke into new life." In short, the growth of the spirit of chivalry, the revival of learning, the improvement of morals, the development of art and science, the Renaissance, and even the Reformation, are all traced to the influence of the life and work of Muhammad, of whose system it is said: "Islam, wherever it has found its way among culturible and progressive nations, has shown itself in complete accord with progressive tendencies, it has assisted

civilisation, it has idealised religion." This is rhetorical, scarcely historical. Still, some exaggeration of statement may be allowed to men who have set themselves earnestly to work against the deadening influence of the patristic theologians and canonical legists of orthodox Islam, who have to discredit the Law, sacred in the eyes of most Muslims, and to call it Common Law; who have to treat even sacred matters with a rationalising spirit. This attitude towards orthodoxy naturally enough causes other men to doubt the reality of their faith in Islam; but they can, in self-defence, point to the exuberance of their language when they laud and praise the Prophet, and when they claim for Islam that it is the cause of all that is true and noble in many lands and in various creeds.

The position they take may be summed up thus—the Shariat, or Law of Islam, is not necessarily a binding one, it may be set aside or changed when new conditions require fresh developments. The teaching of the Quran on moral questions is not to be taken as a permanent positive injunction, but as a mere temporary measure. Rightly interpreted, the Quran teaches the exact opposite of what the canonical legists have formulated as its law. All this is clear and definite. It necessarily brings its advocates into conflict with the authorised expounder of the Law, and with the great body of the faithful. The solidarity of the force arrayed against them sometimes gives rise to a spirit of utter despair, such as Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, a distinguished Hyderabad official, shows in the words: "To me it seems that as a nation and a religion we are dying out; our day is past, and we have little hope of the future. Unless a miracle of reform occurs, we Muhammadans are doomed to extinction, and we shall have deserved our fate. For God's sake let the reform take place before it is too late."

The most recent and most notable book on the subjects discussed in this article, is "The Spirit of Islam," by Syed Amir Ali, who wrote it, he says, in the hope that it might assist "the Muslims of India to achieve intellectual and moral regeneration under the auspices of the great European Power that now holds their destinies in its hands," a Power to which a very high compliment is paid when "the reformers are congratulated that the movement set on foot is conducted under a neutral government." It scarcely accords with all that has been said by the same author of the fruitful works of Islam in culture, civilization, and freedom, when reforms can be best carried out under a Christian government. However, the reform has begun, its progress will be watched with interest; the end it is difficult to foresee. Personally, I believe that it will elevate individuals and purify the family life of many, yet that it will, like all reform movements of the past, have very little real effect on Islam as a polity and as a religion.

## THE GRAY AND GAY RACE.

THE French are a gray people, who live in a gray metropolis, and in a gray country. Paris lies in a limestone region, and is built of gray stone. A large part of the city on the left bank of the Seine is undermined by ancient quarries. The roofs, as well as the pavements, *trottoirs*, and bridges, are gray. The absence of smoke and dirt permits time to deepen leisurely the colour of the stone, and transform the city into a mosaic of gray. Old shades are being replaced constantly by new hues, which in their turn grow dull with age. The tints of the Seine vary from a grayish green to a deep steel gray. The whole of the interior effect of Notre Dame, with its great ashen-coloured windows, and of the Invalides where Napoleon lies, is characteristically gray. French soil and notably French skies, are griseous. All about one in France is "this air which is never blue," as Gautier described it. French towns and villages are grizzled. Their buildings are either of gray stone or are plastered over, and their roofs are usually a faded brown. The colour of the villages seems to change into white almost as soon as the Belgian frontier is crossed. French verdure and landscapes have a reseda tint, and French cemeteries are nothing but gray.

Gray Paris and gray Northern France are as concolorous as Nature could well permit, perhaps, in a fertile and temperate latitude. Thus we may account for the fact that, as a rule, the eyes of Parisians and the colour of their garments are gray or grayish.\* The general appearance of French peasants is griseous; and I suppose there are,

\* I know almost nothing of Southern France, and cannot speak of its people. By the words French and Parisians, using the words synonymously, I mean the native inhabitants of Northern France. And I refer to them not as citizens, but as individuals—to their traits as shown in their secular, domestic, social, and religious life. Their rashness in public or political affairs arises, I think, from causes which are foreign to this outline of an *étude*, and do not affect its inferences.

proportionally, more gray horses in Northern France than in other countries, since it is the home of the gray Norman thoroughbred.

This grayness of the French suggests, by its colour-traits, two characteristics of the race.

First—Gray is a colour of moderation. And are not the French the most prudent and moderate of all the great modern races? The Parisians do not overwork or overplay. They do not commit excesses. They are easily satisfied, and need little to amuse them. They are, as Renan says of the Greeks, cheerfully philosophical, and sober in their pleasures. In testimony of this, the careful observer will remark that their faces seem to be very free from indications of any kind of undue indulgence. The Frenchman is conservative to a fault. He is not apt to fail to do to-day what to-morrow he will feel most contented to have done.

Second—Gray, the colour of brain matter, is the colour of intellect. We should thus expect the Parisian to be pre-eminently sane. And this is true. He has few illusions, and is careful not to be led away by his emotions. He worships *le bon sens*—the head. He leads an active mental life wherein the heart and the soul, as the Anglo-Saxon race understands them, are largely ignored. The French acquire and enjoy almost wholly through the medium of the brain. Their art and their literature are above all things rational, being distinguished, on the whole, by the absence of colour and sentiment, and of heartfelt, upsoaring inspirations. What they get out of a song or a picture is the meaning of the words and the idea—the sense rather than the passion or feeling. French music rarely produces but a kind of cerebral pleasure. It is occasionally exquisite, and nearly always refined and chaste. Even the French ballet music, where one would expect to find revelling that astonishing licentiousness which Teutonic races always impute to the French, is almost purely mental in its charm, and is signally free from sensual taint.

The favourite colour in the French school of painting is gray, or, to speak paradoxically, the absence of colour. Gray was its general tone before the time of the Romanticists. They introduced variety of colour as appropriate of emotion. But the Romantic school was in no sense a child of France. Delacroix and his followers were great colourists, but not in that exuberant sense which the Anglo-Saxon race means by colour. It is true that gray could not be said to be prevailing, for instance, this year at the Champs-Élysées or at the Champ de Mars, although it should be noted that about one-fourth of the painters who exhibited were foreigners. Still, the colour on French canvases, as the influence of the Romantic school fades away, will become more and more intellectualised and subdued; and they will, doubtless, again, at no very distant day, be characterised by their grayness. For, to the French, gray is the colour of truth,



ideality, and life itself. Their devotion to form and *ordonnance*, rather than to colour and romantic effects, is gray, and hence an intellectual trait.

Now, inquiring into the original signification of the word gray, we find that it comes mainly from words meaning old—"that which has white hair"—and that it usually designates old age. We should thus expect to find that the gray French are notably a senescent race. And, in fact, there is in France, comparatively speaking, little youth that is young in years. French lads work hard and steadily. As a result they have their *baccalauréat* at the Sorbonne at eighteen or nineteen, and it corresponds to the degree which the average English or American collegiate gets at twenty-one. They do not have that wealth of juvenile literature and sports and liberty which make youth in Germany and England and the United States so long and pleasant. They have comparatively little time to be really young. On the other hand, elderly Frenchmen are inclined to wear youthful cuts of clothes and gay cravats, and to insist on loving life. How true were Flaubert's words when he described the men at the Marquis's ball which Madame Bovary attended: "Those who were commencing to grow old had a youthful air, while something of maturity was seen on the faces of the younger men." Mature and aged Parisian ladies are famous for their gay bonnets, lively ribbons, and daring toilettes; but French girls are dressed in sober colours. They are driven by urging tasks, and like their young brothers know little company but that of their elders. They get what they know of youth after marriage.

Michelet expressed it aptly when he said: "One is not born young in France, but one becomes young." The idea of the inexistence of young youth in the land of the Seine was first distinctly suggested to me by the eighteenth century French portraits of young persons in the Louvre. Gray is the predominating colour in them. Young women are almost invariably represented in griseous costumes with whitish head-dresses, and as having gray flesh. The most famous among these canvases are Greuze's pictures of girls, with their grayish garments and skin, and their dull, faded, blond hair. I have seen their types among the French middle classes.

Gray seems to have become the characteristic colour of the French costume and coiffure about the commencement of the eighteenth century. It was then that the word *grisette* began to appear in French literature. Of significant importance was the fashion of powdering the hair so that it had a gray appearance. The radical sense of grizzled, or *grisled*, is dusted or powdered over, and it would naturally come from gray which signified those who have white hair. This mode of coiffure was the result of the fact that Louis XIV., in his last years, was persuaded to wear powdered perruques by the argument that "the use of powder equalised all ages and softened

the expression of the face." A courtier of the time said: "Everybody nowadays wants to be old in order to be sage." In 1788, a French authority, referring to the universal use of powdered coiffures, wrote: "Powdered hair, while being convenient, is essential to decorum, and it has been regarded by all civilised races as of the first necessity." This gray fashion for the young and the aged seems to have prevailed in France throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. Thus youth was rendered old, and this is still to-day a French trait.

Indeed, are not the gray French, in reality, the *only* senescent modern race of importance? Their unique, intellectual life—intellectual because it is free from the heart-expanding and soul-stirring enthusiasms and illusions of youth, since there is little young youth in France—associates itself naturally with senescence. Our English observers unanimously attest to the severe practicalness and extreme cautiousness of our neighbours across the channel: The dominating ambition of the French is to possess a competency. They have a horror of poverty. Their love affairs and marriages are prudently controlled by money considerations. These, as well as most if not all of their customs, are typical of old age. Is it not therefore fitting that—French bank-notes should be gray?!

Another evidence of the intellectual senescence of the French is the fact that they are not only smaller in stature than any of their leading rivals, but are the only great race which is depopulating. Hence the cause of the depopulation of France seems radical and irremediable.

It appears, therefore, that the French race has passed its maturity and is decaying. If we are to assume that the apex of its civilisation was the age of Louis XIV., the decline clearly commenced in the eighteenth century—the time when gray began to be the characteristic colour of the nation. Rousseau's cult of the "vert," the Revolution, the genius of Napoleon, and the imported Romantic school, infused new life and arrested its decay. But once more it seems to be face to face with its proper destiny—extinction. This may be deferred, in the future as in the past, by agencies and events which cannot be divined. In any case, its decline will be almost imperceptible, and its fate will in no wise hinder its light from shining on and on like that of the Greeks.

The reader will very likely ask why, then, are the old and gray French precisely the gayest of races, for gray means gloom and a certain lack-lustre dreariness to us. Etymology seems to answer the question. Wedgwood treats gay and gray about as follows:

"Gay and gray probably came originally from words signifying parti-coloured—from words meaning speckled and mottled. Perhaps the true origin may be found in the analogy by which expressions of conceptions dependent on the faculty of hearing are extended to those of similar

character dependent on sight. Thus, broken, conspicuous colour would naturally be taken from a broken, chattering, gay sound. The word signifying liveliness of colour seems to have been transferred to the expression of liveliness of disposition."

Was it quite by accident, perhaps, that the gay French shop-girl and sewing-girl wore gray dresses and were called *grisettes*? And is not to be found here the true explanation of the French verb *se grisier*, to get tipsy—the word for gray being *gris*? It seems reasonable to suppose that this expression originally was used to hit off the lively, noisy state of an intoxicated Frenchman, and that it has veritably no connection with the German *benebeln*, which describes the placidly beclouded condition of a typically inebriated Teuton.

For the very reason, at all events, that a race is gray it ought to be gay—*gayness* being grayness, and *grayety* being gaiety, and the French are uniquely represented by these two traits. Béranger understood this as if by instinct when he wrote the well-known song, "The Gay Little Gray Man of Paris." Our English race associates gray with sombreness, infestivity, and advanced years. We have lost its gay signification and the French have kept it. With them old age does not make itself felt as forlorn or sad. On the contrary, it assumes a wonderful liveliness. The aged grandparents are apt to be the most vivacious members in Parisian families. This is the French interpretation of second childhood. They believe that gaiety is the natural, happy lot of all old people who have lived temperately and well. They are far from sharing those Puritan penances which resign the last years of life to the mournful shadows of the tomb.

And it may seem worth while thus to note how etymology, with its roots deep in the hoary past, appears to nod its venerable branches in approval of the cheerful and profound lesson which the gray French race would teach the world—viz., that gaiety is the proper attribute of old age, as well as of practical, moderate, and intellectual living.

STUART HENRY.

## THE EVOLUTION OF LIBERAL UNIONISM.

THE period which has passed since Mr. Gladstone's accession to office in 1886 has witnessed the most memorable secession from a great political party since Edmund Burke issued his famous "Appeal to the Old Whigs," and Fox and Sheridan were left almost alone to do battle with a Parliament driven to the verge of frenzy by the horrors of the French Revolution. But there is one essential difference between the two defections. The great Whig disruption of 1792 was the work of timid men unnerved by an appalling catastrophe. The Liberal revolt of 1886 carried away with it not only the cautious and "moderate" Liberals, but the most robust and advanced Radicals who once professed allegiance to Mr. Gladstone—not only the Argylls, the Selbornes, and the Goschens, but the veteran "Tribune of the People," the hero of the "unauthorised programme," and the author of the once popular social *nostrum*, summed up in the magic words, "Three acres and a cow."

It is the fashion to explain this remarkable phenomenon by the oft-repeated assertion that the Liberal Unionists broke away from their party on the Irish question alone, and that on all other subjects they have remained true to the best traditions of Liberalism. Indeed, even now, the followers of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain cling with almost ostentatious pertinacity to that much abused name, of which they claim to be the only rightful inheritors; like the victims of a not uncommon form of mental hallucination, who believe that they are the only sane people in the world and that all the rest of mankind are mad.

Now it is quite possible that, as the writer in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review* has observed, "many Liberals at first regarded their secession as a temporary estrangement, and believed that as soon as the Irish bone of contention was removed they would revert to their old position as prominent members of the Liberal party." Yet it is, at least, as true that, in the words of the same

authority, "very few of them had appreciated the gradual operation of a long series of influences which had tended to alienate the moderate Liberals from the Radicals," when the Home Rule question presented itself as a convenient plank by which the occupants of one side of the dividing stream could cross in safety to the other. But even this explanation, though plausible as far as it goes, only covers a portion of the ground. To understand the whole truth, it is necessary to go some years further back in our Parliamentary history.

Two causes have for many years contributed to place every Liberal Administration in this country at a disadvantage as compared with its Conservative rivals. On the one hand, its supporters are at all times more apt to break away from their allegiance, partly because there are more ways of moving forward than of standing still; and partly because the same bent of mind which disposes a man to become a Liberal prompts him also to think and act for himself, and often to prefer his own particular fads and fancies to the exigencies of party discipline. On the other hand, experience shows that in the life of a party, as in that of an individual, there comes a time when the ardour and enthusiasm of youth gives place to the languid pulse and the failing heart-beat, and when, as a necessary consequence, "the native hue of resolution" is apt to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." That we should be the chief sufferers by this inexorable law, under the operation of which the Liberal tree is doomed periodically to shed some of its branches, is but natural. Take, for instance, the two Parliaments of 1868 and 1880, in both of which the Radical element at first greatly predominated. In each case the House of Commons began life with the loftiest aspirations—in each case its last stage was little better than "second childishness and mere oblivion." In each case it began by accomplishing much and attempting more—in each case it ended by doing little or nothing. But the downfall of Mr. Gladstone's Second Administration was accelerated by other causes. If it be true that nothing succeeds like success, it is also true that nothing fails like failure. The Government were becoming more unpopular every day. With the murder of Lord F. Cavendish the Irish question had entered upon its most acute stage. The prolonged occupation of Egypt, the entanglement in the Soudan, and above all the tragic death of General Gordon, had alienated some of the most devoted adherents of the Government. Inside the Cabinet, too, disintegrating forces were at work. It was an open secret that two leading members of that body, now bound together by the closest political ties, were then at daggers drawn. On the Church question, on the Land question, on the Labour question, Mr. Gladstone was by some believed to be pulling against the stream—by others, to be drifting perilously near to that Niagara which so many British statesmen spend the best part of their lives in struggling to shun and are fated eventually to shoot. Thus the materials for a Cave were rapidly

forming in two opposite directions. The Government were falling to pieces of themselves; and when, either by accident or design, they were beaten upon a comparatively unimportant amendment to Mr. Childers' Budget, the blow was generally felt to be merely the feather which broke the camel's back.

Events have moved so rapidly in the political world that it is difficult now to realise the precise condition of the two great Parliamentary parties in the autumn of 1885. Of neither could it be said that their prospects were particularly happy. Among the Liberal rank and file there were no small searchings of heart. Their leaders were fighting each for his own hand, and programmes, "authorised" or "unauthorised," were dangled before their eyes. Nor were the Constitutionalists, as they were fond of calling themselves, much better off. They had drifted into office, they hardly knew how or why—without a purpose and without a policy, and even the "moderate Liberals," who distrusted Mr. Gladstone, hesitated, in Mr. Goschen's words, "to give a blank cheque to Lord Salisbury." They had, moreover, to face an immediate appeal to an untried electorate, in which the democratic element largely preponderated, and which was not likely to entertain very friendly feelings towards men who had offered a determined but unavailing resistance to their enfranchisement. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps natural that Conservative candidates, with the direct encouragement or indirect connivance of their leaders, should have cast their eyes to the party which was known to be ready to hand itself over to the highest bidder, and should have coquetted more or less openly with Mr. Parnell. Certain it is that before and during the General Election which followed, Irish emissaries were openly canvassing on behalf of Tory candidates, that the Irish vote was given solid for them, and that in many places, especially in the North of England, that vote actually turned the scale in their favour. It was not in human nature that men, smarting under the sting of defeats thus inflicted, should look with favour upon those who were mainly instrumental in inflicting them, and it is probable that the foundations of the dislike and distrust which gradually sprung up between certain sections of the Liberal party and the Irish Nationalists, were laid during the electoral campaign of 1885.

But, if Mr. Parnell and his party had expected any countenance or concession from Lord Salisbury, their hopes were doomed to disappointment. As soon as the General Election was over, Lord Salisbury made haste to disavow the alliance to which he owed a good many of his votes, and instead of the fish of Home Rule, he gave to Ireland the serpent of coercion. It must be confessed that his former friends lost no time in avenging themselves for what they regarded—rightly or wrongly—as an act of treachery, or at least of ingratitude. In little more than a week after Parliament had

assembled, an ill-timed amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, and supported by the whole of the Irish Nationalists as well as by the bulk of Mr. Gladstone's followers, was carried by a majority of 79, and Lord Salisbury, by no means sorry, it was currently reported, to escape from an embarrassing position, at once resigned office.

The crisis was one of supreme importance to the Liberal party. The defeat of the Government was, in no sense, the official act of the Opposition. A somewhat similar case had occurred in March, 1873, when Mr. Gladstone, finding himself defeated on the second reading of the Irish University Bill, tendered his resignation, and Mr. Disraeli was sent for by the Queen. But that wily tactician, quietly observing that the catastrophe which had occurred was not one for which he was responsible, refused to let his hand be forced, and prudently declined to pluck the pear before it was ripe. His prescience was soon rewarded. "The world," to quote his own words, "comes to him who can wait." The Conservative party remained compact and united, while the magnificent majority which had carried Mr. Gladstone into power gradually melted away, and after the General Election of 1874 Mr. Disraeli had the satisfaction of finding himself at the head of the largest Parliamentary following which had ever supported a Tory Prime Minister since the days when Sir R. Peel returned to power in 1841.

There can be little doubt that if Mr. Gladstone had adopted a similar attitude in 1886, his party might have been saved from many of the humiliations and mishaps which subsequently awaited them. Such a course would, under the circumstances, have been perfectly justifiable. The crisis was not of his own creation, and no statesman is bound to take office if in doing so he is forced to leave a substantial part of his followers behind him. If Lord Salisbury had been compelled to retain the Premiership, the probabilities are that his Cabinet would have floundered deeper and deeper in the bog of Coercion. Mr. Gladstone might have awaited the course of events, and have chosen his own time for propounding and developing his new Irish policy. The constituencies would have had an opportunity of examining, discussing, and digesting his proposals. The nation would have become familiarised with the Home Rule bogie, and in the fulness of time our great leader might have gone to the country with a party, diminished indeed, but comparatively unbroken, and with a pretty sure prospect of reaping the success which, after wandering for six years in the wilderness of Opposition, awaited him in 1892. But it is with the effect of his acceptance of office upon the split which had already begun to show itself among his followers\* that we have now to deal.

\* In the division on Mr. J. Collings' amendment, Lord Hartington, Sir H. James, Mr. Courtney, Sir J. Lubbock, and other prominent Liberals separated themselves from Mr. Gladstone and the majority of the party.

Mr. Gladstone's instalment, in Downing Street, which had been preceded by the defection of several prominent members of his former Cabinet, was quickly followed by his famous pronouncement on Home Rule. We are constantly told that the conversion of the main body of the Liberal party to the same policy, was the act of men whose consciences were hypnotised, and whose action was paralysed by one commanding personality, and who blindly followed their leader without knowing or caring where he was leading them. A taunt more unjust or more foolish than this parrot cry, which has now done duty for seven years, was never levelled against a great party. Even the most heated and prejudiced Unionist might, in his cooler moments, recognise that the response given by the Irish Democracy to the *plébiscite* of 1885, had something to do with his opponents' change of views, and that they might conscientiously hold with one of the most thoughtful of contemporary historians, that "it is absurd to say that a country enjoys representative Government when its delegates are constantly out-voted by men of a separate race." \* That these considerations influenced the majority of the Liberals who followed Mr. Gladstone in 1886 there is, however, no reason to doubt; and it is only fair to Mr. Chamberlain to point out that, as we shall see presently, he was among the first to admit their cogency.

But in these cases everything depends upon the way a thing is done, and there can be no question but that to many Liberals what they were pleased to call Mr. Gladstone's *volte-face* came with a very unpleasant shock; especially where, in their election speeches, they had been permitted or encouraged to denounce Mr. Parnell and all his works, and to reprobate any concession to his party as the first step to the dismemberment of the Empire. Nor was this all. The apparent suddenness of the Prime Minister's conversion, and the necessity imposed upon him by his acceptance of office of forthwith following it up by cut-and-dried legislative proposals, ranging over an immense and untried field, with no precedents to follow and no experience to guide, gave the country no breathing time. As a very old and experienced member of the House of Commons said to me at the time: "The worst of all this is that we are obliged to take sides before we know where we are;" and it is needless to say that when Englishmen take sides, they like to stick to them. In some few instances, indeed, members of Parliament and others who had not yet nailed their colours to the mast, had the courage to retreat from positions into which they had drifted, and for doing so have been most unjustly taunted with cowardice or something worse. But there can be little doubt that many men are Liberal Unionists now because they became Liberal Unionists in 1886, and that they became Liberal Unionists in 1886 because, before becoming so, they had no time to realise what they were doing.

\* Walpole's "History of England," vol. iv. p. 207



Of course the same thing may be said of some of Mr. Gladstone's supporters, and it is needless to add that this remark does not apply to the whole of the Dissident party. It would be absurd to deny that there are among them many high-minded and able men, who are and always have been prepared to resist Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals to the death, because they conscientiously believe that his Bill would be fraught with fatal consequences both to England and to Ireland. It is to be hoped, then, that no responsible Liberals will be provoked into retorting upon their opponents the unworthy imputations which, in too many instances, have been cast upon the Prime Minister and his followers. Some of them, like Sir H. James, gave practical proof of their disinterestedness by refusing prizes which might have tempted the most ambitious of men. The Duke of Devonshire, it need hardly be said, owes much of the influence which he exercises, and of the respect in which he is held, to the fact that he is one of the most consistent as well as hard-headed statesmen of the day; whose views upon the Irish problem have never wavered from the first. But can the same thing be said of his redoubtable lieutenant? If any English or Irish politician had been asked in 1885 what member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet was most likely to meet Mr. Parnell halfway, or even to swallow the whole of his programme, he would, in nine cases out of ten, have named Mr. Chamberlain. The story of his past relations to the Irish party has still to be written. But it is certain that no English statesman—not even the "member for Chamberlain," as it was once the fashion to call the present Irish Secretary—was more closely associated with them at every turn. No man ever expressed himself more openly or more strongly against Irish coercion, "the name and the thing." No man was ever more ready to admit the justice of the Irish claim.\* No man ever more mercilessly attacked that "heterogeneous combination which styles itself the Constitutional Party, and which includes within its ranks Free Traders and Protectionists, Ulster Orangemen and English Roman Catholics, Licensed Victuallers and Established Churchmen, Tory Democrats and Fossil Reactionists, all uniting their discordant voices in order to form a mutual protection society for assuring to each of its members place and privilege and power."† That the fiercest assailant of this "heterogeneous combination" should have become its mainstay and its hope, that the trusted intermediary of the Irish Nationalists should have become their bitterest opponent;

\* "We are face to face with a very remarkable demonstration of the Irish people. . . . We ourselves, by our public declarations and by our Liberal principles, are pledged to acknowledge the substantial justice of their claim."—Speech of Mr. Chamberlain, addressed to the Birmingham Reform Club, immediately after the General Election, and reported in the *Times* of December 18, 1885. The contents of his famous letter to Mr. W. Duignan, of December 17, 1884, are too well known to require reproduction, and the suggestion that he was converted by the proceedings before the Parnell Commission is effectually disposed of by the dates.

† Speech of Mr. Chamberlain at Warrington, reported in the *Times* of September 9, 1885.

is strange enough. But by what process the author of "The next page of the Liberal Programme"—the orator who in 1884 roused a Welsh audience to a frenzy of enthusiasm by the simple words, "I am a Dissenter"—has persuaded himself that it is his duty to oppose such a measure as the Welsh Suspensory Bill, is a problem which it surpasses the wit of man to unravel.

The chain of causes which led to Mr. Chamberlain's final secession would, if they could be laid bare to the world, form one of the most interesting of psychological studies. There are persons, indeed, who are ill-natured enough to hint that, with a little management, his invaluable services might have been retained by the Liberal party, and that the *spretra injuria formæ*—to say nothing of more soft and subtle influences—may determine the action of statesmen as well as that of goddesses. On the other hand, it is only just to remember that in abandoning Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain gave up the almost certain reversion of the Liberal leadership, and that hitherto he can scarcely be said to have "bettered himself" by a change of masters. For the position which he has now for the last seven years occupied—suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, between the heaven of office and the earth of opposition—is scarcely one to satisfy the aspirations of the most ambitious politician, and perhaps the most effective debater, in the House of Commons.

But to return to the course of events. The introduction of the promised Home Rule Bill was eagerly awaited both by the friends and and foes of Mr. Gladstone's Administration. As might have been expected, it was found, when produced, to bristle with controversial matter. The famous 24th Clause alone was enough to split up the most homogeneous party. From the very first night of the debate on the second reading it became evident that the measure was destined to accentuate rather than to heal the differences between the two sections of the Liberal party, and the decisive majority by which it was rejected was due to the defection of a considerable number of members who had not yet openly pronounced themselves against it.

But if the introduction of the Bill of 1886 had widened the breach, the General Election which followed its rejection made that breach irreparable. It is now generally admitted that the Dissolution could not have taken place at a time more unfavourable to the followers of Mr. Gladstone. With their finances disorganised, their local leaders sullenly indifferent or openly mutinous, their rank and file distracted by conflicting programmes and rival appeals, they fared even worse than had been anticipated, and came back shorn of something like one-third of their former numbers. As might have been expected the party which profited most by this disaster were the Liberal Unionists. Setting aside the single question of Home Rule, many of them claimed to be Radicals to the core. They could appeal to a floating body of Liberals who had not made up their

minds on the Irish question, and thus managed not unfrequently to ride back to Parliament upon the suffrages of both parties. Once seated at Westminster, however, they lost no time in showing on which side their sympathies lay. Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir H. James claimed and made good their right to share with Mr. Gladstone the front Opposition Bench, and, from that coign of vantage were enabled to deal many an effective home thrust at their former colleagues. But it was impossible that Parliamentary gladiators could nightly engage in close and deadly strife, varied by more or less acrimonious personalities, without increasing their mutual estrangement. Thus day by day the Dissident Liberals drifted further and further from their moorings. Haunted by the spectre of Home Rule, and dreading above all things the return of Mr. Gladstone to power, they drew closer and closer to their old opponents, and before a year was over it had become clear that the staunchest and most unwavering members of the Ministerial majority were to be found in its left wing.

But the really important question, from a practical point of view, is this: What part are the Liberal Unionists destined to play in the politics of the future? To a certain extent that problem has been solved by the last General Election. In every English, Scotch, or Welsh constituency the battle was fought on the old lines. The Liberal Unionists were everywhere supported by the full strength of the Conservatives and everywhere opposed by the full strength of the Liberals. Deprived of the accidental advantages which they enjoyed in 1886, they have come back, not indeed, as was somewhat rashly predicted, "smitten hip and thigh from Dan to Beersheba," but with their fighting strength very largely reduced. As might have been expected of men who had just passed through such an ordeal, the survivors have returned to St. Stephen's more bitter and more uncompromising than ever. Both by their votes and by their voices they have shown themselves more hostile, if possible, to the Home Rule proposals of the Government than the Conservatives themselves. Nor is this hostility confined to Irish questions. Upon every subject upon which either the Government or the Opposition have taken up a decided line, on Ecclesiastical and Financial questions, on the Estimates, even on private Bills, they have thrown themselves into the struggle with the proverbial ardour and energy of proselytes. Indeed, it is to be feared that much of that personal animus which has been so largely imported into our recent debates, and has done so much to lower the tone of our Parliamentary life, is due to the growing sense of personal estrangement, which, at a crisis like the present, is apt to turn the closest political allies into the bitterest political opponents. A legitimate Opposition as a rule "plays the game."

Yet strange to say no members of the party, with one notable

exception, have been formally enrolled in, the Conservative ranks. With an affectation of independence which it is difficult to understand, they keep up their own distinct political organisation, and even insist upon occupying the benches which have hitherto been understood to belong to the supporters of the Government. Their leader is still "the right honourable friend" of the men of whom he was once the more or less trusted colleague, and of whom he is now incomparably the ablest critic and at times the most unsparring assailant. Thus we have the singular spectacle of some forty members of Parliament habitually sitting with the Liberals, and habitually voting against them. Indeed, with Irish Nationalists elbowing Irish Orangemen on one side of the Speaker, and Dissident Liberals wedged in between Mr. Conybeare and Mr. John Burns on the other, the distribution of parties in the new House of Commons has, to say the least, become somewhat bewildering.

Now, it is impossible that this anomalous state of things can last much longer. "There are," as Mr. John Morley observed the other day, "only two lobbies in the House of Commons," and it has been often said that the reason why Parliamentary Government has been a comparative success in England, and a comparative failure in every other country, is that the British Legislature is composed of two well-defined parties, and not of a dozen shifting and unstable groups. Be this, as it may, it is certain that no political body in England has hitherto been able to maintain itself for any length of time in a state of isolation. In the case of the Liberal Unionists, too, there is a special reason why their absorption cannot be long delayed. Like the Peelites of the last generation, whom, in some respects, they resemble, and who, like them, could boast of members drawn from the very flower of both Houses of Parliament, they are not and never were a growing party. But nothing is more certain than that a political party which is not recruited and re-invigorated by the infusion of new blood must sooner or later perish of anæmia, and the best thing it can do is to get itself assimilated as soon as possible by some more robust and enduring organism. To which side then are the Dissident Liberals gravitating?

There are still some few optimists among us who are sanguine enough to hope that when the "Irish difficulty" has, by some process or other, been got out of the way, and the great actors who now occupy the Parliamentary stage have passed from it, the repentant prodigals will return to their abandoned home to share with their reconciled brethren the fatted calf of office. But those who, from behind the scenes, have watched the *dénouement* of the drama, know better. It is just possible, indeed, that some bastard form of Liberalism may be devised to salve the political consciences and save the political reputations of the more advanced members of what was once the "Birmingham School." But, with a few exceptions, which will occur to

most people, it is as certain as anything in politics can be, that, before many months are over, the Liberal Unionists will have found salvation in the bosom of the great Conservative Party; though what effect such a leavening may have on that solid lump it is not easy to say. The Duke, of Devonshire, as the head of a great Whig family and the inheritor of a great Whig name, stands, perhaps, in a peculiar position. Mr. Courtney is too original a thinker, or, as some would say, too "superior a person," to make any speculation as to his political future very secure. But, with most members of the party, the process of absorption has been already completed, if, indeed, it can be said to have ever begun. To speak, for instance, of Lord Selborne as "going over to the Conservatives" is surely a misuse of language. So far as it is possible to reproduce in the closing years of the century the Toryism of its earlier decades, that most distinguished lawyer is probably the best living representative of a politico-theological survival which is gradually becoming more and more rare.

But it is in the future attitude of the brilliant debater who was long regarded as the "dark horse" of the Opposition that the interest of the situation really centres. Some years ago my friend Mr. Montague Crackenthorpe predicted a great career for Mr. Chamberlain as the leader of a new "National party," but, as this "National party" as yet exists only in the brain of Mr. Crackenthorpe, the question of its leadership can scarcely be said to have passed into the region of practical politics. More recently another gentleman, disturbed by rumours of an impending change in the leadership of the Opposition, for which recent events had surely afforded ample justification, has had the courage to approach Mr. Chamberlain himself, and to cross-examine him not only as to the future of his party, but as to his own chance of "elbowing out Mr. Balfour." Mr. Chamberlain, while declaring that his "relations with the other section of the Unionist party are now, and ever have been, of the most cordial and confidential description," prudently declines "to forecast the future, which must be left to take care of itself," and concludes his reply with the oracular precept, "It is sufficient day by day to do our duty."\* With this admirable precept most people will agree: "In politics as in war the only thing certain is the unforeseen," and the future just now is big with possibilities. Suffice it to say that stranger things have happened in England than the appearance of Mr. Chamberlain in the rôle of a Conservative Prime Minister, and possibly in that of Earl of Birmingham and a Knight of the Garter.

GEO. OSBORNE MORGAN.

\* "Mr. Chamberlain and the Unionist Party," the *Times*, of May 31, 1893.

# THE ALL-SUFFICIENCY OF NATURAL SELECTION.

## \* A REPLY TO HERBERT SPENCER.

THE following essay is written as an answer to two articles by Herbert Spencer, one of which, "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection," appeared in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW in February and March of this year, and is directed chiefly against my views on heredity and natural selection; while the other was published in May, as a "postscript" to the first, and is entitled, "Professor Weismann's Theories." I am never willing to enter into controversy, when the only object is to show others to be in the wrong; but I do so in this instance, as an opportunity is afforded me of expressing opinions on the subject of natural selection that I have long desired to make public, and for the utterance of which I might not otherwise have found occasion so soon.

Any one who has carefully studied the development of the problem of heredity in the course of the last ten years knows that my view of the intransmissibility of acquired characters has not yet received general assent and recognition among scientists. Many still believe that such transmission can be proved; and not a year passes without some "convincing" instances being published. Most of these depend on imperfect comprehension of what is to be understood by an "acquired" character; not a few, however, seem at first sight to be really conclusive against my view.

Among the latter I reckon, for example, the observations which Mr. Buckman, an English geologist, published last year.\* It is well-known that the little toe of our foot is more or less deformed: not only small, but curved; and this is commonly ascribed to the boot-pressure to which it is subjected during the greater part of our life.

\* S. S. Buckman, "Some Laws of Heredity, and their Application to Man," in *Proceed. Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club*, vol. x. part iii. p. 258. 1892.

while it is assumed that the injurious effect of the pressure is inherited. This would be transmission of an acquired character. Yet it was possible to reply that perhaps the deformity of the toe arose in the course of each individual life, and was thus always acquired anew—an explanation which would appear to receive support from the circumstance that the little toe of our new-born children lies quite straight. Buckman has now, however, observed in the case of his own children, that the toe becomes curved, even if the children wear no boots, but go barefoot; and this happens as early as six months after birth. He concludes from this, quite rightly, that curvature of the little toe is *inherited*, and he believes that he has thus furnished an illustration of the transmission of acquired characters: he entertains no doubt that the deformity of the toe is due to boot-pressure.

This assumption, however, is erroneous. We have a very exact anatomical and statistical study of the little toe by W. Pfitzner,\* from which it appears that *it is undergoing a slow process of degeneration, which cannot be ascribed to boot-pressure*: † it is on the point of changing from a three-jointed to a two-jointed toe. Among forty-seven feet examined at the Strassburg Anatomical Institute, thirteen cases of synostosis of the second and third phalanges of the little toe occurred; and Pfitzner was able to demonstrate the same fusion of the joint in children under seven years of age, and in certain cases even in embryos. His researches were not at all meant to solve the difficulty as to the transmission of acquired characters; he seems, indeed, not even to have known that any such difficulty existed, for he quite ingenuously examines whether the cumulative effects of heredity could have aggregated the very slight atrophy of the toe that might possibly be produced by boot-pressure in individual cases. He negatives this question on the ground that the Japanese and negroes, who go barefoot, exhibit similar fusion of the phalanges. ‡

At my request Professor Wiedersheim was kind enough to investigate the little toe of several Egyptian mummies; and it appeared that among these, too, the fusion of the phalanges could be demonstrated, and not only among adults, but also in the case of children.

So the matter is in much the same position as the degeneration of the tail of the dog and the cat, which likewise has given occasion for misrepresentation as dependent on the transmission of mutilations. Both organs are undergoing a very slowly increasing degeneration, the explanation of which in the case of the little toe offers even less difficulty than in that of the tail of the domestic dog; for physiology has long shown that the little toe, if of use at all, is of quite insignifi-

\* W. Pfitzner, "Die kleine Zehe": *Archiv f. Anatomie u. Physiologie*, 1890. P. 12.

† For the reasons why this explanation is inadmissible, see the original treatise. They chiefly turn on the nature of the change, which is such that it could not have been originated by pressure from the side.

‡ The same fact has recently been demonstrated by Martin in the case of certain Patagonians.

cant value in walking; that it is thus superfluous—at least in its full original development, as still seen among the higher apes. But superfluous parts are no longer controlled by natural selection, are not preserved at the height of their development, but slowly sink through Panmixia. The hereditary degeneration of the little toe is thus quite simply explained from my standpoint.

I will not, however, pause to refute other apparent proofs of the transmission of acquired characters; even were I to refute all that have hitherto been advanced, new ones would assuredly constantly be forthcoming; and so, arguing in this way, we should hardly come to a conclusion. Besides, I have ever contended that the acceptance of a principle of explanation is justified, if it can be shown that without it certain facts are inexplicable. I have therefore ever made it my task to show that the assumption of the transmission of acquired characters is not necessary for the explanation of known phenomena; and I have begun to render intelligible, apart from this belief, a large number of facts that have usually hitherto been only explained with its aid—*e.g.*, the degeneration of parts that have become superfluous, the development of instincts, and the existence of artistic talents in man. But I never for a moment doubted that all was not thus achieved, that there were other facts which apparently could not be explained without this assumption; and among these was that one which Herbert Spencer\* has now brought to the front again in his essay in this REVIEW, holding it to be a decisive reason for belief in the transmission of acquired characters—namely, *the harmonious variation of the different parts that co-operate to produce one physiological result* [co-adaptation].

It is not for the first time that the distinguished author of the "Principles of Biology" brings forward this difficulty in opposition to my views; seven years ago he published an essay† founded on essentially the same arguments; and I should willingly have replied at that time, had I not been hindered by the prosecution of other studies. Having for many years been troubled by my eyes, I cannot carry on two pieces of work at once.

The following is a summary of Herbert Spencer's argument: If a transmission of acquired characters does not occur, then all enduring variations must rest on natural selection; but again, most, if not all, useful variations of any one part must be connected with variations of other parts, if they are to be in any degree effective; and often these co-operative changes are so numerous that it is difficult to understand how all, at one time and independently, should possibly arise through spontaneous variations and natural selection. We cannot believe, on the other hand, that all vary together; that, for instance, the

\* Herbert Spencer, "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection": *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for February and March, 1893.

† "The Factors of Organic Evolution": *Kosmos*, 1886, p. 241.



enlargement of the antlers of the stag is always necessarily connected with a thickening of the skull and a strengthening of the neck ligament and the muscles of the neck and back; for we know numerous examples which prove that co-operating parts undergo quite distinct, even opposing, variations. How, if it were otherwise, could the great differences between the fore and hind feet of the kangaroo appear; or how could the powerful nippers of the common lobster arise on the pair of limbs that in the rock lobster bear simple little claws; and so on? One must then, Mr. Spencer thinks, believe that the co-operative parts vary independently of one another. But if this be assumed, then the process of change becomes not only protracted and complicated to an unlimited degree, but simply impossible; for how should all the co-operating parts offer at the same time suitable variations to be preserved by natural selection? Yet the enlargement of the antlers, for instance, requires a simultaneous strengthening of the ligament and the muscles that support the more heavily burdened head; even the processes of the dorsal vertebræ must vary in conformity with the increase; and so must the bones, muscles, ligaments, nerves, and vessels of all these parts, and of the whole anterior extremity. Can these hundreds of individual parts be supposed, independently of one another and simultaneously, to be modified in due proportion, and preserved by natural selection? But if they do not vary *simultaneously* then the variation of individual parts is of no avail; a strengthening of the muscles and ligaments of the neck, without an increase of the antlers avails nothing, and an increase of the antlers unaccompanied by a strengthening of the ligaments, muscles, &c., would be dangerous and highly disadvantageous.

There is thus no apparent alternative but to believe with Mr. Spencer that functional variations are transmitted, and that in this way all co-operative parts remain in harmony; *i.e.*, the variation of *one* part,—as, for instance, the antlers—is always accompanied by an exactly proportionate variation of the others, so far as is beneficial for the general efficiency of the parts. If this be so, belief in the transmission of acquired characters is unavoidable; and Herbert Spencer is so thoroughly convinced of the strength of his argument that he goes the length of saying: “Either there has been inheritance of acquired characters, or there has been no evolution.”

I am of a different opinion. Since I expressed the belief ten years ago, that functional variations (acquired characters) could not be transmitted, I have not ceased to test that view, and whenever I have been able to get a more thorough understanding of the facts, I have found it confirmed. But I freely grant that Mr. Spencer's objection is a tempting one; and I should not be surprised if many who read his essay, and are familiar with the enormous difficulties, which, according to his view, stand in the way of an explanation of the facts in question

through natural selection, should be carried away by the strength of his skilful representation, and hold the *safer* explanation of the facts—by the inheritance of acquired characters—to be the *correct* one.

I hope to show, however, that it *cannot* be the correct one, and that we must, here, as in the case of the degeneration of disused parts, set aside the apparently simple and almost matter-of-course explanation, and seek another.

What is simpler and more obvious than that organs which are not used degenerate, just because they are inactive? We know that activity invigorates muscles and many other parts, while inactivity renders them weak and thin; for a full explanation, then, we only need to assume that this deterioration is transmitted from generation to generation! Assuredly this idea is simple, but it is wrong. It is plainly contradicted by the fact that parts that are only *passively* functional, that is, such as are useful through their mere presence, as, for instance, the skin and skin-armature of crabs and insects, or the protective colouring of insects, degenerate likewise from the moment they become useless.

If it were possible to show that variations of a complicated structure, whose activities are dependent on many other "co-operating parts," have proceeded without the possibility of the transmission of acquired characters coming into play, then there would be evidence that this last bulwark of the Lamarckian principle is untenable. And there are such cases, as it seems to me.

It fortunately happens that there are animal forms which do not reproduce themselves, but are always propagated anew by parents which are unlike them. These animals, which thus cannot transmit anything, have nevertheless varied in the past, have suffered the loss of parts that were useless, and have increased and altered others; and the metamorphoses have at times been very important, demanding the variation of many parts of the body, inasmuch as many parts must adjust themselves so as to be in harmony with them.

I refer to the neuters of the state-forming insects, especially the ants and termites. Among the latter there are usually two kinds of these, soldiers and workers: among the ants, as a rule, there are only the so-called workers. Every one knows that these "neuters" do not commonly propagate; their organs of reproduction remain small, and in most of the forms that have been fully investigated can be said to be quite rudimentary. But though they do not propagate, or do so only exceptionally, they yet differ from their parents, the males and females, more or less markedly in other parts of the body besides the reproductive organs, and these differences have increased and multiplied in the course of time.

This fact did not escape Charles Darwin, though he did not bear it in mind in dealing with the question which occupies us now. In

the "Origin of Species" there is a lengthy discussion of the origin of the neuter ants; and the explanation there given must still be regarded as the only possible one—namely, that they arose through selection of the parents. Darwin's endeavour was to defend the doctrine of evolution and the theory of selection against all possible objections, and to set aside the obvious difficulties; and as such an "apparently insuperable difficulty" he discussed the existence of neuters in the insect states. He accounted for their origin by supposing that a selection of the fruitful females must have taken place, inasmuch as females which produced sterile offspring in addition to fruitful issue were of special value to the state; for the existence of members that were *workers* only was a gain to it and strengthened it, and assured it a superiority over other colonies that had no workers. So in course of time the states with workers conquered those with none, and in the end caused them to disappear. In the same way all the variations among the workers arose, to make them more fit to be of service to the state.

It may be difficult to think out such a slow and indirect selection; but we must nevertheless hold this explanation to be correct, as it is the only possible one, unless, indeed, an inner developmental force is assumed to originate the metamorphosis of organisms, as by Nügli and others. I long ago, however, produced ample evidence\* that such a "phyletic developmental force" is contradicted by innumerable facts. It would only be reconcilable with the very exact adaptation of all organisms to their conditions of life, by the assumption at the same time of a "pre-established harmony" between the life-conditions and the nature of the metamorphosis, so that every tiniest change in the former would be quite exactly limited as to time and place, and would correspond to a hair's breadth with the similarly limited variations in the organism. Leibnitz, as is well known, conceived body and soul to be related in this way, and compared them to two clocks so constructed as always to go exactly alike, though independent of one another.

Such a hypothesis would not suit the author of the "Principles of Biology"; and as he, moreover, recognises the efficiency of natural selection, he will require no other explanation of the occurrence of the neuters than the Darwinian, unless he would seek to contest the facts—to which I shall return. But, as soon as he has recognised this explanation to be the right one, he will have granted, at the same time, that not only degeneration of parts, but even the harmonious and efficacious metamorphosis of many co-operative parts can proceed without any concurrence of the transmission of acquired characters.

\* "Studien zur Descendenztheorie," Leipzig, 1876, pp. 295 and 322: Eng. trans., "Studies in the Theory of Descent," part iii., London, 1882, pp. 664 and 706.

I proceed now to the proof. The ants are animals whose life and doings, as well as their organism, have been most minutely investigated. A long list of excellent observers have thought them worthy of prolonged research; and many of these, as, for instance, P. Huber, A. Forel, and the Jesuit Father Wasmann, have devoted their lives, giving all their time and all their energy, to them. We have, then, such a large store of admirable information concerning the ants that our theoretical conclusions regarding them can be founded on a firm foundation; and for this reason I leave the termites, as to which our information is much less certain and exact, altogether out of account.

That the *ant-workers* have arisen through phyletic metamorphosis of fruitful females may well be taken for granted, without explicit proof. What other origin could they have had? And this is the view taken by all recent investigators, from Forel to Wasmann. To this day there are some species (e.g., *Leptothorax acervorum*) in which the workers closely resemble the females, and in the same species, forms intermediate between the females and workers have frequently been found. Wasmann\* established no fewer than six different categories of such transition forms. As to the *nature of the modifications* which distinguish the workers and females, they are partly *retrogressive*, partly *progressive* or dependent on a fuller development of certain parts.

*Retrogression* in the ovaries and receptaculum seminis is found among the workers of all the species of ant that have been examined. We are indebted to the researches of a Swedish naturalist, Adlerz, for exact information on this subject; and from his work it appears that the receptaculum has completely disappeared in all the species studied by him, and that the ovaries have degenerated in various degrees: in one species twelve egg-tubes persist in each ovary, in another only one to five, in a third only three, in others only one or two; in *Tapinoma* and almost all the *Myrmicida* there is only one, while in *Tetramorium* there are none at all.

Retrogression is also found in the *eyes of the workers* of many species. The three ocelli are often wanting altogether; and the number of facets in the compound eyes, and, as a consequence, the quality of the eyes, is more or less reduced, compared with that of the males and females of the same species. Forel has given us the results of many exact observations on these relations; for instance: the male of *Formica pratensis* has about 1200 facets in each eye, the female of the same species has only 830, but the worker has only some 600; again, the male of the common turf-ant, *Solenopsis fugax*, has more than 400 facets, the female about 200, while the worker has only 6-9.

\* E. Wasmann, "Ueber die verschiedenen Zwischenformen von Weibchen und Arbeitern bei Ameisen"; *Stettiner Entomolog. Zeitung*, 1890, p. 300.

That the males should have the most highly developed eyes cannot surprise us, as we know that this is very often the case among insects; there are even species of Ephemerids (*Potamanthus*) in which the male, in addition to the common compound eyes, has others quite distinct, large and turban-shaped, on the top of its head, so that it has a very peculiar appearance. The truth is, it is the males that seek out the females, and therefore their better sight is of advantage to them during the nuptial flight high up in the air. The females, too, use their eyes during the flight; and it is only the workers, which always live and labour on the ground, and largely, even, in dark places, that are restricted to a limited use of their organs of vision.

But perhaps some will doubt whether there is here an actual degeneration in the workers and not simply a higher development of the compound eyes of the males and females. I hold it to be quite possible that in certain cases the compound eyes of the males and females have increased since the institution of a worker type; but that reduction has, at the same time, taken place in the workers' eyes is proved not only by the disappearance of the ocelli in many species, but by cases like that of *Solenopsis fugax*; for the females of no living species in which a nuptial flight occurs have eyes composed of so few as only 6-9 facets, and accordingly the ancestors of the ants must have had large compound eyes, like all predatory hymenoptera that have not become state-formers.

Again there has been retrogression in the wings of the workers, and so complete that there is no appearance of them in the perfect insect. But in this case, too, it can be proved that the ancestral forms possessed wings; for Dewitz has demonstrated the imaginal discs of the wings in the larva, though they develop no further in the pupa.

Besides the wings, the two segments of the thorax on which the wings are situated, as well as the muscles of the thorax which move the wings, have degenerated in the workers. The latter point has been directly established by Adlerz in the case of *Camponotus* and *Formica*, but could also be inferred from the marked reduction of the two posterior thoracic segments. These segments are, at the same time, much more simply constructed than in the males and females; the ridges which bound the small shield-shaped areas of the mesothorax, the so-called scutellum and pro-scutellum, are wanting altogether, and so is the post-scutellum, while the two little side-pieces, which lie under the usual position of insertion of the posterior wings, are fused. The changes in the thorax are thus just such as would necessarily arise through transmission of the deteriorating effects of disuse, if there were any such inheritance. *But the workers are sterile, and can transmit nothing at all.*

\* Likewise rudimentary among the workers are all the instincts which are concerned with reproduction.

I have elsewhere attempted to show that all these degenerations in the sterile members of the state-forming insects can only be explained by Panmixia, as where there are no heirs there can be no transmission of the effects of disuse. Moreover, a degeneration of the wings cannot be accounted for by transmission of the consequences of disuse, even if the workers had progeny; for the wings of insects are passive organs, whose perfection in no way depends on their being employed; they are complete before they are used, and are rather injured by wear than strengthened by use. I long ago\* pointed out other similar cases (skin-armature of hermit-crabs, &c.), and can only explain Mr. Spencer's ignoring such cogent instances by supposing that, as a philosopher, he is unacquainted with the facts by personal observation, and that therefore they appear less weighty to him than to a naturalist; for I would not for a moment suppose that he purposely evades the difficulties which face his opinion, as is the manner of popular orators and advocates—and alas! even of some scientists.

It is the ants, too, that suggest another interesting case, which proves that degeneration of an organ does not depend on the transmission of functional atrophy, but that there may be degeneration of an organ even when it continues to function. The reduction in the number of facets in the eyes of the workers would not be referable to the transmission of functional atrophy, even if the workers reproduced themselves, for their eyes are not much less exposed to the light than in earlier days when they were fertile females. We have not to do with animals that live in absolute darkness, but alternately in the light and in the dark, just like the females, which are similarly situated except as regards the nuptial flight. The eyes of the workers are thus in fact not out of use; they are exposed to the light nearly as much as those of the females, and can therefore certainly not fail through lack of function. But they degenerate *because, and in so far as, they are superfluous for the full performance of the tasks of a worker*; so, in this way again, we are led to Panmixia.

The second group of variations which have appeared among the workers are progressive developments of certain parts; and, above all, the great increase in the brain has to be named. This is connected with the higher intelligence and manifold instincts of the workers, whose functions, as is well known, are of varied nature and partly of a kind that could only exist through the formation of states and the existence of a working-class. But even externally the workers are not infrequently distinguished by peculiarities which are closely connected with their activity, and so cannot have been transmitted from the sexual forms, and in course of time lost by these. Among these characteristics are, for instance, the long thorns which the workers of some species (*e.g.*, *Atta*) have on the head and back.

In *Atta*, too, the workers are distinguished from the females by yet

\* "Aufsatze uber Vererbung," u. s. w., p. 571, English trans., vol. II p. 20.

more evident marks. In certain species two forms of workers occur, one of which, because they undertake the defence of the colony, are usually called "soldiers," and these are often very different from the other workers, and still more from the females. Thus, in *Pheidole megacephala* the head of the soldiers is much larger, and is equipped with far more powerful jaws, and the size of the head allows the muscles which move the jaws to be of quite unusual dimensions, as Lubbock, who has studied the life of this South-European species,\* points out.

In the Mid-European species, *Colobopsis truncata*, Emery has also discovered two worker-forms, and the "soldiers" in this case are so distinct from the common workers that they had previously been held to be a different species (*C. fuscipes*) when they were found in the nest of *Colobopsis truncata*. Here again the soldiers have a large and thick head, which they make use of in a very peculiar way. It is so large that it just fills up one of the many little approaches to the nest, and so the soldiers keep guard, each of them holding possession of a doorway.

It can hardly be gainsaid that we have here variations in which, in lesser degree, processes must be involved similar to those Herbert Spencer has justly assumed in the case where the head of a stag (e.g., the Irish elk) is loaded with ever larger and heavier antlers; that is to say, many parts must have varied simultaneously and in harmony with one another. If the jaws became stronger and larger, they could only continue to be useful provided the muscles that move them became stronger, and if the chitinous capsule of the head, to which they are attached, became thicker. The head must thus have become larger, and the cuticle thicker at the same time; likewise the nerves which supply the masticatory muscles must have become richer in fibres, so as to be able to supply all of the much more numerous muscle-fibres; and in a corresponding degree the appropriate motor-centres in the brain must have undergone an increase of their elements, and so on. Yet with all this we are not done; for as in the stag the heavier horns required a strengthening of the ligaments, bones, and muscles of at least the neck and anterior extremities, so the larger and heavier head of the ants that have been metamorphosed into soldiers could no longer have been supported and moved by the thorax and limbs, if there had not been an increase in the firmness of the skeleton and in the joint-membranes, muscles, and nerves of these parts.

None of these changes can rest on the transmission of functional variations, as the workers do not at all, or only exceptionally, reproduce; they can thus only have arisen by a selection of the parent ants dependent on the fact that those parents which produced

\* Sir John Lubbock, "Ants, Bees and Wasps."

the best workers had always the best prospect of the persistence of their colony. No other explanation is conceivable; and it is just because no other explanation is conceivable, that it is necessary for us to accept the principle of natural selection. It alone can explain the adaptations of organisms without assuming the help of a principle of design. Mr. Spencer complains bitterly that in my essays the words, "it is easy to imagine" are frequently used; and thinks many of my arguments are based on things "easy to imagine." Perhaps the expression is blameworthy, in so far as it permits conclusions to be drawn from inadequate evidence; but I am glad to be able to say that I have really not used it, at least not in the way complained of by Mr. Spencer. My opponent has overlooked the fact that the English edition of my Essays is not the original, but a translation. The expression "it is easy to imagine" is not mine at all, but is a somewhat too free translation of various phrases in the original German. The passage specially referred to by Mr. Spencer reads thus in the German edition (p. 92): "so könnte man immerhin daran denken dass . . . ;" which is not at all so matter-of-course as "it is easy to imagine" implies; and a translation faithful to the meaning, if not very elegant English, would read somewhat as follows: "one could perhaps even think to explain this by assuming . . . ." In another passage ("Aufsatz," VIII. p. 525) the "it is easy to imagine" rests on the words: "es ist also an und für sich durchaus nicht unzulässig"; in a third ("Aufsatz," IV. p. 235) there is: "allein es wäre ja ganz wohl denkbar"; and out of the eight places in which the expression occurs\* in the English edition, there are only two in which it stands likewise in the German, and my severe critic will assuredly have nothing to say against its use in these. On page 156 of the first English edition, these words occur: "In all these cases it is easy to imagine the operation of natural selection in producing such alterations in the duration of life . . . ."; and on page 430: "we can easily imagine how it happened, when we learn that tailless cats are especially prized in Japan. . . . ." I think a naturalist may well endeavour to conceive in concrete form facts which he has inferred; there is even a certain degree of confirmation of what has been merely inferred, when it is possible to form a conception of it that goes into details. The truth of the inference does not, indeed, depend on our being able to do this, but follows from the convincing strength of the deduction,—naturalist and philosopher are at one as to this, *in theory*, at least.

It seems to me, though, that *in practice* my opponent is almost

\* One of my friends has taken the trouble to look through the English edition of my Essays for the expression "it is easy to imagine." He did not find it in Essays I., V., VI., VII., IX., X., XI., and XII.; it occurs twice in II., once in III.; in IV. the word "imagine" appears three times in a somewhat different connection; and "easy to imagine" is also twice in VIII.



more disposed than I to justify assumptions by the ease with which they can be imagined. He sets aside the possibility of explaining complicated harmonious metamorphoses of the body (co-adaptations) by natural selection, because such varied and involved contemporaneous processes of selection cannot be imagined; but, on the other hand, he assumes the extraordinary height of the giraffe's body to be due to natural selection, because here the process appears easy to imagine. The truth is, he is compelled to this assumption in the second case, because the Lamarckian principle of the transmission of functional variations fails him; for as he says, a lengthening of the leg and neck through stretching up for high twigs cannot be suggested. \*

I must say that, in respect of warrant to assume the process of natural selection, it does not seem to matter much whether we can easily, or with difficulty, or only with great difficulty, imagine it; and for this reason, that I do not believe that we are in any case able to conceive in detail the actual morphological metamorphoses concerned. I, too, refer the length of the neck and forelimbs of the giraffe to processes of selection; but I contend that we can only conceive these quite generally and very indefinitely. There are no data for a fuller conception; we know neither how great must be the changes which are able to decide for life or extinction; nor do we know how often variations occur to be accumulated by selection; nor even how often, at what intervals of time, they result in selection. We know, indeed, nothing at all but the chief foundation of the process; and therefore any one who does not comprehend the logical necessity of the theory, or will not recognise it, can easily set aside the individual instances as untenable. Herbert Spencer seems not to know that Nägeli \* in a book that attracted much attention among scientists ten years ago, analysed this very case of the giraffe, and attempted to show that processes of selection could by no means explain the height of the giraffe.

My opponent thinks further that the extraordinary delicacy of the tip of the tongue cannot be explained by processes of selection, and that I would certainly not contend that any person ever succumbed in the struggle for existence because he had a less sensitive tongue-tip than others. Such a result, apparently, seems to Mr. Spencer difficult to imagine. And it is so, because we see only very imperfectly into the life-struggle of animals, and still more because we so readily forget that in such highly developed organs as the tongue of man we have to do with the final result of an endless perfecting process, which has been going on through thousands and thousands of species, a process which, again, we are quite incapable of representing to

\* "Mechanisch-physiologische Theorie der Abstammungslehre." München u. Leipzig, 1884.

ourselves at all adequately. Our imagination does not grasp such immense successions of time and such long-protracted lines of development; we speak of them without rightly knowing what we say, pretty much as when we talk of billions or trillions; we must reduce the immense multitude to a unity to be able to work with it, for the multiplicity exceeds our experience too far; and that is easily forgotten. Moreover, in many animals, and, indeed, in those that are most nearly related to man, the apes—as Romanes\* has already very rightly pointed out in reply to Spencer—the tongue is an organ of touch, and has not only to function in the mouth, moving the food during chewing, but serves at the same time as a hand, and is used for the examination of external substances. Why then should there not be a decided advantage in the struggle for existence to those individuals in which it is more delicately constructed than in the others of the same species. The life of animals necessarily depends on the acuteness of their sense-organs.

But, truly, in this case there is refuge for the followers of Lamarck in the transmission of acquired characters, provided it can be assumed that the touch papillæ of the tip of the tongue have ever increased in number through much use. There are examples enough, however, in which it is possible to exclude this hypothetical factor, and I should like to adduce one of these, which has long seemed to me to be a good proof of how little depends, in the assumption of processes of selection, on whether we can readily or with difficulty conceive them.

Very many insects, and particularly the bees and wasps, have on the lower end of the tibia of the anterior leg a slightly movable spur-shaped process, and opposite this, on the metatarsus, there is a small, nearly crescent-shaped notch, which is beset with a comb of minute teeth; and this "strigil" serves for the cleansing of the antennæ, the part that is to be cleansed being drawn between the spur and the strigil, as if between the two blades of a pair of scissors. F. Dahl,† in particular, has investigated and figured this interesting and very delicate arrangement, as it is found in many insects; and Canestrini and Berlese‡ had written on it somewhat earlier.

The strigil, then, forms an abrupt and very striking interruption of the surface of the leg, and in one of the small bees, *Nomada*, has quite the appearance as if some one had struck out with a punch a crescent-shaped piece from the limb, so sudden and regular is the notch. It looks as if the insect, through ever and again drawing its antenna between spur and tarsus, had gradually produced this crescentic notch. But that would be to assume transmission of

\* Herbert Spencer on "Natural Selection" in CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, No. 823, April 1893, p. 409.

† F. Dahl, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Baues u. der Functionen der Insectenbeine." Berlin, 1834.

‡ Canestrini and Berlese, "La streggia degli Imonotheri" Padua, 1880.

acquired characters, which in this case is excluded by the fact that the function of the cuticular skeleton is purely passive. Insects have their legs fully formed when they leave the pupa, and, as they do not later undergo exuviation, there can be no suggestion of a functional variation of the chitinous skeleton, which is no longer a living part of the insect, but a derivative from the underlying layers of living cells. Even if the cleansing of the antennæ acts like a file, only dead substance will be removed, much as when we file down the finger-nails; and assuredly even the most stiff-necked believer in the transmission of acquired characters would hesitate to maintain that such a defect could be transmitted.

As this explanation is not possible, then, there remains only that of natural selection. It is again "easy to imagine" that it must be of advantage for the insect to be able to free such important sense-organs as the antennæ from dust and dirt; but, as soon as the attempt is made to think out the process in detail, we recognise that here, too, we know nothing thoroughly, and that it would be uncommonly easy for any one who wished to assign the processes of natural selection altogether to the realm of phantasy to emphasise this view; for *it is really very difficult to imagine this process of natural selection in its details*; and to this day it is impossible to demonstrate it in any one point. As a sudden origin of the strigil is excluded, we should have to assume that the notch began, in some members of the species, by the appearance of a small depression of the strongly convex surface of the metatarsus at the site of the future strigil, and that, in the struggle for existence, these individuals had thereby an advantage over others. How easy, however, would it be for an opponent to doubt this superiority. He might, perhaps, be ready to believe that an insect which has no means of cleansing its antennæ would be at a disadvantage compared with another which has such means, but he would say that it was absurd to believe that so trifling an improvement in the cleansing apparatus as is represented by a slight depression of the tarsus could be decisive as to which should succumb and which survive.

Dozens of similar objections have been raised against the occurrence of natural selection, and not by ignorant and superficial thinkers only, but by very learned and thoughtful men of science: I need only instance Nägeli once more. We cannot compel such an antagonist to take our view, at least not as regards any single instance, for we cannot prove that which he doubts: we are unable to show by direct evidence that such a small advantage can turn the balance in favour of life or death; and much less that it must do so in many cases, and in generation after generation, till finally the variety with a shallow depression is the dominant one. All that we can do is to show the utility of the perfected arrangement, by removing, as Forel did, the

anterior tibia with the strigil from such an insect and establishing that very soon the antennæ become dirty, and the insect is no longer able to clean itself.

But though the process of natural selection, which we must insist on, began with the formation of a slight depression opposite the spur, it was very far from ending with that. How does it come about, our opponent will say, that the gradual deepening of the depression proceeds so regularly that at last a quite deep, crescent-shaped hole has arisen? Is it possible that only such variations were advantageous and decisive between life and death as exhibited perfectly regular progress from the initial depression to the final, well-cut semi-globular hollow? And how can it be believed that, somewhat less regular deepening, which must have occurred along with the regular ones, always, again and again, brought about the death of the insects in which they appeared? Lastly, the depression of the strigil is also beset with microscopic teeth: did every one of these, if they arose by chance variations, give the verdict between life and death, before becoming a fixed possession of the species?

To the first objection we could perhaps answer that the processes of natural selection are very protracted; and therefore the notch, which was perhaps irregular at first, may have become ever more regular in the course of untold generations, always because the strigil served its purpose so much better the more perfectly it fitted the form of the antenna that had to be cleansed. We might remark that the strigil of different living species is developed in very different degrees, and that, from its common occurrence among the insects, we may infer that it has been undergoing continual, slow improvement since the earliest days of insect life on the earth. But this, too, may make no impression on my adversary, who calmly continues to assert that such a tiny improvement could not give the decision for life or death. And the same is repeated in connection with the last objection, when, perhaps, the answer has been given that the teeth which clothe the strigil have arisen, not individually, but all at once, at first as a slight roughness of the chitinous surface, then as ever more prominently projecting and more regularly formed points.

Just as in this instance, so is it in every individual case of natural selection. We cannot demonstrate any of them, and there is no use attempting to make them seem unanswerable by having recourse to the co-adaptation which Mr. Spenser brings forward. Moreover, I believe there are hardly any metamorphoses which do not involve the harmonious variation of several parts, in the production of a useful structure. It is so in the case of the strigil, for the spur of the tibia which is opposite the excavation in the metatarsus forms the other limb of the scissors through which the antennæ are drawn during the cleaning process; and it, too, by its free movement and by

its peculiar situations, is exactly suited to its function. So selection must have affected it, also; for here again, *variation because of function is excluded*, as the spur is only *passive* in its function. It is true the results of artificial selection are in favour of the occurrence of natural selection, but as Herbert Spencer justly observes, the two processes, though they may be analogous, are certainly not identical. The struggle for existence plays the part of breeder in the case of natural selection; and how this factor works we are unable to determine in any single case. Who would say of any little variation in the form of any existing species that it is sufficient to give its possessor the victory in the struggle for existence, and so may become the starting-point of an advantageous metamorphosis of the part? Even in the simplest of cases that is impossible; no one, for instance, could decide how much the colour of a green insect must vary, so as to originate a process of selection dependent, perhaps, on adaptation to a new and somewhat differently coloured fodder-plant. We cannot estimate what Romanes has recently very well called the "selection-value" \* of variations, which Lloyd Morgan had previously spoken of as the "elimination value"; we can only say generally with Darwin that selection works by the accumulation of very slight variations, and conclude from this that these "*slight variations*" must possess selection-value. To determine accurately the degree of this selection-value in individual cases, is, however, as yet impossible.

So when any one asks with Herbert Spencer: Do you believe that a little *plus* of perceptiveness in the tip of the tongue has ever been decisive as to who shall perish and who survive? one may reply in the affirmative, and another in the negative, with equal right; for one finds it easy, the other difficult, to imagine; and neither of these judgments is convincing.

The question might also be put: Do you believe that when the eggs of a bird whose surroundings are grey acquire a faint grey tint the victory is thereby secured over the original white? To that many nowadays would assuredly answer Yes; but some would as certainly say No; and in my opinion both would be wrong, for how should we know the selection-value of these variations?

But let us go on to ask: Do you believe that a variety of robber-fly with *one* facet more in the compound eye than the other members of the species have, will from that derive so great advantage that it will leave behind it more descendants than the others; or must there

\*. In physiological variations it is somewhat different, though even here numerical values cannot be given. If, for instance, some plants of a southern species withstand the frosts of winter, while most succumb to them, we have an indication of selection-value; but we know nothing of the structural changes, except their effects and their utility for the northward-pressing colony of the species. That the species is, because of these changes, able to spread northwards is not implied, but depends on many other factors.

be *two* facets more; or would selection-value only be attained by a difference of *ten*? Who is able to say that he can affirm anything on the subject? And yet, apart from natural selection we have no explanation of the wonderfully exact adaptation of the compound eyes of all insects to their life-conditions.

Thus we could ask questions for ever without getting a definite answer. But let me put one more, which will lead us back to our consideration of the ants: Do you believe that the fine bristles on the broad metatarsus of the honey-bee have arisen because slight variations of the female bees, leading up to this result, have been of so great value as to secure the survival of the hive over others? The answer of many will be that this is not only *difficult* to imagine, but that it is quite incredible, seeing that the workers have themselves no advantage from the change, and do not live longer or better on account of it; and that it only enables them to carry a little more pollen at a time to the hive, and to feed the bee larvæ a little more abundantly or quickly, which could not possibly be decisive for the extinction or survival of this family of bees in competition with other families. If one realises that the workers are sterile, and that, accordingly, not they themselves, but their parents, the sexual bees, must have been the subjects of selection dependent on whether they brought forth better or worse workers, then it becomes quite unthinkable that such tiny variations as the slight broadening of the metatarsus, or a denser coating of bristles on it, could ever have given the verdict for or against the continuance of the parent-bees.

I am, of course, not of this opinion, but believe that here, as in the case of the ants, every little improvement in the workers proceeds from the variation of a determinant of the germ-plasm that was contained in the germ-cells of the parents. For fuller explanation I would venture to trust to the theory set forth in my recently published book.\* According to it the dimorphism or polymorphism of a species is represented in the germ-plasm by the doubling or multiplying of certain determinants, while it depends on certain conditions, which are for the most part unknown to us, which of the representative determinants or groups of determinants become active, and which remain passive. By "determinants" I mean units of the germ-plasm that are the primary constituents of definite cells or groups of cells of the body. When, now, corresponding parts appear in two forms in any species; when, for instance, the scales of a certain part of the wing of a species of butterfly are brown in the female, but blue in the male, this is provided for in the germ-plasm, according to my view, by the determinants of the wing-scales occurring doubled, one set representing the primary constituents of brown scales, the other of blue. Both cannot become active in the same individual—*i. e.*, cannot

\* "The Germ-Plasm: A Theory of Heredity." London: 1893.

lead to the formation of scales, but while one set remains inactive the other is destined for activity.

So when, instead of dimorphism, there is polymorphism, when, for instance, the females of a species are similarly distinguished among themselves, and occur in two forms, this results, according to my idea, from the double determinants becoming triple determinants. If there were workers among the butterflies, and if these showed red colour on the part of the wing that is blue in the male and brown in the female, there would always be three representative determinants present at a definite part of the extremely elaborate and highly complicated germ-plasm; but only one of these would become active during the development of the egg or sperm-cell concerned, and would produce the patch of brown or blue or red scales on the wing.

According to this theoretical representation, every part of the body of the bee or ant that is differently formed in the males, females, and workers is represented in the germ-plasm by three corresponding determinants, but on the development of an egg, never more than one of these attains to value—*i.e.*, gives rise to the part of the body that is represented—and the others remain inactive.

Thus, then, the metamorphosis of the body-parts of the workers of ants and bees will have to be considered in connection with the fact that the males and females whose germ-plasm contains favourable variations of the determinants of the workers have a better prospect for the maintenance of their successors than others which show less favourable variations of such determinants. The process of selection is the same as if the matter at issue were the attainment of favourable adaptations in the body of the sexual forms; for in both cases it is, as I once before said, not really the body that is selected, but the germ-plasm from which the body develops. The difference is this: in the one case the survival in the struggle for existence depends on characters and variations of the body of the individual; in the other, only on the character of a certain kind of descendant—the worker. If the ant-state were composed of individuals connected together like a colony of polypes or *Siphonophora*, a process of selection by which only the workers were changed would be within easier reach of our imagination, as these would then, in a manner, be only *organs*, just like the snaring-threads, the swimming-bells, and the gastric tubes of the *Siphonophora*. As these do not reproduce, and accordingly can only vary by selection of the egg or germ-plasm from which the whole colony is formed, so in the case of the ant-colony, or rather state, the barren individuals or organs are metamorphosed only by selection of the germ-plasm from which the whole state proceeds. In respect of selection the whole state behaves as a single animal; the state is selected, not the single individuals; and the

various forms behave exactly like the parts of one individual in the course of ordinary selection.

From this point of view a circumstance that must otherwise appear unmeaning becomes intelligible, namely, *the limitation of the fertile females of a hive to a single one*, as is the case among the honey-bees. Were many females of a hive engaged at one time in the production of eggs, the natural selection that depends on the quality of the brood of workers brought forth would be far more difficult and much slower, inasmuch as the prosperity of the hive would depend on many differently constituted workers, and so, in some measure, only the resultant of the produce of all these females would be selected: a queen would by no means be doomed to extinction because she produced a bad race of workers, for her hive would at the same time be provided with a brood of workers by other queens, and if the majority of these produced better workers, the hive would perhaps hold their own against others in the struggle for existence for a long time, till at last the worsen worker-brood distinctly preponderated in the hive. Obviously the workers must be more rapidly improved when all in a hive are the progeny of one queen—*i.e.*, if they are all alike or almost alike. The hive would survive in the struggle for existence if this one queen produced better workers, if, consequently, the brood was more quickly and better cared for, if more provision were made for the winter, and so a lower mortality prevailed in the hive. I could almost suppose that the remarkable reduction of the fertile females to a few (termites) or only one (bees) has taken place because the gradual improvement of the sexless by natural selection can thus to some extent proceed more easily and more rapidly; or rather, the hives with few queens had an advantage, because they could improve themselves relatively more quickly. It seems to me that the selection of workers is "*easier to imagine*" in these circumstances, though truly only in principle and not in detail. As soon as an attempt is made to think out in detail the process of selection by which, perhaps, the little bristles or the small baskets of the worker-bees have arisen, it is seen that all and every one of the data are wanting. Moreover, in my opinion we cannot hope that we shall ever possess them, either in these cases or in any yet simpler process of natural selection. Not only would it be necessary to form an estimate of the smallest variations, so as to know whether and how often among 1000, 100,000, or millions of individuals there is a variation which gives verdict over life and death: but much more that we can never determine is required; for instance, the number of individuals of a species living at one time, the degree of their mingling with one another in their own domain, and the percentage occurrence of the variation in question. All which, I am convinced, cannot be ascertained; and so we shall never be able to establish by observation the progress of natural selection.



What is it then that nevertheless makes us believe in this progress as actual, and leads us to ascribe such extraordinary importance to it? Nothing but the power of logic; we must assume natural selection to be the principle of explanation of the metamorphoses, because all other apparent principles of explanation fail us, and it is inconceivable that there could be yet another capable of explaining the adaptations of organisms, *without assuming the help of a principle of design*. In other words, *it is the only conceivable natural explanation of organisms regarded as adaptations to conditions*.

Certainly one could not know *a priori* whether other factors did not take an important part in bringing about the metamorphosis of species, and till twenty-five years ago, I myself entertained the opinion that besides primary variations and their accumulation and arrangement by natural selection, the inherited results of use and disuse played a not unimportant part. It looks quite as if it were so, as Mr. Spencer very plainly shows by his illustrations of the harmonious metamorphosis of many and diverse co-operating parts proceeding parallel with use. But does it not seem to be true that unused parts degenerate directly because of disuse? And that is not so, as I think I formerly proved, and have now confirmed with facts. If the eyes of the workers of many species of ant degenerate, although the animals do not propagate, and though their eyes are hardly less exposed to the light than those of the sexual forms by which they are produced, the change *cannot possibly* depend on transmission of the effects of disuse. And if harmonious metamorphosis of the head and all its co-operating parts and those of the thorax has occurred among some of the sterile ant-workers, this must also have taken place without any co-operation of the hypothetical transmission of functional variations. Against this conclusion there is no resource: once the facts are established, there is no escape left.

Are then the facts disputable? That is the question that remains to be considered.

The supporters of the Lamarckian principle can urge that the sterility of the ant-workers is not absolute; that it has been proved that now and then they produce eggs, from which, though of course they remain unfertilised, males proceed; and that this is sufficient for the transmission of the characters of the mother-worker. The reply to which might be the following: It is true that in many species the workers occasionally produce eggs (Forel, Lubbock, Wasmann). This is especially the case when they are in confinement and under artificial conditions, particularly when the temperature is high; but it occurs, so far as we know, only exceptionally. But even if a small percentage of the males were to arise from such eggs, there could never be an equal distribution of the characters of the workers through the entire colony as a result; for the few males that are

produced by the workers have to contend with the far greater number of males produced by queens. If it were the case that all the males of the colony proceeded from the eggs of workers, and if the queens had only female offspring, the objection would indeed be justified; and then the ants could no longer serve as an illustration of the occurrence of metamorphosis of species in circumstances that precluded the possibility of the transmission of functional variations; but so far as our knowledge goes, the case is otherwise. I know, it is true, of no observation that directly demonstrates that the queens produce both males and females, as has long been established for the bees; but the opposite view—that the queens produce no males—is much further from being proved. If we recollect that even the bee-workers in certain circumstances produce eggs, from which, as among the ants, only males arise; and further reflect that the ovary has degenerated in very different degrees in the various species of ant, in *Solenopsis fugax*, for instance, all the egg-tubes having disappeared, so that *sterility is complete*; we shall be compelled to hold it to be extremely improbable that in any of the species the duty of producing males has devolved on the workers exclusively. Rather we shall have to take the view that in the course of the phylogenetic development of the workers, first there was diminution in fruitfulness, accompanied by disappearance of the *receptaculum seminis*—which implies that only unfertilised eggs could be produced; then this limited reproduction became rarer and rarer, while the number of egg-tubes continually declined; and at last in *Solenopsis fugax*, with the disappearance of the last egg-tube the fall-off in productiveness was complete. This agrees with the opinions of our best specialists; and Forel, in his great work on the ants of Switzerland, affirmed that *infertility was one of the essential characteristics of workers*, and that it was only because of this infertility that they had become more capable of performing the many tasks that now fall to their lot than the fertile females, which are burdened with many eggs.

If any hope is left to the Lamarckians that this mighty mass of evidence supplied by the ants can be got rid of, this is the point on which that hope must depend; and so I would meet in anticipation yet another attack. Forel has frequently observed that *old* ant-colonies contained only males; and the attempt might be made to infer from this that there had been only workers in the colony, and that these had produced the males. But the fact is capable of a much more natural explanation, if one remembers that the same is true of the bees: there are hives in which neither young workers nor queens are found, but only males (drones); and we know that these males are the offspring of a so-called “drone-breeding” queen—*i.e.*, of an old queen whose supply of sperms has been exhausted, and which accordingly is no longer able to fertilise the eggs which she lays. In

the case of the ants exactly the same will occur; and we know from Lubbock's observations that queen ants may live to be fifteen years of age, which gives time enough to exhaust the sperms in their receptacle.

It might, perhaps, be said that the workers had only lost their fertility late in the course of phylogeny, and after they had undergone the other metamorphoses. But this assumption is untenable, as both the bodily structure and the activities of the workers are closely connected with their unproductiveness. Forel holds strongly that the production of sterile individuals was the first stage in the development of the workers. According to his view, the working power of a state was first increased by the decline of fertility in a large number of the females, while, as a consequence, there was a constant improvement in strength, intelligence, and activity, and a gradual disappearance of parts that had become useless: of wings, because there was no longer a nuptial flight; and of ocelli and a part of the compound eye for the same reason.

It would be possible, moreover, to doubt the sufficiency of this argument, and yet believe sterility to have appeared after the other characters. In this case, at least *one* question would remain for the Lamarckians to answer: *how did the production of sterile forms come to be established as a hereditary arrangement?* Certainly not by transmission of functional variations; for this variation, sterility essentially excludes inheritance.

Moreover, there is another way to show that after the appearance of sterile workers new variations were still possible, and even such as involved the simultaneous change of many parts in harmony with one another. This is implied in the occurrence of certain *species with two kinds of workers*, one of which must have sprung from the other by gradual metamorphosis. I have spoken above of the soldiers of *Pheidole megacephala* and *Colobopsis truncatu*, whose immense heads and jaws could only have arisen from the corresponding parts of the other workers by harmonious metamorphosis of many distinct parts.

But some will doubt whether the soldiers really have sprung from the other workers by gradual metamorphosis, and will perhaps say that they might as well have been directly derived from fertile females, and only have lost their fertility when the other changes were completed. Against this idea, however, we have the fact that many stages in the development of double worker-forms exist at the present day, and so enable us to infer the history of their origin. Some species exhibit slight differences in the size of the workers; in others the differences are markedly greater though the larger workers are still connected with the smaller by many of intermediate size; then there are species in which these connecting-links are wanting; and these lead to others in which, accompanying the increase in size, there are

other changes : in form and in instincts. The soldiers have thus not arisen independently of and simultaneously with the other workers, but have been formed in accordance with the principle of division of labour by further differentiation of already existing workers, that is to say, at a time when the present sharp distinctions between females and workers had long been established, and the regular reproduction of the latter had long ceased.

If any one still doubts that all the various metamorphoses of females to workers have come about independently of direct transmission, and so not according to the Lamarckian principle, I would refer him to a study of certain instincts of the ants, and their consequences as regards the organisation of the workers. By the custom, or rather instinct, to make and keep slaves most remarkable changes have appeared in the slave-holders ; and these can only be explained by natural selection as the slave-making impulse must have arisen long after the formation of workers. Most species of ants make no slaves ; but some species occasionally do, and at other times do not, as, for instance, the much discussed *Formica sanguinea*, which has been very carefully observed in many lands. In this species the workers often go forth to hunt ; they break in upon a colony of another species (e.g., *F. pratensis*), and carry off the pupæ to their own nest. This instinct, however, is not yet a firm possession of the species, for there are colonies in which no slaves are found ; so it may be assumed that slavery has been introduced in relatively recent times, and in accord with that view is the fact that in *Formica sanguinea* there have been no changes in structure and habit like those that appear in *Polyergus rufescens*, all the colonies of which contain slaves, and among which, accordingly, the slaving instinct has become a fixed specific character. Between these two phylogenetic stages—that of *Formica sanguinea* and that of *Polyergus rufescens*—lies the origin of the remarkable changes to which I have referred as resulting from the slaving-instinct in *Polyergus*, namely, the metamorphosis of the jaws from useful tools to deadly weapons and very admirable transport apparatus, and the degeneration of the ordinary instincts of the workers. All these must indisputably have come about without any co-operation of transmission of functional variations.

The jaws of *Polyergus rufescens* have lost the so-called chewing-edge. Ants do not really chew in the literal sense, but they lick ; frequently, indeed, they use their jaws to tear their food to pieces ; but the chief purposes for which the jaws are employed are connected with all manner of household work ; they serve for the transport of eggs, larvæ and pupæ, hither and thither ; for dragging building materials along ; for the formation of passages, cells, and spaces in the nest ; and for mining in wood or in the ground, &c. In *Polyergus* the workers have forgotten all such household instincts ; they no longer

trouble themselves about their young, but leave them entirely to the care of slaves; they bring in neither food nor building materials, as the slaves sufficiently supply these; they do nothing but fight, and steal the pupæ of other species, and carry these away to their nests. Accordingly their jaws are metamorphosed to sabre-shaped, pointed and powerful nippers, which serve as a deadly weapon that the ant is wont to employ in piercing the heads of its enemies, and at the same time are remarkably well adapted for the transport of plundered pupæ, as the jaw-nippers can embrace the body of the pupa without injuring it. This exact adaptation of the jaws for the stealing of pupæ can only be explained by selection of the germ-plasm of the parents of the workers; and the same can be said of the strongly developed fighting-instinct, of the great courage displayed, and of the instinct that leads these ants to steal the pupæ of others, and carry them away to their nests. Here, then, we have *positive selection*.

On the other hand we have *negative selection* or Panmixia in the decline of the ordinary instincts of the workers: those that are concerned with care of the young, nest-building, the storing of food, while *most uncommon and most instructive of all is the degeneration of the instinct to search for food*.

Herbert Spencer in his essay likewise attacks Panmixia, and attempts to show that I mean by this name the selection of the less injurious, and that nothing can be explained by this. He considers my example of the blind cave animals (*e.g.*, *Proteus*), and gives it as his opinion that it is impossible that the principle of the economy of growth can here have given the verdict for life or death, inasmuch as the difference in the size of the eyes of the individual varieties must have been much too trifling. So far I agree with him thoroughly. But Panmixia is, according to my representation of it, something quite different from the survival of the least unsuitable; it is the deterioration of organs from the height of their development *through the non-disappearance of such individuals as possess them in less perfect form*. In my opinion all organs are maintained at the height of their development only through uninterrupted selection, and decline incessantly, though at the same time excessively slowly, as soon as they cease to be of value for the maintenance of the species. That is what I have called Panmixia, as Professor Romanes recently very properly pointed out in the reply to Mr. Spencer to which I have already referred. The principle of economy was only introduced by me as a possible secondary cause of degeneration. The words actually used in the case of the *Proteus* are these:

"Possibly accessory is the fact that smaller and degenerated eyes may now"—after the retrogression of the organ has begun—"even be advantageous, inasmuch as other organs which have become more important for the creature, such as the tactile and olfactory organs, may be all the more strongly developed. *But even apart from this, the eye will necessarily decline*

from the height of its development, slowly, very slowly indeed, especially at the beginning of the process—but *surely* from the moment it is no longer maintained at this height by natural selection. Similarly *all* cases of degeneration, whether of organs or species, may be explained in a simple manner.\*

How far-reaching the principle of economy may be in certain cases of degeneration cannot easily be determined; but that my former opinion was correct, according to which *Panmixia* alone suffices to bring about the complete disappearance of characters, is proved, among other things, by the above-mentioned degeneration in the warlike amazon-ants (*Polyergus rufescens*) of the instinct to search for food. Not only the males and females, but the workers of these ants, have altogether forgotten how to recognise their food. Forel, Lubbock, and Wasmann have all satisfied themselves that Huber's old statements on this subject are correct, and I myself have repeated his and Forel's experiments with the same results. The animals starve in confinement, unless some of their slaves are present to feed them; they do not recognise a honey-drop as something that would appease their hunger, and when Wasmann placed a dead pupa between their jaws, they did not begin to eat, but at most licked it in a tentative way and withdrew. But as soon as a slave—for instance, a worker of *Formica pratensis*—is put beside them, they come to it and beg for food; and the slave runs to the honey, and having filled its crop, proceeds to feed its lords.

So it is not the feeding instinct that is wanting here, as has often been said, but rather the capacity to seek and recognise the food. To be exact: the instinct to take food is *not aroused by the sight of food, but by the sight of the slave*. It appears as if these amazons had through the constant presence of slaves that were ever ready to feed them, gradually lost the habit of seeking food, and at the same time had come to regard the slaves as food-providers. It seems an excellent example of the direct effects of disuse and the transmission of functional degeneration—if only these amazons were not sterile!

The one possible explanation is that of *Panmixia*. As the amazons, because of the constant presence of slaves, never suffered want, the perfection of the instinct to seek food ceased to be an element in deciding which should survive and which should perish. Individuals with badly developed feeding instinct were, *ceteris paribus*, quite as good as others; and colonies in which such individuals occurred did not decline sooner on that account. Thus this instinct must slowly have fallen from its original perfection, and finally, though assuredly after an immensely long series of generations, quite disappeared. I fully grant that this is very "difficult to imagine"; but it must have occurred, as all other explanations are excluded by the infertility of the amazons.

\* "Aufsätze," pp. 568, 569.

We are unacquainted with the particulars of the material foundation of instincts, and do not know in what cells or fibres of the brain this instinct is situated, but be that as it may, there is no doubt that the saving of material substance consequent on the decline of the instinct is so trifling in amount that it is very improbable that the principle of economy has, in this case, played even an accessory part. So we have here an instance of *complete disappearance of a character, for the explanation of which we are compelled to turn to the principle of Pannixia.*

This is not the place to enter into details as to this principle of explanation, which is simply an inference from a general acceptance of the principle of selection as an efficient factor in all adaptations. Once it is admitted that the adaptations of parts are always due to selection, it follows from the occurrence of variation, itself the chief factor in selection, that they are also maintained by selection. For though a useful character must become all the more constant, the longer the period through which it has been confirmed by constantly repeated selection, yet observation proves that no character, however old it is, ever attains to perfect constancy; but always slight variations occur. Therefore, as soon as selection ceases to affect a character, it must slowly begin to decline from the stage of development already reached.

This consequence of selection was not propounded by me for the first time; but as we have recently learned, was urged ten years ago by Romanes;\* and if this acute investigator did not succeed in bringing his correct inference into favour with scientists, it was because he did not give up the transmission of acquired characters, which he still adheres to; thinking, like Spencer, that, having regard to the harmonious metamorphosis of co-operating parts (co-adaptation), it is not possible to dispense with the principle of the transmission of functional variations; and so he continues to regard me as an "ultra-Darwinian." But Romanes in 1874 made the cessation of selection only of subsidiary importance, supposing it to support other factors, especially "economy of growth" and "disuse," in bringing about the degeneration of disused parts. He says: "The cessation of selection should therefore be regarded as a reducing cause, which co-operates with other reducing causes in all cases, and which is of special importance as an accelerating agent, when the influence of the latter becomes feeble." But if, as he thinks, disuse is directly effective through the transmission of functional atrophy, and economy of growth also co-operates in the degeneration of organs, then it would be impossible to demonstrate the influence of the cessation of selection, inasmuch as its effects would necessarily always be mixed

\* *Nature*, vol. ix.: "Natural Selection and Dysteleology," in the number for 12th March, 1874; in the number for 9th April, 1874, a second article: "Rudimentary Organs"; and in the number for 2nd July, 1874, a third: "Disuse as a Reducing Cause in Species."

up with those of the other factors. If only Romanes had considered the workers of the state-building insects, he would have recognised that the factor whose influence he rightly inferred, can *unaided* bring about degeneration, that it is thus the *chief* factor. At the same time, however, this would necessarily have upset his conviction that there is transmission of functional variations; and he would not have concluded his article with the words: "However, as before remarked, the question thus raised is of no practical importance, since whether or not disuse is the principle cause of atrophy in species, there is no doubt that atrophy accompanies disuse."

Thus it happened that a conception that was fully justified could not find favour, and all but fell into oblivion. Romanes thought that disuse only partially explained degeneration, and that "cessation of selection" subsequently set in. So the difference in the reduction of the wings of ducks and geese, in spite of equal disuse, would be intelligible: the variations in the species having been correspondingly different. This quite agrees with my opinion, inasmuch as Panmixia must, in truth, depend, as regards the time of its activity, on the variability of the species concerned; and it is this that in such cases as that of duck and goose indicates that *disuse is not the true cause* of organs becoming rudimentary. Romanes was very near the truth, but did not reach it; he continues thus:

"I deem it in the last degree improbable that disuse should not have assisted in reducing the unused organs of our domestic animals, and the effect of this remark is to show that *the cessation of selection is not able to accomplish so much reduction as I antecedently expected*. On the other hand, it seems to me no less improbable that the cessation of selection should not have here operated to some extent; but in what degree the observable effects are to be attributed to this cause, and in what degree to disuse, I shall not pretend to suggest."

I myself was led to the discovery of the principle of Panmixia through serious doubt as to transmission of acquired characters. If there was no such transmission, then there must be another cause of the disappearance of useless parts to be discovered; and so I was led to Panmixia. When I was compelled to deny both the transmission of functional atrophy and the transmission of the effects of the principle of economy in the individual ontogeny, the new principle was at once demonstrated as active: there remained for me only the *one* explanation of organs becoming rudimentary, that of selection, either *negative* selection alone (Panmixia), or with the aid of *positive* selection, which prefers, and gives the victory to, the less injurious. Of course I can only speak of the principle of economy in this latter sense, which, moreover, was understood by Spencer, and not in the sense of a transmission of effects of the struggle of parts in the course of ontogeny. I would also specially emphasise the fact that after full consideration of the relations among the ants, I am more disposed, even, than ten years ago, to regard the principle of economy as a very



unimportant factor in reduction, and one which, in most instances, probably takes no part at all.

Assuming, now, that we have proved that the transmission of functional variations has had no share in producing the harmonious variations of many co-operating parts in the case of the ant-workers, we must consider with what right we may look upon natural selection as the active factor.

The answer is very simple: *with the same right as we have for believing in its activity anywhere else in nature.* As already indicated, we accept it, not because we are able to demonstrate the process in detail, not even because we can with more or less ease imagine it, but simply *because we must, because it is the only possible explanation* that we can conceive. For there are only two possible *a priori* explanations of adaptations for the naturalist—namely, the transmission of functional adaptations and natural selection; but as the first of these can be excluded, only the second remains. It has often been said that proof of the actual intervention of natural selection in the development of organisms has not yet been produced; we can readily imagine its occurrence, but there is no cogent reason for the belief. This is indeed true; but I think that proof, based on the relations among the ants, can be produced.

First, even without the help of this exceptionally favourable instance, it is possible to lead proof of probability. That natural selection is really an active factor, and that variation, heredity, and the struggle for existence—*i.e.*, the decimation of progeny—actually produce the adaptations of organisms to their environment is not only rendered highly probable by the fact that all organisation is revealed as adaptation as soon as it is rightly understood, and that the three named factors are proved to be efficient, but the probability is greatly increased by our *knowledge of the artificial selection that is practised by man.* In this analogous process there are two factors, variation and heredity, just as in the assumed natural selection, and only the third factor is different.

The high theoretical value of artificial selection seems to me to consist in the assurance it gives us of the ascending and } cumulative effects of the first two factors in natural selection. If we had had to do without this, it would have been difficult to prove natural selection; for our knowledge of the fundamental processes of variation and heredity is much too limited to enable us to anticipate the consequence on the offspring of the combination of similar or dissimilar parental characters. Artificial selection, however, has provided us with a rich store of experience, and *we may now confidently found on the fact that improvement and general variation in definite directions can come about through selection of parents that are specially suited for the breeder's purpose.*

This, however, is the foundation of the process of natural selection.

We know that changes in definite directions can be produced by selection, and it only remains to consider the third factor of the process, the one that regulates the selection; and this factor, the struggle for existence, happens to be one that leaves no doubt as to its general activity.

That there are variations which must lead to victory in the struggle for existence is beyond doubt, though we cannot recognise them as such in advance; the survival of the fittest is certain, but we do not know in individual cases what is fit, nor yet how often in every generation it survives, and must survive, if it is to gain the victory. We cannot then, as a rule, produce evidence that a particular adaptation has arisen by natural selection. But if, as in the case of the ants, the other possible explanation, that of the transmission of functional variation, can be excluded, *we have a demonstration, at least for the particular instance, of the actual occurrence of natural selection.*

And now we are justified in further concluding that if in this one definite but many-sided instance the struggle for existence acts as natural selection assumes it to act, that is, like the breeder who in artificial selection chooses what suits him, then *even the small variations which occur in all parts of the body may possess selection value;* and if that is so in this case, there is no reason why they should not in countless other analogous cases have the same significance; in other words, *natural selection effects all manner of adaptations.*

We are thus able to prove by exclusion the reality of natural selection, and once that is done, the general objections which are based on our inability to demonstrate selection-value in individual cases, must collapse, as being of no weight. Therefore I shall not attempt here to give an exhaustive explanation of harmonious variation. It does not matter whether I am able to do so or not, or whether I could do it well or ill; once it is established that natural selection is the only principle which has to be considered, it necessarily follows that the facts can be correctly explained by natural selection. The explanation may be difficult, and through lack of data it may be impossible to put it beyond doubt; but the fact is not thereby contradicted, just as the view of modern physiologists that there is no peculiar vital force is not negated, though to this day we cannot explain even a single vital process by purely physical forces. I believe, however, that an approximate and general explanation of harmonious variation (co-adaptation) is now possible, and I shall elsewhere attempt to give such an exposition; but, whatever its defects may be, no evidence can be drawn from them in favour of the transmission of functional variations, which seems to me to be definitely discredited now that it has been ousted from its last lurking-place—the harmonious variation of co-operating parts. When it is remembered that direct proof of such transmission is wanting, and that accordingly the justification for its acceptance has rested only on its being apparently

indispensable for the explanation of certain facts, it must be admitted that now that it has been shown that these facts occur where transmission of functional variation is excluded, there is no longer any sufficient reason for assuming this principle of explanation in any other case. If the workers of an ant-state can change into "soldiers," and can vary a large number of co-operating parts harmoniously without any help from the supposed transmission of functional variations, then there is no reason why we should deny the same capability to the stag or the giraffe. It would be illogical to assume a new and unproved force in these cases, after the analogous metamorphoses in the ants have been shown to occur without any such force. To that Mr. Spencer must agree, for he says: "A recognised principle of reasoning—the law of parsimony—forbids the assumption of more causes than are needful for explanation of phenomena" (p. 750).

Accordingly I hold it to be demonstrated that all hereditary adaptation rests on natural selection, and that natural selection is the one great principle that enables organisms to conform, to a certain high degree, to their varying conditions, by constructing new adaptations out of old ones. It is not merely an accessory principle, which only comes into operation when the assumed transmission of functional variations fails; but it is the chief principle in the variation of organisms, and compared to it, the primary variation which is due to the direct action of external influences on the germ-plasm, is of very secondary importance. For, as I previously said, the organism is composed of adaptations, some of which are of recent date, some are older, some very old; but the influence of primary variations on the physiognomy of species has been slight and of subordinate importance. Therefore I hold the discovery of natural selection to be one of the most fundamental ever made in the field of biology, and one that is alone sufficient to immortalise the names of Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace. When my opponents set me down as an ultra-Darwinist, who takes a one-sided and exaggerated view of the principle discovered by the great naturalist, perhaps that may make an impression on some of the timid souls who always act on the supposition that the *juste-milieu* is proper; but it seems to me that it is never possible to say *a priori* how far-reaching a principle of explanation is: it must be tried first; and to have made such a trial has been my offence or my merit. Only very gradually have I learned the full scope of the principle of selection; and certainly I have been led beyond Darwin's conclusions. Progress in science usually involves a struggle against deep-rooted prejudices: such was the belief in the transmission of acquired characters; and it is only now that it has fortunately been overcome that the full significance of natural selection can be discerned. Now, for the first time, consummation of the principle is possible; and so my work has not been to exaggerate, but to complete.

AUGUST WEISMANN.

## THE INDIAN CURRENCY EXPERIMENT.

IT used to be a commonplace with writers on political economy that their science was at a disadvantage compared with some other sciences because it could not avail itself of experiment. In these days, however, economic experiments of all kinds are being made in such profusion that the parliaments of the world may be compared to chemical laboratories. Before the final explosion has taken place in the great silver experiment of the United States, the Governments of India and Britain have begun to make a very pretty precipitate with the same metal. Just as we are about to learn from America what will happen to the country that coins too much silver, India is preparing to let us know what may happen from coining none at all.

The closure of the Indian mints is essentially an experiment, an experiment, indeed, that looks very like an accident. The melting-pot has been turned over to see what will happen.

The procedure considered as the act of a responsible Government is based on the Report of the Committee on Indian Currency, and this Report again is based partly on facts and partly on principles. As regards facts, there are unfortunately too many unknown quantities—too many unanswerable questions—*e.g.*, What will the natives of India do with their hoards of rupees? How will they like the fall in the price of their silver ornaments? As regards principles the Report is uncertain and vacillating; it fails to distinguish between the immediate effects of a disturbance and the ultimate effects of a new equilibrium. It relies too much on a simple appeal to facts without analysis. It proclaims a truism with great boldness, but is suspicious of *media axiomata*. It is afraid of the simplest deductions from principles, but is content to rest inductions upon very scanty observations.

It will save time to begin at the beginning, and it will conduce to clearness to make a sharp distinction between the difficulties in the way of giving an artificial value to the rupee and the ultimate benefits provided these difficulties are overcome; and to separate the immediate effects of the actual closure of the mints from the effects of the adoption of a gold standard which at present is problematical.

The beginning of the experiment is the hard and solid fact that the Government of India has to pay to the Home Government some seventeen millions of pounds sterling annually. But the revenues of India consist not of so many millions of pounds sterling, but of so many tens of millions of rupees. So long as ten rupees were about equal in value to one pound (Rs. = £1) all the Indian Government had to do was to set aside a third or a fourth of its rupee revenue for Home charges; so far the Indian Budget was quite simple, and there was no uncertainty. But when silver began to fall in value, and with it the rupee, more and more rupees were required to make up a pound. Unfortunately, however, the revenues of India did not show the same elasticity, and the proportion to be remitted to England became greater. The Indian Government contrived in some way to contend with the fall of the rupee from about 2s. to below 1s. 4d., but the prospect of a further sudden and aggravated fall, through the action of the United States, brought the Governments of India and England to the point at which, according to the English tongue, "something must be done." In the usual course a committee was appointed, and, after the usual delay, reported, and then, with the most unusual promptitude—in the twinkling of an eye—something was done. Without debate in Parliament or discussion in the press the Indian mints were closed to silver. The Report was acted on before it was published; so great was the hurry that the course of post was too slow; it was a case of legislation by telegraph.

It is most important to observe that the key to the whole situation is to be found in the Government remittances from India to England. The recommendations of the Committee are based upon the facts or assumptions that India cannot increase its taxes nor diminish its expenditure, and therefore cannot, with a further fall in the exchange, make its annual payments to England. If the evils to be remedied had been merely the uncertainties of trade, or the complaints of civil and military officers, *laissez-faire*, time, and the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, would have done service as before, at any rate so far as the British Government is concerned.

The closing of the Indian mints must of course indirectly affect many commercial and financial interests; but, in the first place, the success or failure of the experiment must be estimated solely from the point of view of the Indian Government. If India can by a mere edict avoid further taxation or increasing indebtedness, and even convert

a deficit into a surplus, the policy must so far be regarded as successful. If, on the other hand, the experiment fails in the accomplishment of this definite, limited object, and in addition aggravates the evils of the general monetary situation, the condemnation must be doubly severe.

First of all, however, the procedure must be considered simply as a financial expedient of the Indian Government. Thus narrowed down, the question becomes: Will the closure of the mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver with the announcement that fifteen rupees will be given for a sovereign, and a sovereign accepted for fifteen rupees in payment of taxes, suffice to maintain the rupee at this ratio, or, in other words, keep it at 1s. 4d.? More simply: Will the Government of India be able to make its remittances to England at this rate? \* The answer must of course be made under the assumption that there is a fall in the value of silver, so that the metallic value of the rupee is below 1s. 4d. It was the fear of such a fall, consequent on the anticipated change of policy in the United States, which was the real cause of the suddenness of the measure; and as a matter of fact, on the announcement of the closure, silver fell severely.

The Report of the Committee, on which action was taken, relies on two sets of arguments—one general and the other special. In the first place, an appeal is made to the policy of other nations, with the view of showing that it is possible to maintain a gold standard and a substantial parity of exchange with gold-using countries under monetary systems very different from that of the United Kingdom. The array of examples is imposing, and the summary of methods seems to include nearly every possible case. This substantial parity of exchange has been maintained under all the following conditions:

- (a) With little or no gold, as in Scandinavia, Holland, and Canada.
- (b) Without a mint, or gold coinage, as in Canada and the Dutch East Indies.
- (c) With a circulation consisting partly of gold, partly of over-valued and inconvertible silver, which is legal tender to an unlimited amount, as in France and other countries of the Latin Union, in the United States, and also in Germany, though there the proportion of over-valued silver is more limited, the mints in all these countries being freely open to gold, but not to silver, and in some of them the silver coinage having ceased.
- (d) With a system under which the banks part with gold freely for export, as in Holland, or refuse it for export, as in France.
- (e) With mints closed against private coinage of both silver and gold, and with a currency of inconvertible paper, as has been temporarily the case in Austria.

\* It is true that the rate of 1s. 4d. is said to be only provisional, and that the ratio to be eventually adopted when the gold standard is definitely introduced is to be determined by the circumstances of the time. But if this rate cannot be maintained, the whole policy is so far nugatory, and the difficulties of the Indian Government will remain.

(f) With a circulation based on gold, but consisting of token silver, which, however, is legal tender to an unlimited extent, as in the West Indies.

"It would thus appear," is the conclusion, "that it has been found possible to introduce a gold standard without a gold circulation; without a large stock of gold currency; and even without legal convertibility of an existing silver currency into gold."

This elaborate account of the monetary policy of the principal nations of the world is extremely well done, and considered as a statistical abstract is most valuable for reference and comparison. Its value, however, as an argument in support of the new Indian policy, is by no means as great as may appear at first sight. If, as is probable, it leads people who profess to be guided solely by facts to the conclusion that it is the easiest thing in the world to establish a gold standard, it will prove altogether misleading.

It is to be regretted that the Committee did not emphasise the fact that in every one of these cases the same general principle is exemplified, the principle, namely, of limitation, first definitely established by Ricardo. Any kind of currency can be maintained at an artificial value provided only that it is strictly limited, and the degree of depreciation (if any) will depend upon the excess of its quantity, although, of course, the variation is not one of simple proportion.\*

Inconvertible notes are the best example, but Ricardo himself gives metallic instances from English history. It may then be taken for granted that if the number of rupees in India can be effectively limited, they may circulate at an artificial value, in other words, they may exchange for a greater value of gold, or any other commodity than would the corresponding weight of silver. The crucial test must be found in the actual conditions of India. References to foreign countries, except for illustration of the general principle, are irrelevant. It would be equally in order to prove that the plan is impossible by references to the numberless cases of failures to maintain an artificial ratio—*e.g.*, Bank of England notes during the restriction.

Unfortunately in this part of the question—the vital part—the

\* The treatment of the case of Brazil (par. 92) would almost imply that this principle of limitation was not firmly grasped. "The case of Brazil is perhaps the most remarkable of all, as showing that a paper currency without a metallic basis may, if the credit of the country is good, be maintained at a high and fairly steady exchange, although it is absolutely inconvertible, and has been increased by the act of the Government out of all proportion to the growth of the population, and of its foreign trade. The case, it need hardly be said, is not quoted as a precedent which it is desirable to follow. The Brazilian standard coin is the milreis, the par gold value of which is 27*d.* A certain number were coined, but have long since left the country, and the currency is and has since 1864 been inconvertible paper. The inconvertible paper was more than doubled between 1865 and 1888, but the exchange was about the same at the two periods, and very little below the par of 27*d.*" Depreciation, however, eventually occurred through excessive issues.

Report is by no means so clear and the information is largely conjectural. The admissions made are, however, in themselves serious enough to have caused a little greater hesitation. Assume, as is the fact already, that the silver in the rupee is worth less than 1s. 4d.—the official rate. It can be maintained at this rate only by rigid limitation of supplies. The supplies from the mints may indeed be effectively cut off unless the Government is tempted to make profits in the manner of the English mint in recent years by coining cheap silver. But *per contra* we have the following ugly facts. In the *first* place the channels of circulation in India are already full to the brim. On this point the evidence of the Report is conclusive.\* *Secondly*, there are in circulation outside the borders of India large and unknown quantities of rupees. As the artificial value can only be obtained in India, whereas elsewhere they pass by weight, they will naturally seek the Indian markets. The Report does not attach to this fact the importance usually assigned, and in the absence of the evidence an estimate cannot fairly be given. *Thirdly*, there is the danger of the illegal coinage of silver in the native States, or in foreign countries, or in India itself. Here, again, the Report seeks to minimise the danger, and relies mainly on the experience of other nations—*e.g.*, England and France; but the circumstances are different, and the differences do not receive sufficient emphasis. *Fourthly*, there are the hoards of silver coined and uncoined in India itself. At the time of writing, the evidence given to the Committee is not available, but the general treatment of this difficulty in the Report seems very unsatisfactory. Under the system that has just been superseded, the metallic value of a mass of rupees was the same as that of the corresponding weight of silver; under the new system (if effective) the coined metal will be worth so much more than the uncoined. Accordingly, any one who has a hoard of rupees will be able to get for them a greater weight of silver. It is of course difficult to enter into the secret thoughts of a Hindoo miser, but it seems natural that, under the new conditions, great encouragement would be given to the substitution for the coins of silver ornaments or ingots. According to Gresham's law, the worse coin drives the better from circulation; the heavy coins are hoarded, the light are used for payments. Conversely then we should expect that, as regards hoards, over-valued coins would be replaced by under-valued metal; in the concrete, that a person would prefer to hoard five ounces of silver in place of four ounces of rupees, and would certainly be glad to exchange the latter for the former. If, however, we have to place against the cessation of coinage the absorption of hoards into the circulation, the rise in value through limitation must be indefinitely postponed. The difficulty of the matter is confirmed

\* Par. 29-32.



by the fact that Sir David Barbour,\* probably the best living authority, formerly believed that rupees would be largely brought out of hoards when they were given a value exceeding that of the metal contained in them, but now thinks that the existing hoards would practically remain unaffected. He appears to have penetrated into deeper recesses of the native mind than is possible for the unsophisticated. But, after all, in the absence of evidence can it be said that his second thoughts are best?

On the whole, then, it seems probable that it must take a considerable time to raise the value of the rupee effectively above its metallic value by limiting the coinage. In time, no doubt, the principle of limitation would operate, but the serious questions are: How long a time will be required, and what is to happen in the meantime? The answer to the first depends upon the unknown factors indicated above; the answer to the second depends upon the effect of the new policy on the balance of India's indebtedness.

It may be repeated that the primary object of the whole scheme is to keep the price of Council bills, or, less technically, to make payments to England, at the rate of fifteen rupees to the pound. The nature and working of Council bills is clearly explained in the Report,† by reference to well-known principles. They are, it is said, only a financial mode adopted as the simplest and best by the Government of India for the purpose of paying a gold debt to England. They are orders for the payment of rupees in India, and the same end would be attained if the Government of India bought sterling bills of the exporting merchants in India and sent them to be cashed on its account in London. In other words, Council bills are simply a mode of payment, and not payment itself.

"India," it is stated in the next paragraph, "must pay her debts by exports, and the Indian Government cannot in any way avoid whatever expense is necessary in order to pay them. That the exports should ever consist of silver, depreciated as silver is in the Western world, is highly improbable; but if this should turn out to be the case, it would be because silver was the article which India could best spare."

The principle is admirably stated, and the statement was necessary. Some people suppose that the Indian Government can put a monopoly value on its bills by refusing to sell below a certain price. It can do no such thing. It must sell to those who wish to make payments in India, and if they do not choose to pay the price for that particular form of remittance they can adopt some other mode. Under the old system silver could be sent to be coined, and was sent to a large amount annually. But the bulk of trade exports from India was paid for by trade imports into India. Silver, in fact, was only one of

\* Correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, p. 9.  
 † Paragraph 122.

these imports.\* The Report insists on the principle that in the last resort the imports of a country and the balance of every other element in its indebtedness must be paid for by exports of some kind or other. If India cannot pay her debts by exporting other commodities, she must export silver or gold; the only other alternative is to allow her debts to increase.

Although this principle, which is at the root of all international transactions, appears to be clearly expressed, it cannot be said that the application is equally clear. As already indicated, the distinction between the immediate or temporary and the ultimate effects of the scheme, is not adequately noticed. The primary object of the plan, as so often insisted on, is to prevent a further fall in the Indian exchange—to keep the rupee at *1s. 4d.* for foreign payments. Now the foreign exchanges depend not upon the permanent indebtedness of a country, but upon the payments that must be made at a particular time, that is to say, upon a succession of temporary fluctuating causes. If, for example, the closure of the Indian mints were at once to produce an adverse effect on the trade balance of India, the exchange must fall. It is of no avail to say that when the limitation has had time to work its full effect, and that when the balance is again adjusted in favour of India, the exchange will rise. Governments do not legislate by telegraph to provide for the remote future. The proximate cause of the hurry was the fear of a heavy fall in silver, owing to the action of the United States in the coming autumn. If the closure of the Indian mints does not operate in the way desired for some years, the object in view will be defeated, and the Indian Government will be forced in the meantime to adopt one or other of the discarded modes of relief.

It is no doubt asserted that part of the plan is eventually to establish a gold standard in India. The consideration of this part of the scheme, however, may be deferred, for it is admitted that it must be postponed, and it presents peculiar and possibly insuperable difficulties. What is of immediate importance is the effect of attempting to give at once a value to the rupee above its metallic value. In other words we have to consider the effect of a sudden fall in the price of silver on the Indian balance of trade.

The mere announcement of the closure of the mints caused a serious fall in the price of silver, and the action of the United States has still to be taken into account, and it may be assumed that a further fall will take place. In treating this part of the problem not only does the Report not distinguish sufficiently between the present and the future, but the mode of argument adopted is open to objection. Too much reliance is placed on statistics which are not analysed, and on theories that are not proved, although admitted to be paradoxical

\* For the three years, 1889-90 to 91-92, silver was about 14 per cent. of the total imports.



may be a matter of dispute how far the fall in silver during the last twenty years has been due to special causes such as the closure of European mints, increase of production, and the like, and how far to general causes, but in the present case there is no doubt of the special character of the causes. The closure of the Indian mints has directly affected silver and the cessation of purchases in America must affect it still more.

It must then be admitted that the closure of the "Indian mints, coupled with the fall in the price of silver below the rupee value, must stimulate exports from the silver-using countries and check exports from India. The Report argues in the manner familiar to English law-courts, in the first place that there will be no stimulus and no check, and secondly, that the stimulus and check will be transitory and can only last till the inevitable re-adjustment is made. The second plea may be accepted, but the success or failure of the Indian policy depends upon the duration and the nature of the re-adjustment.

Suppose, that owing to the closure of the mints no silver is sent to India—that it acts in the manner of a prohibitive duty. For the time being—that is to say, until the effect on trade has been felt—Indian Council bills may be kept up to the rate proposed. But consider the effect on trade.

Either other imports must take the place of silver or exports from India must be diminished, or both events must occur. If other imports take the place of silver, commercial bills compete with Council bills; if exports diminish there is a less demand for the latter.

Again, the silver refused by India will be sent to other countries. In this way they will increase their exports at the expense of India. But India must send something to pay its debts, and if its merchandise is refused it must send gold or silver.

If in spite of the closure of the mints India still continues to import silver as a commodity it will, as before, compete with Council bills, and if it is exchanged for hoarded rupees the rise in value through limitation must be deferred.

Thus, whatever benefits are to be expected ultimately from the gold standard, it seems probable that during the period of transition the closure of the mints will be injurious to India's trade and useless to her finance.

The same result may be obtained by applying the same fundamental principle in a different way. The revenues of India at present consist of so much silver. Whatever manipulation takes place, whatever mechanism is adopted, India can only pay a gold debt abroad by selling the requisite amount of this silver. She may sell it to those who in return for goods have payment to make in India, or she may export it and sell it directly for gold. But one thing she cannot do: if the silver is depreciated on the markets of the world she cannot obtain more than the market price.

When through limitation the rupee has definitely acquired an artificial value, and when India has effectively established a gold standard, the difficulties of exchange will be no doubt remedied. But an effective gold standard means that the Government must be prepared to give gold in exchange for rupees at the rate proposed. At present nothing of the kind is contemplated. The development of events is awaited with anxiety. Accordingly the consideration of the difficulties of this part of the scheme—the gold standard—may be deferred until the Government of India attempts to carry it into practice.

Hitherto the question has been discussed merely as a financial expedient of the Indian Government. As such it is an attempt to avoid an increase of taxation, to meet a deficit due to a fall in value (for remittance) of the taxes at present received. In order that the rupees devoted to the payment of foreign debts may go further, it is proposed to raise the value of all rupees, or what is the same thing to prevent a further fall. The method is to stop the coinage, so as to produce by artificial limitation a scarcity value. The result can only be to substitute indirect for direct taxes; or taxes that are not seen for taxes that are seen. As such it may be politically desirable or necessary. Just so may be the issue of inconvertible notes in case of need. But the necessity ought to be extreme.

In conclusion, attention may be directed to the more general aspects of the question—economic and political. However difficult it may be to estimate accurately the economic effects on the trade and development of India during the period of transition there can be no question as to the general influence of this new departure on the industries of the gold-using countries. The closure of the Indian mints to silver is certain to intensify the evils that followed on the closure of the mints of Europe. There must be a further appreciation of gold—in other words, a further fall in general prices, with an intensification of the burden of indebtedness, increasing difficulty in the adjustment of wages, contraction of enterprise through falling profit, and liquidations on a large scale. It is equally clear that silver must experience a further fluctuating fall. Trade with the far East will be disturbed, and there will be a further depreciation of capital invested on a silver basis. If from the point of view of the Indian Government the scheme were a complete success—if the rupee could be kept steady at 1s. 4d., and a gold standard could be adopted with very little gold as a reserve, the benefit to India could only be obtained with a loss to the gold-using world, and especially to the United Kingdom. But the Government of India does not dare to hope for such complete success. The choice has been a reluctant choice of evils forced upon it by political necessity.

The political aspects of the question are as interesting and instruc-

tive as the economic. We are told in an official despatch dated August 2, 1892, that for ten years the Government of India had looked for a solution of their difficulties to international agreement on a bi-metallic basis. It was only on the refusal of this country to take action at the recent Brussels Conference that the choice was definitely made. In a memorandum to the Report Mr. Courtney has expressed the opinion that "the Home Government is the greatest obstacle, perhaps the only substantial obstacle, to the establishment of an international agreement for the use of silver as money," and this was clearly the opinion of the foreign delegates at the Conference. No man living has advocated with more force and clearness than Sir David Barbour the advantages to the world at large and to India in particular of international bi-metallism, and he makes no secret of his preference. In the very Minute in which he propounds the plan to be adopted by India for the introduction of a gold standard he concludes with the following remarkable statement :

*"I have no hesitation in saying that an international agreement for the free coinage of both gold and silver, and for the making of them full legal tender at a fixed ratio, would be far better for India and all other countries than the establishment of the single gold standard, even if the latter course be possible. Under the former system the worst result that could happen would be the disappearance of one of the metals from circulation, but this would only happen by the other metal taking its place and gradually driving it out, and under such circumstances all countries would have the same standard. The general adoption of the system of double legal tender would be a perfectly safe measure and would be a final settlement of the question. The attempt to establish a general gold standard is not without risk."*

The Home Government is thus responsible for forcing on India the adoption, or rather the attempt at adoption, of the gold standard. The Council of the Bi-metallic League has done well to emphasise in the declaration just issued the admissions which the policy implies. It is admitted that the fall in silver calls for a legislative remedy, and that such a remedy is possible. It is admitted that the domestic policy of a foreign country regarding coinage may determine the monetary policy of our greatest dependency. It is admitted that an artificial value can be given to the thousand millions of rupees and upwards that constitute the active circulation of India. In short, *laissez-faire* has been abandoned, and the presumption in favour of governmental action has been established, or rather re-asserted.

This change of front has led to the abandonment of other positions. In spite of the authority of such eminent financiers as Mr. Goschen and Mr. de Rothschild, the Government apparently no longer believes that a scramble for gold would bring on a financial catastrophe, and that a universal gold standard is impossible. Apparently, also, it no longer believes that silver is the standard naturally adapted to undeveloped countries, that the coinage of unlimited legal tender

should be automatic, that the value of the precious metals depends entirely on their cost of production, that gold and silver are commodities like other commodities, that the increase in the burden of gold debts is a fiction, and that the amount of taxation has nothing to do with the standard. The British Government has accepted the principles of bi-metallism, but has not had the courage to carry them to their logical conclusion. It has stopped short at the *étalon boteur*, and relegated the experiment to its Indian empire. If the United States follows the Indian example and also closes its mints to silver, the probability is that the British Government may again have to legislate by telegraph, and to take action without consulting Parliament or public opinion.'

In the light of the effects on the general situation, the effects of the new policy in Indian finance may be re-considered. What the Government desired was to prevent a further fall in the rupee, as a consequence of a further anticipated fall in silver. The remedy adopted is to give an artificial value to the rupee by stopping coinage.

In the meantime, however, it is admitted officially that the present rate is provisional; therefore, before the artificial rise is attained, the rupee must follow silver. But the immediate effect of the remedy is to cause a fall in silver, and to hasten the action of the United States. The probability is that as soon as the full effect on trade has been felt exchange will be for a time worse than before. Thus, so far as present difficulties are concerned, the remedy can only be compared to relieving a starving man by compelling him to buy an annuity for his old age.

J. SHIELD NICHOLSON.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since this article was written I have had the opportunity of reading the evidence given to the Committee, and an account of the proceedings at the introduction and passing of the Bill in India. The weight of evidence appears to be against the recommendations eventually adopted, and to support the views expressed above. The speech of Sir David Barbour brings out very clearly that the measure is a political expedient forced on the Government, and although he defends the plan with ability and spirit, he is evidently very doubtful of success. The rate of exchange is distinctly declared to be provisional, and the adoption of gold as legal tender is indefinitely postponed, so that the necessity for the haste and secrecy displayed does not seem very obvious.

S. N.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION.

IT is not my wish to prolong the controversy with those who in the Church of England are—and some of them avowedly—undoing, to the best of their power, the main work of the Reformation. Canon Knox Little complains that I describe them by the “insulting” title of “Ritualists.” I was quite unaware that they regarded it as “insulting.” If they will suggest another name which does not imply that they are the only “Catholics” or the only “Churchmen,” or the only clergymen who do any work in the Church of England, I will gladly use it.\*

Canon Knox Little’s article occupies sixteen pages. Two thirds of it, if not more, are exclusively devoted to personal remarks upon myself. He charges me with “attacking” those who differ from me “with extraordinary violence”; rebukes me for my tone of infallibility; for stalking about on gigantic Protestant stilts, singing a kind of ecclesiastical “Rule Britannia”; for “all this hectoring and all this unchristian controversial rubbish”; for “playing to the gallery”; for innuendoes, sneers, and sarcasm; for calling bad names, and a very great deal more to the same effect. Indeed, his epithets and his insults lie so thick on every page that they would make a very pretty *storiolum*. If any one will read my two articles he will see how grossly Canon Knox Little has misrepresented them. They expressed strong and direct

\* Meanwhile they must include in their censure for using an “insulting term” Dean Hook and Canon G. E. Perry. Dean Hook says (“The Church and the Age,” p. 35) that the High Church party “are opposed both to the Puritan and Ritualist, because neither the Puritan nor the Ritualists accept the principles of the English Reformation.” Canon Perry says: “Others, looking deeper, saw in the gorgeous vestments, &c., nothing less than the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Hence the persistent violence with which the Ritualists were assailed” (“Student’s Eng. Ch. Hist.,” p. 406).

I must take this opportunity of correcting and apologising for a small verbal inaccuracy into which I was misled in my former paper. The teachings of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament are not “as stated in their *Manual*,” but as stated in much of their official teaching. I have explained and proved this in a letter to the *Guardian*.



opposition to certain views which I hold to be—as many Archbishops, Bishops, and Divines of our Church have, in much stronger language, declared them to be—erroneous in themselves, dangerous to true religion, and widely aberrant from the recognised doctrines of the Church of England, as explicitly stated in her standards and formularies, and as implied throughout her Prayer-book. I stated facts about a body of men—the largest, and if not the most powerful certainly the most aggressive body of men among the English clergy—and I furnished many strong arguments in proof of my contention; but I did not say one unkind word against one living man, not even against those who, like Lords Nelson and Halifax, have gone out of their way to attack me by name. Here are some specimens of the Canon's way of illustrating the old vulgar rule: "No case; abuse the plaintiff's attorney." Of all methods of controversy the cheapest is that in which he freely indulges: the snipping out of a series of phrases without their context, on many of which a false construction is placed, and to all of which a false perspective is given. It would take me too long to show how continuously he has done this; nor is it in the least worth while. But I am reluctantly compelled to expose some of his methods. I said that in these days many Evangelicals who are faithful to Protestant principles, greatly injure all their chances of temporal advancement. He contrives to insinuate that I was thinking of myself! I cannot imagine a more ungenerous libel on the whole course of my life, which has invariably placed me, and sometimes placed me all but alone, on the unpopular side. Let me tell the Canon that, at my age, I should indeed despise myself if I could give (to use Burke's expression) "a peck of refuse wheat" for the highest preferment in the world, if it could be purchased—I will not say with Tennyson by "creeping and crawling in the hedge-bottoms"—but by pandering for one moment to what I believe to be falsities, or by answering erring "Churchmen," however powerful, according to their idols. Here are some more specimens: "After all 'young curates' and 'servant-girls,' of whom the Archdeacon does not seem to think highly, are God's creatures" (p. 188). "Has the Archdeacon, or has he not, any belief whatever in the Incarnation? If he has not, *adit questio*, for we have such a belief" (p. 191). Does Canon Knox Little expect me to answer these smart and banal personalities? I have never mentioned his name; he has never entered my thoughts; he shall hear no retorts from me.

Nor shall I waste many words on the charges of (1) assumed infallibility, (2) violence, and (3) style generally, which occupy so large a part of his so-called reply. As to the first, I claim no infallibility whatever on matters of mere *opinion*, but I dare to maintain the certainty of positions which are so certain that the wayfaring man, yea and even fools, need not be deceived therein. It is

not a claim of infallibility to state quite positively that black is not white, or that two and two make four. It requires no infallibility to assert, with the utmost possible confidence, some of the facts which I did and do assert. As for vehemence, when a man believes that the Church which he loves, and which all his life long, to the best of his poor ability, he has diligently served, is being endangered by the open and widespread teaching of "errors, corruptions, and superstitions," which he knows her to have—in the words of our Convocation Prayer—seriously and rightly repudiated, he might well be ashamed if he did *not* write and speak intensely in earnest. He regards the defence of what he holds to be God's truth—when he sees it to be going by default—as a most sacred duty; and though controversy may be deeply painful to him, he still considers that "in God's war slackness is infamy." As to the other charges, I disdain to give any answer except in the words of one of the greatest thinkers of the eighteenth century, whose main views, once the object of furious theological denunciation, are now very widely accepted. "I would not," says Lessing, "intentionally tread upon a worm;\* but if it is to be accounted a sin if I accidentally tread on one, I do not know what to do except to give up moving altogether." "Every man has his own style, as he has his own nose; and it is neither polite nor Christian to laugh at an honest man for his nose, however odd it may be. How can I help not having another style? That I do not elaborate it, I am conscious. I am also conscious that it sometimes makes the most unusual cascades when I have most deeply considered the subject." "However, Herr Canon, that is my style, and my style is not my logic. But, you say, my logic is like my style; logic of the theatre.† But say what you will; good logic is always the same, apply it as one may."

I turn to Canon Knox Little's arguments, such as they are—the "one halfpennyworth of bread" thrown in with "all this intolerable deal of sack."

1. Showing that fasting communion was as unscriptural as it is unprimitive, I said that in the apostolic age the Eucharist followed the love-feast. I said so because we can only judge of the custom of the apostolic age from the statement of the apostles. Now the only statement of the apostles is found in 1 Cor. xi. 17–22, and there *undoubtedly* the Eucharist followed the love-feast.‡ Even in the fifth century, in Egypt, the Holy Communion was taken in the evening after a full and varied meal:§ and this (which had become abnormal)

\* I beg Canon Knox Little not to insinuate that I here speak of the Ritualists as worms!

† "Playing to the gallery."

‡ Sozomen, H. E. v. 22: μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐχαρισθῆναι καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι πρὸ ἐσπέρας προσφέροντες, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν.

§ Sozomen, H. E. vii. 19: Among the Egyptians, in many cities and villages, ἡριστή- νότοι ἦδη μυστηρίων μετέχουσι. "The custom was most unusual, but was certainly not invented by them." Also the rule of the Third Council of Carthage (A. D. 397) forbidding the Eucharist after the love-feast shows that the custom was still prevalent.

was, as Dean Plumptre says, "*probably a relic of the primitive Church, both as to the time and manner, when the Lord's Supper had been, like other suppers, eaten in the evening; when the thought that fasting was a necessary condition of partaking of the Supper of the Lord was not only not present to men's minds, but was absolutely excluded by the apostles' rule that men who could not wait patiently when the members of the Church met, should satisfy their hunger beforehand in their own houses.*" There is another reason why it may be regarded as certain that in the apostolic age the Eucharist followed the love-feast, which is because *Christ instituted the Eucharist after a meal.*† Even Cyprian, the founder of the modern Cyprianity which is often identified with Christianity itself, insists with the utmost urgency that the Eucharist should be assimilated to the Last Supper, ‡ and it is therefore certain that the Apostles would have made no innovation in this respect. They simply followed Christ's example. I quote, then, in proof of my assertion, Christ and His apostles; Canon Knox Little quotes St. Chrysostom and Mr. Keble! I have a high admiration for St. Chrysostom, but he makes many mistaken statements, and *if* he was referring to the apostolic age (of which alone I spoke), this is one of them; and Keble, if he followed him, follows him in a demonstrable error. Of what authority, in any case, are St. Chrysostom and Keble against the example of Christ and the clear language of St. Paul? Augustine, too, says: "It is transparently manifest '*liquido apparet*' that the disciples did not receive the first Communion fasting" (Ep. liv. 7; ed. 1652). Here is a definite issue, which neither Canon Knox Little's "tricks of controversy," nor those which he attributes to me, can conceal. Was I then guilty of such immodest infallibility when I said that "*in the apostolic age the Eucharist followed the love-feast*"?

2. But he adds, "fasting communion is the long-established custom of *the whole Catholic Church.*" This statement is not true. Even in the fifth century the custom was not universal. In the first century it did not exist. In many branches of the Catholic Church—if that word is to mean "the blessed company of all faithful people"—it is wholly unknown. In the English Church it has never been widely practised since the Reformation till very recent times. At some

\* "From which passage (1 Cor. xi. 21-34) we infer," says Bishop Lightfoot, "that the celebration of the Eucharist came, *as it naturally would*, at a late stage in the entertainment" ("Apostolic Fathers," ii. p. 313). In Ignat. *Ep. ad Smyrn.* viii. ἀγᾶθην ποσὴν precedes the interpolation οὐτε προσφάειν. κ.τ.λ. See, too, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. 386.

† As to our Lord's example, happily there can be no sophistication; Matt. xxvi. 26, Mark xiv. 18, Luke xxii. 19, 20: "And He took bread . . . Likewise also the cup, *after supper.*"

‡ See Cyprian, Ep. lviii. § 18; "Exponere enim justificationes et testamentum Domini et non hoc idem facere quod fecerit Dominus, quid aliud est quam sermones ejus abjicere, &c. : *id.* § 14, "Neque enim *hominis consuetudinem* sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem"; and much more to the same effect.

periods it has been practised by only a very small number. But even if the assertion were true, the custom would not be necessarily authoritative. Even St. Cyprian says, and perpetually dwells on the fact, that "consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est."\* And that "Christ is truth, not custom."

3. It does not, therefore, in the least follow that a Church custom would be laudable even if long-established, for many Church customs once quite as universal as fasting communion are now rejected and condemned. The Canon says "the Church" is called in Scripture "the pillar and ground of the truth." No text is more often quoted by the Ritualists, but no text is less relevant. For (1) they do not define what they mean by "the Church." What they assert to be the teaching of "the Church" is often only the teaching of the fourth century and later, of the Romish Church, and of the Church after corruption had come in like a flood. And (2) the phrase in all probability does not apply to the Church at all, but to Timothy, who is exhorted to bear himself as a pillar and stay (or support) of the truth.†

4. Again, Canon Knox Little speaks of "the Church" as "the only trustworthy interpreter of Scripture.‡ I wish he would tell us what he means by this. Does he mean the Romish Church? or the Greek Church? or the English Church? or "a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered?" or what? If by "the Church" he means anything narrower than this, if he limits the word to any one fold in the universal flock, he uses the word in a sense which we repudiate.§ St. Vincent of Lerins constantly refers to *ecclesiastica intelligentiæ auctoritas* for traditionalism in interpretation; and especially in support of methods and views which are now absolutely exploded and never used by any modern commentator. In point of fact, the Church has *never* decisively laid down any rules of inter-

\* Cypr. Ep. lxxiv. ed. Baluz, p. 41: "Custom not based on truth is antiquated error"; and again, Ep. lxxi. § 3, *non est de consuetudine prescribendum sed ratione vivendum*. See too the opinions of the Third Council of Carthage, Labbe, *Concilia*, p. 810, §§ 28, 30: "He who sets aside the truth, following custom, is displeasing to God." Tert. *De Virg. vel.* 1: "Dominus noster Christus *veritatem* se non *consuetudinem* cognominavit." "Christum qui receperunt veritatem consuetudini anteponebant."

† 1 Tim. iii. 15 (1) It would be a most awkward confusion in the same sentence to speak of the Church first as "the house of God," and then "a pillar" in the house. (2) In the only other places where "pillar" and "basis" occur (Gal. ii. 9, Eph. ii. 20), they are applied to persons. (3) In the Epistle of the Church of Lyons, c. 5 (A.D. 177) they are applied, not to the Church, but to the martyr Attalus. (4) St. Chrysostom uses *σῶλος* of St. John. (5) Irenæus (c. Iren. iii 11) applies the words to "the Gospel." (6) Bengel and other very eminent commentators refer them to the following verse. The phrase cannot therefore be quoted (as it incessantly is) as though its reference to the Church is certain, or even probable.

‡ What our Article XXI. says is very different—namely, that the Church is the *testis et conservatrix* of Holy Writ.

§ For the Church of England's definition of "the Church," see also "The Homily for Whit Sunday"; the Ordinal; and Canon 55.

pretation which have been accepted as authoritative. The exegesis of the Fathers is very variable; in many cases avowedly untenable; in some almost grotesque. "The Church," if by that word be meant the sum total of all the branches of the Church, is not agreed either as to the true text of Scripture; or as to the true canon of Scripture; or as to the authoritative translation of Scripture; or as to any mode of defining the inspiration of Scripture; much less as to any one method of interpreting Scripture. The Romish Church accepted the Apocrypha as Scripture; the English Church rejected it. The Romish Church declares the supreme authority of the Vulgate; the Greek Church of the Septuagint; the English Church of the original Hebrew. There is not the most initial agreement between different branches of the Christian Church on questions so elementary as these. And as for interpretation of particular passages, even in the Romish Church there has prevailed an immense diversity of opinions. Their *unanims consensus patrum* is a pure fiction. I cannot expect Canon Knox Little to read the Bampton Lectures of a person whom his party has always represented to be so ignorant of even the rudiments of sacred knowledge as myself; but will any one *refute*, instead of abusing, the main principles established in my "History of Interpretation," where he will find these facts demonstrated at greater length and with abundant authorities?

5. Canon Knox Little says that, "whether I like it or not, I am obliged to be that wicked thing—a priest." I should have thought that this remark hardly rises above a somewhat poor play upon words. I am "a priest" in the meaning and derivation of the word in which it stands for "presbyter"; I am *not* a "priest" in the Romish sense. I am not a "massing priest"; I am not a sacrificial priest at all, except in that very secondary sense in which *all Christians*, laymen every whit as much as presbyters, are so called; I offer no sacrifices, neither can Canon Knox Little offer any, except those which the New Testament and the Church of England alone recognise—"the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"; "the sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies"—the sacrifice of doing good and forgetting not—for with such sacrifices, the only ones we can offer, God is well pleased.\* I

\* Heb. x. 26, "There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." The word "sacrifice" (*θυσια*) occurs twenty-nine times in the New Testament—not *once* of the Lord's Supper. It knows absolutely nothing of "the sacrifice of the mass." Justin Martyr uses "sacrifice" of the Eucharist, but ("Dial. c. Tryph.," § 117) adds that "prayers and thanksgivings offered by the worthy are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifice." When Julian the Apostate, familiar as he was with the Eucharist, objected to the Christians that "they had no sacrifice," St. Cyril of Alexandria admitted the charge, and said, "We have *spiritual and mental sacrifices* which are much better—faith, hope, charity, righteousness, praise." Where was the "sacrifice of the mass" then? "Sacrifice is now no part of the Church's ministry" (Hooker, "Ecol. Pol.," v. 78). "No such word as sacrifice is ever mentioned in a Eucharistic sense by any one of the Apostolic Fathers, nor is the word Eucharistic priest applied by them to any Church minister; and the early Christian writers all reject the word 'altar'" (Orig. c. *Cels.* viii. 17; Min. Fel. Oct. 32; Arnob. c. *Gentis*, vi. 7. See Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 6; Phil. ii. 17; Heb. xiii. 16, &c.

am a presbyter; I am not, nor is any English clergyman, a *hiericus*,\* or, except in this metaphorical sense, a *sacerdos*. All this, I had amply explained and proved, and the remarks of the Canon are meant apparently only for home consumption. So far from having deliberately selected the term "priest," except in the sense of presbyter, the Church of England has most deliberately rejected it. The Ritualists, so he assures us, are the people who believe that the Prayer-book says what it means. Why then does the Prayer-book, on every possible occasion, use (as the New Testament uses) *curate*, or *minister*!—and "priest" scarcely ever if at all, except in contradistinction from bishops and deacons?

What was my argument? It was (1) that "priest" in the sense of "sacrificing priest" (*hiericus*, and *sacerdos* in its Pagan and Jewish meaning) is a title never once given to the Christian clergy in the New Testament; (2) that though the word *hiericus* was the word which lay closest at hand, since all Pagan and all Jewish priests were *hiericus*, it is never once used, either by Christ,† or by His evangelists, or by any one of His apostles, though they do use ten other names for Christian ministers. Why? Because "the kingdom of Christ has no sacerdotal system."‡ If words have any meaning whatever, this exclusion of the title cannot possibly have been otherwise than intentional;—and yet (3) that Ritualistic and Romanist ministers select for themselves this one title which the New Testament rejects in the one sense in which the New Testament rejects it; and (4) that, in the purely secondary and metaphorical sense in which the word "priesthood" is twice used, it is expressly applied *not* to ministers but to all Christians alike.§

There is a plain issue. How is it met? By the assertion that *sacerdos* (an ambiguous word) is used in Latin service-books up to the Reformation! What is the authority of the Latin service-books

\* The first, I believe, who applies the term *hiericus* to Christian ministers is not Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria—but the pagan scoffer Lucian! and in the third century Tertullian, who also gives the name to laymen. Even Cyprian, as Bishop Lightfoot says, borrowed his sacerdotal views from Gentile feeling.

† I "take his breath away" by saying that "the Lord Christ was not a priest by birth, and never in His life performed a single priestly function." Then the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have taken his breath away long ago, for he says that "Christ belonged not to Levi but to another tribe, from which no man hath given attendance at the altar" (Heb. vii. 13); "out of the tribe of Judah, as to which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priests" (14); and that "if He were on earth He would not be a priest at all" (Heb. viii. 4). Canon Knox Little talks of Christ's absolutions as priestly acts: they belonged on the contrary to His Divinity (see Mark ii. 7-12) and His prophetic office (comp. Sam. xii. 13). The mistakes of the Canon in this part of his argument would require a larger space to refute one by one; but Christ's sole and intransmissible (ἀναπόβητος) Priesthood began at the Ascension (Heb. vi. 20, v. 5 7).

‡ Bishop Lightfoot.

§ The Canon's scriptural quotations are often extraordinary in their irrelevance. He speaks of "priest" (in his sense) "in the power of the one Priest, and with the constant duty of showing" [proclaiming] "His death, the one sacrifice, &c." Yes, but that verse (1 Cor. xi. 26) is not addressed to "priests" at all, but to laymen—to the entire Corinthian Church—who ate their Eucharist after an evening meal

as against the authority of Christ and His apostles? "As to the Prayer-book," says the Canon—adopting a little of my infallibility, but in the teeth of all evidence—"there is no manner of doubt (!). The Reformers might have called ministers either 'pastors,' or 'ministers,' or 'presbyters,' and they deliberately would not." On the contrary, they deliberately and incessantly *did* use the word *minister* (see even Canons 32 and 76, and *passim*); and if they did not use "presbyter," it was perhaps to avoid misleading the people into the notion that they were Presbyterians.\* But I quite agree with Hooker that it would have been better if they had avoided the lesser danger, instead of using the term, which, in spite of all their teaching, is perverted to imply the greater error. But, says the Canon, in the title of Article XXXII. we read *De Conjugio sacerdotum*, and he prints it in capitals, and thinks that he has made a great point. He has failed to see the elementary fact that the first line of the Article speaks of "bishops, priests, and deacons," so that if his argument has the smallest fraction of validity, it proves that every deacon also is a "sacrificing priest"! But the reference to the word is not to English Presbyters at all. If they had been referred to we should have had *ministorum* as in the heading of Article XXXVI.†

"Had the Reformers intended to abandon the idea," he says, "they must have abandoned the word." What, then, of Christ? What of His apostles? They undeniably *did* abandon the word. They might have used the word *hieruus* again and again, and even in speaking and writing to ministers and of ministers "they deliberately would not." In the same way "they deliberately would not"—for they never once do—call the Holy Communion "a sacrifice" any more than the Prayer-book does; and they never once call the Lord's Table an "altar."‡

Canon Knox Little may depend upon it that these arguments are transparently clear, and that he cannot escape their force. Of what I said about Transubstantiation he has little to say;§ and as he does not challenge my statement as to the clear and undoubted view of the Church of England, that Christ's Presence in the consecrated elements at the Lord's Supper is purely spiritual, and solely in the heart of the faithful receiver, and only received by faith,

\* Yet even in the Scottish Episcopal Church it is laid down that "a Presbyter" is to be elected Bishop.

† The title of the article points to the Romish error about the celibacy of their "priests." See "The Latin Prayer-book of Charles II.," by Rev. C. Marshall, p. 59. If any further refutation were needed, see Bingham, *Antiq.*, bk. xi., 19, § 15.

‡ Canon Knox Little says that Holy Table "means the same thing" as altar. Nevertheless, the Privy Council, with its Archiepiscopal and Episcopal assessors, pointed out that "the distinction between an altar and a 'Communion Table' is essential and deeply founded on the most important differences in matters of faith between Protestants and Romanists." (See Brooke's *Privy Council Journals*, pp. 66, 126, 288.)

§ "No Ritualist (I will venture to say) believes in Transubstantiation," he writes. In my letter to the *Guardian* (Aug. 9) I have shown that leading Ritualists have openly avowed this belief.

I need not add to what I have said already. As Hooker says, "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is *not* to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." "Christ," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "is present in the Sacrament to our spirits only. Christ is present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace." (See Articles XXVIII., XXIX., XXXI.; Declaration at the end of the Communion Service; the Rubric in the Communion for the Sick, &c.) I did not (as Canon Knox Little asserts) charge all Ritualists with *holding* the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but I said, and I could show by pages of extracts from their writings, that they use language which can only be distinguished from it by minute theological distinctions and intellectual niceties which it is not worth the while of any serious man to follow.\*

7. Lastly, as to Auricular Confession, I have not a syllable to alter; and nothing that the Canon says remotely touches my contention.† I purposely abstained from entering upon, I barely alluded to, the grossest abuses of the confessional. *Usum non tollit abusus*, says the Canon. That is quite true of sacred things which Scripture sanctions and enjoins; but there are masses of overwhelming evidence, furnished by Romanists themselves—and adduced from every age and every country, since the Church of Rome began (in the thirteenth century) ‡ to insist on auricular confession, down to the publication of the "Priest in Absolution"—to prove that, in this instance, the use—as it is unscriptural, unprimitive, uncatholic—so, wherever it is introduced, has been accompanied, as I believe it always will be accompanied, by the deadliest evils.§ I do not know whether it be

\* "The simple elements which, at the time when they were first consecrated in and by our Lord's hands, could be nothing but *representatives, symbols, emblems*, of His body and blood," says Dean Liddell ("Oxf. Univ. Sermon," p. 6), "were made first vehicles of Divinity, and then Divinity itself."

† For the views of the Church of England in direct reprobation of Auricular Confession, see the second part of the "Homily of Repentance" ("Homilies and Canons," p. 576). Hooker, "Ecl. Pol.," vi. 4, § 6, § 2: "I dare affirm that for many hundred years after Christ the Fathers held no such opinion." See Jer. Taylor, Works, vii. 440, vi. 503, where he speaks of it as false and burdensome, dangerous and superstitious, as do many other of our greatest divines.

‡ 1215. Fourth Lateran Council: Platina, *Vit. Pap. Zephyr.*, p. 25, "It is a mediæval, not a primitive doctrine, and as being neither scriptural nor primitive, it was rejected by the Church of England at the Reformation" (Burns, "Ecl. Law," i. p. 32). "I beseech you make your confession to God. I do not bring them into the theatre of thy fellow-servants." St. Chrysostom, Hom. xxxi. in "Ep. ad Heb.," Hom. iv., *De Lazaro*, &c. See Bingham, xviii. 3, § 2; Hooker's "Ecl. Pol.," vi. 4, § 15. The rule of the Church of England is to confess our sins to God only; to examine ourselves, and to be our own spiritual directors (Dean Hook).

§ "What have I to do with men that *they* should hear my confession, as though they were able to heal my disease?" asks St. Augustine (quoted in the "Homily of Repentance"). For the doctrine of the Church of England, see that Homily *passim*; and Hooker's "Ecl. Pol.," vi. 4, 5, 6; Bishop Hall, "Dissert. against Popery," Works, ix. 18; Jer. Taylor's "Dissuasive of Popery," Works, vi. 503, 534 ("Auricular Confession without authority from God"); Tillotson's "Sermons," lxxv. and cvl., &c. Canon Knox Little calls my language vehement; is it anything like so vehement as that used on the same subject by Bishop Wilberforce and Archbishop Magee, of whom the latter calls the system of auricular confession "an outrage on decency and common sense"?



witty to call that ministerial method of helping troubled souls which the Church of England *does* allow, "the conversational."\* If so, let him rejoice in his wit, undisturbed by any "bullying" from me, who never so much as thought of him. But it is idle to quote two texts absolutely irrelevant to the subject.† And when he is talking about Transubstantiation, is it honourable to insinuate that I (of all men!) disbelieve in the Incarnation? As to the third text about remitting and retaining sins, I have already quoted to him the authority of the greatest of living theologians, and I could quote many more, to show (1) that it applies not to priests only, but to all Christians; and (2) that it never had, or could have had, the meaning which he, and the Ritualists generally, attach to it. *Scriptura est sensus Scripturæ*, and it is useless to quote a text as decisive to those who have proved again and again that it can have no such meaning.‡

Canon Knox Little ends with a text which is one of those heart-searching exhortations to the duty of Christian love of which we all fall infinitely short, and with which all the rest of his paper is in grievous contrast. The soft note of heavenly music ill accord with the "harsh chromatic jars" by which it is preceded. It is not easy—it is one of the most difficult of all Christian duties—to reconcile this obligation of Christian love with the equally plain duty of uncompromising faithfulness. In default of other defenders better qualified, I have tried to defend what I believe to be—and have from early boyhood been taught by High Churchmen themselves to be—the doctrines of the Church of which I am one of the least worthy ministers. If she taught the doctrines of Sacerdotalism, of Transubstantiation (or anything at all akin to it), of unconditional

\* See Acts of the Convocation of 1562 I think, which, after directing the ministry of God's word, add, "What priest or minister soever, under colour hereof, shall practise auricular confession shall be *deposed from the ministry*." The pretended power of absolution (otherwise than declaratory and hypothetic) is often based on the form unhappily permitted—unhappily, because capable of such perversion—in our Visitation of the Sick. This Romish form was never permitted till 1215, and the great Cardinal Hugo, William of Paris, and William of Auxerre protested against it as false in doctrine and modern in form (Aquinas, "De Forma Absolutionis"). Gerson says that "it may be piously understood only as deprecatory" (Canon Jenkins, "Hist. of the Confessional," p. 26).

† John xx. 21 and Matt. xxviii. 20 (which applies to all Christians alike, not to "priests" alone). The Greek Church "has neither confessionals, nor casuists, nor conventional mortal sins" (Guelté, p. 198). At the Council of Trent the confessional was defended out of the forged Epistles of Clement and the forged works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Le Plat, "Mon. Conc. Trid.," iv. 259, 310 (Canon Jenkins, *l.c.*).

‡ "Nil agit exemplum quod litem litem resolvit." The Ritualists might apply St. Jerome's remark to this passage, as well as to others: "Istum locum presbyteri . . . non intelligentes aliquid sibi de Phariseorum sumunt supercilio . . . *quare apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum sed rerum veritas quaratur*." "Who and what are you," asks Tertullian, "in this claim to forgive, if you have only obtained an office of teaching; one not of authority but of ministrations? Domini non famuli est jus et arbitrium, *Dei non sacerdotis*" (*De Pudicit.*, 21). Even such Romish divines as Aquinas, Scotus, Hugo de S. Victore, St. Bonaventura, Cajetan, Beatus Rhenanus, and many more, "consent that precisely from the words of Christ no necessity of confession to a priest can be concluded." And Scotus says of the text, "*Hoc verbum non est præcisum*" (Jer. Taylor, vi. 507).

priestly absolution, and of the duty of "auricular confession, I for one would leave her communion to-morrow, and in leaving it would shake the dust from off my feet. I am convinced that, so far from holding these doctrines, she has done her utmost to repudiate them. In maintaining what I believe to be her principles, which I only do because I am constrained to do so by an overwhelming sense of duty, I have *not* consciously overstepped the limits of justifiable earnestness. With no one of my brethren individually have I, or will I have, the smallest quarrel. I have been compelled to speak by the sense of duty and by the love of truth as I see it. If any one tries to answer the many wholly unanswered arguments of this and my former papers, I trust it will be some one better equipped than Canon Knox Little, and some one who will write in a nobler tone. For it is well for us all to remember on our knees that, neither as Ritualists nor as Evangelicals, neither as Episcopalians nor as Dissenters, but only as good men and men who love even our enemies, shall we inherit the kingdom of God. Christ's parable teaches us that the hunted and hated Samaritan may be a truer "Churchman"—in the only sense in which the word has the least value—a truer child of the heavenly kingdom, because a better and a holier man—than either the Levite or the Priest.

F. W. FARRAR.

## JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION FOR WOMEN.

**I**S journalism a profession for women? Is it suited to them? Does it offer a good market for the kind of literary wares which clever women, having thoroughly sane heads and the pens of ready writers, are best qualified to offer? Are the conditions of journalistic life straining to the strong and overstraining to the weak?

It is impossible to doubt that women write well. It may be said that when they are able to write they have, in a greater degree than men, the faculty for throwing life into what emanates from their pen. Second and third rate women writers in the past have shown faults of taste and of judgment, and the cramped thought and feebleness which come of a narrow range of personal experience. But there are few of them that can be ranged among the "dryasdusts." Well, dryasdust writers are those, of all others, whom the Editor should keep out of his newspaper. The more the columns glow with life the better it will please the public, life being always full of fascination in art, literary, pictorial, or other. Even the calm of sculptural art must give the idea of life, and plenty of it, held in reserve. Who would not prefer an awkwardly drawn painting, brimful of life, to the most correctly drawn composition without it? I was looking up, in the British Museum this summer, the newspaper accounts of a very great event, which was one to give the widest scope to the imagination, the opening of the first Universal Exhibition in Hyde Park. Well, life and colour were dreadfully deficient. Most of the reports that I came across were commonplace, conventional, and the style in many instances slipslop and sprawling. No slight-power of any consequence was brought to bear on a scene that must have been exhilarating in its brilliant novelty, and one to make a high-strung spectator tingle from head to foot. I looked in vain

for a few lines that would call out of the past any one of the different illustrious personages who figured in the pageant and set her (for a woman had the first part to play on that occasion) or him before me as she or he then appeared to the glad multitude. The Queen's eyes were welling over with tears, I had been told by one who was near her. But this evidence of heartfelt joy escaped the observation of the press. Methought, in turning over the files, what a pity that Mrs. Carlyle and Charlotte Bronte had not been found out, and commissioned by the *Times* and some other big newspaper to describe that Hyde Park function, at which the glow of hope and enthusiasm brightened thousands of faces, and none more than that of the Sovereign, which has since taken an expression of settled gloom! I next turned over another set of files, to see how the wedding of the Prince of Wales was treated. There was an improvement, and I fell on a masterpiece by Sala, in which he spoke of himself as a daw in a belfry looking down on the high and mighty personages forming the bridal party. He caught up the spirit of the scene and conveyed it with magical art to the reader. All the same, I should have liked to find a sketch from, say, the vivid, rattling pen of Miss Braddon. She had written several books in 1863. But it did not occur to any one in the neighbourhood of Fleet Street to tell her off for brilliant sketch work at the Royal wedding.

I am going to seek for an instance of the feminine capacity for journalistic work in a book—"Uncle Tom's Cabin"—the greatest literary hit that ever was made, and the most stupendous in its consequences. Deep answered to deep when Mrs. Stowe responded with her pen to the platform eloquence of Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and the Quaker saint, Lucretia Mott. Her book was journalism in this way. The author was inspired, as she was writing it, by events that were simultaneously going forward. Indeed, the raw material was newspaper paragraphs of platform denunciation of cruelties to runaway slaves, of the truckling of the Northern States to the planters, of slave auctions, slave flogging, and the arbitrary breaking up for the market of slave families. I heard Mrs. Stowe say that the newspapers kept her heart breaking and her blood boiling whilst she wrote. She wrote because asked to give her impressions on slavery to an obscure New England paper. She aimed as if she were doing a leading article for an immediate effect, and she produced it. A series of articles was looked for, but she gave a serial novel which set hearts throbbing in unison with her own all over the Northern States of America and everywhere in Europe, including Russia, where, because "Uncle Tom's Cabin" carried away the Grand Duchess Helena and the late Czarina, serf emancipation preceded slave liberation in the United States.

Journalism in Paris is well-nigh closed against women. This is

partly due to the pest of gallantry and to the narrow ideas of the wealthy and well-to-do classes about woman's place in society. The Socialist Prudhon may be said to have condensed these ideas when he formulated his sweeping axiom that women who were not born to fortune had no alternative between setting up as professionally pretty or being mere housewifely drudges. He overlooked, of course, the hundreds of thousands of women engaged in handicrafts and in business. Still, if bourgeois conventionalities and a low standard of social ethics in regard to women have made for excluding them from the press, there have been Frenchwomen at the top of the journalistic profession. Madame Emile de Girardin was the founder of the *Society Journal*; for what else was her *feuilleton* signed "Vicomte de Launay," which made the fortune of *La Presse*? She had to live what she wrote—the most wearing journalism of all.

There never was a quicker, a more exact, punctual and indefatigable parliamentary reporter than Madame Claude Vignon, who for six years sent a descriptive report of the sittings of the Versailles National Assembly to the *Indépendance Belge*. That unfettered Parliament sat in the Palace Theatre, and the Speaker allowed Madame Claude Vignon a front seat in the stage box. She wrote in pencil and in long hand on small square sheets of whitey-brown paper, which she thrust, unfolded, into a printed envelope to post at the railway terminus when she returned after the close of each sitting to Paris. She hardly ever missed a point, and her style was as finished as if she had carefully corrected and re-written her report. Her pen also furnished *feuilletons* to *Le Temps* and *Le Moniteur*. A man's work is over the moment he gets from the professional grind. A woman's never is. Madame Claude Vignon was not rich enough to order clothes of the great dressmakers, and she knew that the gloss of elegance was an Open sesame to many places to which she wanted access as a parliamentary descriptive reporter, but which, if she did not sacrifice to fashion, would remain closed against her. Helped by her maid, she furbished up worn dresses and made new ones. She often ran into the kitchen to prepare some dainty dish. In the parliamentary holidays she worked at sculpture, which she had, when younger, studied professionally. Her excellence as a sculptor led the Town Council of Paris to give her orders for a design for a public fountain and for portrait busts and decorations for the Hotel de Ville. She was a handsome woman and must have had a constitution of iron. But it was not hard work that killed her. Successful ambition did not give what she had hoped for, and when she attained what she had long striven after, disappointments and vexations crowded on her and poisoned her life and blood. She wanted the high-strung soul and moral health which kept Mrs. Beecher Stowe young until she was long past seventy.

Another eminent presswoman, to judge of her from the professional standpoint, is Séverine. I have no idea what her maiden name or successive matrimonial surnames were. She signs herself "Séverine" in her private notes and newspaper articles—Séverine merely. Her friends and acquaintances speak of her as Séverine and address her by that name, dropping the "Madame." Séverine was married, as French girls of good position and means generally are. Her first marriage took place when France was in a state of universal convulsion. The man to whom she was mated was a pedant and had exaggerated notions about the duties of wives to their husbands. He was blind to the converse side of the question. Séverine was open-hearted, shrewd, and had a touch of humour which she brought into play in suggesting that she too had rights. In the tempest of the Commune her pitiful heart threw her on the side of the vanquished insurgents. This led to domestic bickerings and a separation. The husband had, in law, all the rights, and was master of her property. She then became the secretary of an ill-conditioned, penniless Communist of genius, Jules Vallès. He had, save for her, the temper of a disagreeable cur, and his bite was infinitely worse than his bark. He was founder and editor of a Red Journal—*le Cri du Peuple*. Challenges and citations before Correctional judges rained down on the editor, who aimed at renovating the world by stirring up the working classes to revolt. He was a writer of rare originality, and, without Carlyle's moral backbone and with more tenderness for women, was a French Carlyle. When too ill himself to write, he dictated to Séverine. She corrected his proofs and was the "reader" at the office of *The People's Cry*. Séverine, mastering out of sheer kindness the mannerisms of Jules Vallès' style, wrote articles over his signature when he grew too ill with consumption to dictate. She kept the *Cri du Peuple* resonant. Vallès died, and she was chief mourner at his funeral, and was left by him in sole management of the journal. The wrangles of the men around her and their jealousy at finding that her voice fell pleasantly on the ears of Paris obliged her to give up editorship.

There has been George Sandism in her life. But as she is not polemical, and lives in a country in which divorce is made easy, she does not preach crusades against marriage. Though neither coarse nor vulgar, she is perhaps Bohemian, but better than the set in which she lives. Certainly no writer is now so much in request on the Paris press. She is prized for originality, a sweet vein of sentiment, bright touches of humour and kindness. Coming after—I speak figuratively and literally—all the vitriol throwing and duelling of the last twenty years, Séverine's genial feeling soothes and refreshes. With this, she has the sense of colour, which she brings to bear on her press work, and being as she is an artist, the language that she

uses corresponds beautifully with the subject. Her brethren of the pen are frantically jealous of her success and have obliged her to name a duelling *confrère* to answer for her with sword or pistol should she let drop words that might afford them occasion to pick a quarrel. A condition on which she entered the staff of *Le Journal* was the signing by this fighting partner of an engagement to be answerable for her articles to any persons whom she might offend in them. There is talk amongst the envious ones of combining to protect themselves against the competition of Séverine. Not that they can complain of her bringing down the market, few press writers being now so well paid. What they object to is the constant employment she has on so many papers, and the leading column being always given to her. It would be useless to try and give a specimen of her style in English, for depending as much on the sound as on the sense of the words for its effect, it is untranslatable. Her forte lies in awaking generous impulse, and thus unloosing the purse-strings of the rich for the benefit of the beaten ones of civilisation. This woman's articles are often charity sermons, brimful of sincere emotion. I should say that she furnishes ten columns a week of matter to the Paris press, and I believe that she writes a good deal for the provinces. The papers to which she most frequently contributes are the *Figaro*, *Le Gaulois*, *L'Éclair*, *L'Écho de Paris*, and *Le Journal*, and in all she writes above her own signature. Though often afflicted by the spite of her masculine rivals, her temper keeps sunny and her health good. Her face easily lights up into smiles and laughter, and the tear-fountain is near her eyes. Séverine, as she now is, may be counted a product of the events of 1870-71 and the six succeeding years. I know no better example of the suitability of press work to women. She is always "on the nail," and a finished craftswoman, and takes in at a glance the bearings of a subject. Her judgment may not be always sound, but it is unsophisticated, and her sincerity is beyond doubt.

Journalism seems the easiest of professions, and a rush is made towards it for this reason. This leads to overcrowding in the lower branches, and poor and precarious wages. There are people who think that press work must be as easy as chopping sticks for firewood. I often receive applications from relatives of persons who may be classed as failures to try and get some "light newspaper work" for them. There is no such thing, so far as I know. All newspaper work puts strain on the worker. What appear to outsiders the light wares of the press are the ones that take most out of the contributors who furnish them. That haste, which is an inevitable condition of press work, makes one feel each time one has got through an arduous task (and such tasks are more the rule than the exception) like a horse that has just done a forty-mile gallop at a

single heat. Press work taxes so heavily one's vitality that only those who have great reserves of nervous force can stand it. One must be always working to keep the source of production full and in good order. When others at places of festivity are simply amusing themselves, the journalist is consciously observing and mentally trying verbal effects. He has to make his studies then and there, if he wants to be well inspired when the time comes to record his impressions. Otherwise, what he may do will smell of the lamp, and certainly will not have the ease of an old shoe. The first requirement then is health and a rich reserve of strength. I don't mean the strength of the railway-porter, but the vitality which enables one to recoup rapidly after an exhausting bout of work. Women of good constitutions are more elastic in recovering than men. But elasticity is not enough. There must be staying power. It won't do to suffer from headaches, or to feel easily exhausted. Eager competition between pressmen and presswomen, the more eager competition among newspapers, and the yet greater competition for space among telegrams pouring in from all parts of the globe leave no room in the daily press for the sick and ailing. The same fatalities weigh on the weekly press. How often have I not written for some weekly paper an article a few days in advance, so as to carefully prune and polish. Before it was sent, and sometimes after, some thunderingly big event burst on the world, and as the public could think of nothing else, I had at once to turn round to hunt this hare. The hare that was already caught might or might not be one to stand over; if not the labour bestowed on it was in vain.

For the great newspapers one must generally work at night, and not always at regular hours, which makes things harder, the brain giving out ideas more easily at the time when it is accustomed to make a long effort, just as the digestive organs accomplish best their functions at the usual hours for meals. Night work is generally got through in a state approaching to brain-fever. The head must none the less keep sane. It is agonising when the mental faculties are thus over-stimulated and the time running on so fast that one hardly knows what is flowing from one's pen. One is in despair as one draws towards the close, and would give the world to be able to begin again. But the printers are waiting for the copy, and it must be flung to them either to sink or swim. Writing or telegraphing from abroad, one does not see one's proofs. When I was more of a novice I used to spend wretched hours between the moment the hurried article was sent off and that of its return in print. What gladness was felt on finding it had the honours of a screaming header of leaded type, and of flattering comment in a leading article or summary of news. I believe not on those who preach that if the inducement of making millions were not held out to human beings,



the world would be suffered to run to seed! The sudden possession of all the money in the Bank of England could never have been so gladdening as this little pat-on-the-head after the depression attendant on the race against time just described.

Shorthand is a useful accomplishment to pressmen and presswomen, and an indispensable one to those engaged in secretary's work. But it seems to me that its day in the other departments of newspaper work is declining. The custom must be abandoned of filling columns with dull speeches, in which the speaker talks rather for the purpose of concealment than of clear, frank statement. I look forward to seeing the *verbatim* report only kept on in the columns devoted to law intelligence, and then, in exceptionally sensational cases. The dictated articles and news-letters are also likely to die out, they being as heavy reading as most political speeches. I can always tell a dictated article by its wordiness and lax manner. But if I am not sure that young girls who think of seeking for press work should devote much time to shorthand, I should say to them all, learn type-writing. There is no better friend to the journalist and the eye-worn printer than the type-writer, which is invaluable to those who have few opportunities to correct their proofs. More type-writers and fewer pianos! The noise at first is distressing, but one gets used to it. Besides, working in noisy places is so often the lot of the journalist, that he or she must learn to be deaf to all that is not good to hear.

I have been asked by a mother from whom I had a letter "What is the best preparation for a girl wishing to make a figure as a journalist?" Pulling down her conceit first of all. It is presumptuous in any novice to expect to make a *figure* at anything. Presently I hope to say something about the moral requirements of the profession, meanwhile I will glance at the educational ones. It is essential that habits of close observation and of punctuality in fulfilling engagements be formed. If the journalist has often to keep irregular hours he must take care not to oblige others to keep them, and above all to be in time for the printers. An appetite for books is also to be cultivated. I have heard it said: "But life is not long enough for book-reading." It can never be too short for converse with those silent friends. The wider my range of life, the more pleasure and profit I take in books. They soothe, support and foster reflection, without which perception would be barren. Books deepen one's nature by strengthening the subjective part which is the mother of imagination and of emotion. There is no communicative power in a purely objective writer. Recollect that there were few great writers who were not in youth omnivorous readers. All the feminine classic writers certainly were, from Madame de Sévigné to George Eliot.

Gambetta, who was favourable to equal rights, was chatting with me one evening on this subject. He spoke of the Catholic Church as being in the way of the movement to allow women to evolve in freedom, forgetting that in Protestant Germany they are relegated to the position of household drudges. His mother, he said, was a woman of a really great mind and the most warm-hearted person that he knew. Her sympathy and perspicacity divined in him an orator, who was too good for the business of a country grocery, to which his father condemned him. He then spoke of feminine writers, which brought him to Madame de Sévigné and Madame de Staël. Gambetta said of the former :

“It was she, in her ‘Letters’ to her daughter, which were news-letters for the amusement of her and her neighbours in Provence, who was the creator of the journal. Madame de Staël ought to have been a journalist, for she always wrote best when moved by some public event to take up her pen. She was always receiving in dew what she gave back in rain, unless when in exile, when her genius flagged and she produced two dull rhetorical books, ‘Corinne’ and ‘Delphine.’ Whatever she left about the French Revolution, of which she was a witness, is immortal.”

“Madame de Sévigné was an orphan and an only child, and received a classical education from her uncle, the Abbé de Coulanges. She read for amusement Virgil in Latin, Cervantes in Spanish, and Tasso and Dante in Italian. Did you ever know of a distinguished woman who was not studious and fond of reading?”

The great school for the journalist, man or woman, is life, and the great secret of success pegging away. Nothing that it concerns the world to know of should be rejected as common or unclean. The philosophy of what that voice said in the vision of Simon Peter has been overlooked. As there should be no weed for the botanist, no dirt for the chemist, so there should be nothing common nor unclean for the journalist. The woman journalist should not seek, any more than the man, to be on the crests of high waves, but to be ready for them, and, when caught up on them, to trust to their landing her on high ground. One sex is just as well adapted for these high crests as the other. Every virtue that becomes a man becomes a woman yet more. Presence of mind and courage may be needful qualities in the ups and downs of a press career. The woman who writes this paper had to serve her apprenticeship in one of the most furious war storms of modern times. Battles, barricades, bombardments were so familiar as to cease to frighten. The noise of cannonading lulled to sleep at night, and the cessation of it kept awake. Her lodgings were occasionally on the cold flags of country inns; and, as for “entertainment,” there could be no regular meals, and often no meals at all. These dangers and hardships were the best possible training for subsequent duties. One was deconventionalised and thrown back on first principles. Having gone through such a school,

she had no difficulty in taking her life in her hand and walking alone from one end of Paris to the other during the throes of the Commune, to meet her husband coming from Versailles, and be with him should he be arrested as a spy. The instinct of fear grew so blunted that she really deserved no credit for acting bravely, and having her wits about her on finding herself in anxious emergencies.

It is impossible to emphasise too strongly the practical usefulness of cultivating the moral qualities—ethic feeling (which should not be demonstrative) and moral sense to prolong into old age bodily and mental vigour. The address and knack which lighten labour are certainly to be sought after; and in youth the rein is to be given to the passion for perfect literary form. But moral strength is the life of life. A great soul lifts one above all that is mean and paltry, and carries one through crushing difficulties, uncrushed. Talent without soul and moral power is the organ without bellows, the artificial flower as compared to the natural one. Adaptability is an ever necessary quality for the journalist. The best way to acquire it is to become at all times a slave to duty, which in principle is immutable, but the application of which is continually varying. When one arranges for one's inner life to pivot between the present moment and eternity, one retains the practical sense without which this world would not be a good school, and one ceases to worry about to-morrow. Nor does one trouble oneself about the toys of grown-up children. This makes concession on trifling points so easy, and helps one to reserve one's powder and shot for the slaying of giants. Nothing makes social relations smoother than this amiable pliancy growing out of the rock of principle. If it develop into a second nature and have the grace of whatsoever is natural, it opens the gates in all directions. What can be of more use to the journalist, whose studio ought to be the wide world, and who cannot too much realise that the larger the range of thought, feeling, and vision, the better the style.

The rewards the press affords to clever women who accept its unyieldingly hard conditions are, in regard to salary, handsome. The enduring ones must reap the best rewards, unless in the very exceptional cases of those who can at the outset, burn the Thames. And they are pretty sure to retrograde in incendiary ability, because the stern pressure has not been put upon them. There are rewards, and among the best, that cannot be appraised in pounds, shillings and pence. One is often thrown among interesting people if one's manners are good, and one's life estimable. One has near views of the pomps and pageantries of the great world, of the celebrities of the day; and one's brain, in the long run, becomes a bulky volume in the history of one's times.

A press life need not disqualify a woman for home life. But she ought to have a good housekeeper, and will have to send her children

to school. The most busy press woman that I know, Mrs. Margaret Sullivan, of Chicago, has no children. Mrs. Frederika Macdonald gets through a good deal of press work, though not in the daily paper mill, without a housekeeper, and has a charming house which is enlivened by three well-brought-up and highly educated children. The woman journalist who is in the thick of the battle has a reward of indescribable sweetness in the hours of rest she can steal from work. Her companionship with her husband, when she is of his profession, and shares his worries, is heavenly. If his sorrows are hers, so are all his joys. I was often frightened at my own happiness, in the short spans of repose and quiet companionship which were among the recompenses of an arduous career. A day in the country was as a vista opened on Paradise. To give an idea of the strain which preceded such relaxation I am induced to put myself forward for a few moments. On the occasion of the Shah's first visit to France, I was commissioned, he being then a novelty and the object of general curiosity and interest, to chronicle the *fêtes* that were to be given in his honour. An Orleanist Government was then in power. To reconcile the people of Paris to the idea of royalty, these festivities were to be of surpassing splendour, and to wind up with a garden-party at Versailles and a *soirée* at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This meant a heavy day for the press people who were invited, and dressing, and complicated hair-dressing, twice for the lady correspondent. There was not an instant for writing before the *soirée*, which was not over before midnight. Fatigue, utter and crushing, then overtook me. A short snatch of sleep was obtained in the carriage going home. But it was not enough. Brain and body called out for a couple of hours slumber in a comfortable bed. It was arranged to call me at two in the morning; when I was able to start up fresh and fit. The pen ran forward on the paper as if of itself. Sentences fell from it in the right form. Gleams of mirth shot through them. A messenger was to come at six sharp to take what was being written to the post, for special wires were then in their infancy. By that hour all was done, and the copy in an envelope. As luck would have it the day that had just dawned was Saturday, which, no Sunday papers coming out in London was a holiday for Paris correspondents. You can imagine the exquisite delight felt on realising that the harness was well off and would remain so until the evening of the following day. May the workers of the world never be deprived of their seventh-day rest! On whatever point they yield, let them stand by that.

EMILY CRAWFORD.

## COMPARATIVE PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

IN the month of February, 1665, there was assembled at Ragley Castle as curious a party as ever met in an English country-house. The hostess was the Lady Conway, a woman of remarkable talent and character, but wholly devoted to mystical speculations. In the end, unrestrained by the arguments of her clerical allies, she joined the Society of Friends, by the world called Quakers. Lady Conway at the time, when her guests gathered at Ragley, as through all her later life, was suffering from violent chronic headache. The party at Ragley was invited to meet her latest medical attendant, an unlicensed practitioner, Mr. Valentine Greatrakes, or Greatorex; his name is spelled in a variety of ways. Mr. Greatrakes was called "The Irish Stroker" and "The Miraculous Conformist" by his admirers, for, while it was admitted that Dissenters might frequently possess, or might claim, powers of miracle, the gift, or the pretension, was rare among members of the Established Church. The person of Mr. Greatrakes, if we may believe Dr. Henry Stubbe, physician at Stratford-on-Avon, diffused a pleasing fragrance as of violets. Lord Herbert of Chisbury, it will be remembered, tells the same story about himself in his Memoirs. Mr. Greatrakes "is a man of graceful personage and presence, and if my phantasy betrayed not my judgement," says Dr. Stubbe, "I observed in his eyes and meene a vivacitie and spritelinesse that is nothing common." This Miraculous Conformist was the younger son of an Irish squire, and a person of some property. After the Restoration—and not before—Greatrakes felt "a strong and powerful impulse in him to essay" the art of healing by touching, or stroking. He resisted the impulse, till one of his hands having become "dead" or numb, he healed it by

the strokes of the other hand. From that moment Greatrakes practised, and became celebrated; he cured some diseased persons, failed wholly with others, and had partial and temporary success with a third class. The descriptions given by Stubbe, in his letter to the celebrated Robert Boyle, and by Foxcroft, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, leave little doubt that "The Irish Stroker" was most successful with hypochondriacal and hysterical patients. He used to chase the disease up and down their bodies, if it did not "fly out through the interstices of his fingers," and if he could drive it into an outlying part, and then forth into the wide world, the patient recovered. So Dr. Stubbe reports the method of Greatrakes.\* He was brought over from Ireland, at a charge of about £155, to cure Lady Conway's headaches. In this it is confessed that he entirely failed; though he wrought a few miracles of healing among rural invalids. To meet this fragrant and miraculous Conformist, Lady Conway invited men worthy of the privilege, such as the Rev. Joseph Glanvil, F.R.S., the author of "Sadducismus Triumphatus," his friend Dr. Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, and other persons interested in mystical studies. Thus at Ragley there was convened the nucleus of an unofficial but active Society for Psychical Research, as that study existed in the seventeenth century.

The object of this article is to compare the motives, methods, and results of Lady Conway's circle, with those of the modern Society for Psychical Research. Both have investigated the reports of abnormal phenomena. Both have collected and published narratives of eye-witnesses. The moderns, however, are much more strict on points of evidence than their predecessors. They are not content to watch, but they introduce "tests," generally with the most disenchanting results. The old researchers were animated by the desire to establish the tottering faith of the Restoration, which was endangered by the reaction against Puritanism. Among the fruits of Puritanism, and of that frenzied state of mind which accompanied the Civil War, was a furious persecution of "witches." In a rare little book, "Select Cases of Conscience, touching Witches and Witchcraft, by John Gaule, Preacher of the Word at Great Staughton in the county of Huntington" (London, 1616), we find the author not denying the existence of witchcraft, but pleading for calm, learned, and judicial investigation. To do this was to take his life in his hand, for Matthew Hopkins, a fanatical miscreant, was ruling in a Reign of Terror through the country. The clergy of the Church of England, as Hutchinson proves in his "Treatise of Witchcraft" (second edition, London, 1720), had been comparatively cautious in their treatment of the subject. Their record is far from clean, but they had

\* "The Miraculous Conformist." A Letter to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. Oxford: University Press. 1666.

exposed some impostures, chiefly, it is fair to say, where Nonconformists, or Catholics, had detected the witch. With the Restoration the general laxity went so far as to scoff at witchcraft, to deny its existence, and even, in the works of Wagstaff and Webster, to minimise the leading case of the Witch of Endor. Against the "drollery of Sadducism," the Psychical Researchers, within the English Church, like Glanvil and Henry More, or beyond its pale, like Richard Baxter and many Scotch divines, defended witchcraft and apparitions as outworks of faith in general. The modern Psychical Society, whatever the predisposition of some of its members may be, explores abnormal phenomena, not in the interests of faith, but of knowledge. Again, the old inquirers were dominated by a belief in the devil. They saw witchcraft and demoniacal possession, where the moderns see hysterics and hypnotic conditions.

For us the topic is rather akin to mythology, and "Folk-Psychology," as the Germans call it. We are interested, as will be shown, in a most curious question of evidence, and the value of evidence. It will appear that the phenomena reported and discussed by Glanvil, More, Sinclair, Kirk, Telfair, Boyet, are identical with those examined by Messrs. Gurney, Myers, Kellar (the American professional conjurer), and many others. The differences, though interesting, are rather temporary and accidental than essential.

A few moments of attention to the table talk of the party assembled at Ragley will enable us to understand the aims, the methods, and the ideas of the old informal society. By a lucky accident, fragments of the conversation may be collected from Glanvil's "Sadducismus Triumphatus,"\* and from the correspondence of Glanvil, Henry More, and Robert Boyle. Mr. Boyle himself, among more tangible researches, devoted himself to collecting anecdotes about the Second Sight. These manuscripts are not published in the six huge quarto volumes of Boyle's works; on the other hand, we possess Lord Tarbet's answer to his questions.† Boyle, as his letters show, was a rather chary believer in witchcraft and possession. He referred Glanvil to his kinsman, Lord Orrery, who had enjoyed an experience not very familiar; he had seen a gentleman's butler float in the air! Now, by a great piece of good fortune, Mr. Greatrakes, the fragrant and miraculous, had also been an eye-witness of this miracle, and was able to give Lady Conway and her guests the fullest information. As commonly happened in the seventeenth century, though not in ours, the marvel of the butler was mixed up with ordinary folklore. In the records and researches of the existing society for Psychical Research, folklore and fairies hold no place. The Conformist, however, had this tale to tell: the butler of a gentleman unnamed, who

\* Fourth edition, London, 1724

† In Kirk's "Secret Commonwealth." 1691. London: Nutt. 1898.

lived near Lord Orrery's seat in Ireland, fell in, one day, with the good people, or fairies, sitting at a feast. The fairies, therefore, endeavoured to spirit him away, as later they carried off Mr. Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, in 1692. Lord Orrery, most kindly, gave the butler the security of his castle, where the poor man was kept, "under police protection," and watched, in a large room. Among the spectators were Mr. Greatrakes himself, and two bishops, one of whom may have been Jeremy Taylor, an active member of the Society. Late in the afternoon, the butler was "perceived to rise from the ground, whereupon Mr. *Greatrix* and another lusty man clapt their hands over his shoulders, one of them before, and the other behind, and weighed him down with all their strength, but he was forcibly taken up from them; for a considerable time he was carried in the air to and fro, over their heads, several of the company still running under him, to prevent him receiving hurt if he should fall;" so says Glanvil. Faithorne illustrates this pleasing circumstance by a picture of the company standing out, ready to "field" the butler, whose features display great concern.

Now we know that Mr. Greatrakes told this anecdote, at Ragley, first to Mrs. Foxcroft, and then to the company at dinner. Mr. Alfred Wallace, F.R.S., adduces Lord Orrery and Mr. Greatrakes as witnesses of this event in private life. Mr. Wallace, however, forgets to tell the world that the fairies, or good people, were, or were believed to be, the agents.\* Glanvil admits that Lord Orrery assured Lady Roydon, one of the party at Ragley, that the tale was true: Henry More had it direct from Mr. Greatrakes.

Here is a palpably absurd legend, but the reader is requested to observe that the phenomenon is said to have occurred in all ages and countries. We can adduce the testimony of modern Australian blacks, of Greek philosophers, of Peruvians just after the conquest by Pizarro, of the authors of Lives of the Saints, of living observers in England, India, and America. The phenomenon is technically styled "levitation," and in England was regarded as a proof, either of witchcraft or of "possession"; in Italy was a note of sanctity; in modern times is a peculiarity of "mediumship"; in Australia is a token of magical power; in Zululand of skill in the black art; and, in Ireland, was attributed to the guile of the fairies. Here are four or five distinct hypotheses. Part of our business, therefore, is to examine and compare the forms of a fable current in many lands, and reported to the circle at Ragley by the Miraculous Conformist.

Mr. Greatrakes did not entertain Lady Conway and her friends with this marvel alone. He had been present at a trial for witchcraft, in Cork, on September 11, 1661. In this affair evidence was led to prove a story as common as that of "levitation"—namely,

\* "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," p. 7. London: Burns. 1875.



the mysterious throwing or falling of stones in a haunted house, or around the person of a patient bewitched. The patient was Mary Longdon, the witch was Florence Newton of Youghal. Glanvil prints the trial from a document which he regards as official, but he did not take the trouble to trace Mr. Aston, the recorder or clerk (as Glanvil surmises), who signed every page of the manuscript. Mr. Alfred Wallace quotes the tale, without citing his authority. The witnesses for the falling of stones round the bewitched girl were the maid herself, and her master; John Pyne, who deposed that she was "much troubled with little stones that were thrown at her wherever she went, and that, after they had hit her, would fall on the ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found." Objects in the maid's presence, such as Bibles, would "fly from her," and she was bewitched, and carried off into odd places, like the butler at Lord Orrery's. Nicholas Pyne gave identical evidence. At Ragley, Mr. Greatrakes declared that he was present at the trial, and that an awl would not penetrate the stool on which the unlucky enchantress was made to stand: a clear proof of guilt.

Here, then, we have the second phenomenon which interested the circle at Ragley; the flying about of stones, of Bibles, and other movements of bodies. Though the whole affair was doubtless an hysterical imposture by Mary Longdon (who vomited pins, and so forth, as was customary), we shall presently trace the reports of similar events, among people of widely remote ages and countries, "from China to Peru."

Among the guests at Ragley, as we said, was Dr. Joseph Glanvil, who could also tell strange tales at first-hand, and from his own experience. He had investigated the case of the disturbances in Mr. Mompesson's house at Tedworth, which began in March 1661. These events, so famous among our ancestors, were precisely identical with what is reported by modern newspapers, when there is a "medium" in a family. The troubles began with rappings on the walls of the house, and on a drum taken by Mr. Mompesson from a vagrant musician. This man seems to have been as much vexed as Parolles by the loss of his drum, and the Psychical Society at Ragley believed him to be a magician, who had bewitched the house of his oppressor. While Mrs. Mompesson was adding an infant to her family the noise ceased, or nearly ceased, just as, at Epworth, in the house of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, it never vexed Mrs. Wesley at her devotions. Later, at Tedworth, "it followed and vexed the younger children, beating their bedsteads with that violence, that all present expected when they would fall in pieces." . . . It would lift the children up in their beds. Objects were moved: lights flitted around, and the Rev. Joseph Glanvil could assure Lady Conway that he had been a witness of some of these occurrences. He saw the

“little modest girls in the bed, between seven and eight years old, as I guessed.” He saw their hands outside the bed-clothes, and heard the scratchings above their heads, and felt “the room and windows shake very sensibly.” When he tapped or scratched a certain number of times, the noise answered, and stopped at the same number. Many more things of this kind Glanvil tells. He denies the truth of a report that an imposture was discovered, but admits that when Charles II. sent gentlemen to stay in the house, nothing unusual occurred. But these researchers stayed only for a single night. Glanvil told similar tales about a house at Welton, near Daventry, in 1658. Stones were thrown, and all the furniture joined in an irregular corroboree. Too late for Lady Conway’s party was the similar disturbance at Gast’s house of Little Burton, June 1677. Here the careful student will note that “they saw a hand holding a hammer, which kept on knocking.” This *hand* is as familiar to the research of the seventeenth as to that of the nineteenth century. We find it again in the celebrated Scotch cases of Rerrick (1695), and of Glenluce, while “the Rev. James Sharpe” (later Archbishop of St. Andrews), vouched for it, in 1659, in a tale told by him to Lauderdale, and by Lauderdale to the Rev. Richard Baxter.\* Glanvil also contributes a narrative of the very same description about the haunting of Mr. Paschal’s house in Soper Lane, London: the evidence is that of Mr. Andrew Paschal, Fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge. In this case the trouble began with the arrival and coincided with the stay of a gentlewoman, unnamed, “who seemed to be principally concerned.” As a rule, in these legends, it is easy to find out who the “medium” was. The phenomena here were accompanied by “a cold blast or puff of wind,” which blew on the hand of the Fellow of Queen’s College, just as it has often blown, in similar circumstances, on the hands of Mr. Crookes, and of other modern amateurs. It would be tedious to analyse all Glanvil’s tales of rappings, and of volatile furniture. We shall see that, before his time, as after it, precisely similar narratives attracted the notice of the curious. Glanvil generally tries to get his stories at first-hand and signed by eye-witnesses.

Lady Conway was not behind her guests in personal experiences. Her ladyship was concerned with a good old-fashioned ghost. We say “old-fashioned” of set purpose, because while modern tales of “levitation” and flighty furniture, of flying stones, of rappings, of spectral hands, of cold psychical winds, are exactly like the tales of old, a change, an observed change, has come over the ghost of the nineteenth century. Readers of the Proceedings of the Psychical Society will see that the modern ghost is a purposeless creature. He

\* The anecdote is published by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, in a letter of Lauderdale’s, affixed to Sharpe’s edition of Law’s “Memorials.”

appears nobody knows why; he has no message to deliver, no secret crime to reveal, no appointment to keep, no treasure to disclose, no commissions to be executed, and, as an almost invariable rule, he does not speak, even if you speak to him. The recent inquirers, notably Mr. Myers, remark with some severity on this vague and meaningless conduct of apparitions, and draw speculative conclusions to the effect that the ghost, as the Scotch say, "is not all there." But the ghosts of the seventeenth century were positively garrulous. One remarkable specimen indeed behaved, at Valogne, more like a ghost of our time than of his own. But, as a common rule, the ghosts in whom Lady Conway's friends were interested had a purpose: some revealed the spot where a skeleton lay; some urged the payment of a debt, or the performance of a neglected duty. One modern spectre, reported by Mr. Myers, wandered disconsolate till a debt of three shillings and tenpence was defrayed.\* This is, perhaps, the lowest figure cited as a pretext for appearing. The ghost vouched for by Lady Conway was disturbed about a larger sum, twenty-eight shillings. She, an elderly woman, persecuted by her visits David Hunter, "neat-herd at the house of the Bishop of Down and Connor, at Portmore, in 1663." Mr. Hunter did not even know the ghost when she was alive; but she made herself so much at home in his dwelling that "his little dog would follow her as well as his master." The ghost, however, was invisible to Mrs. Hunter. When Hunter had at last executed her commission, she asked him to lift her up in his arms. She was not substantial, like fair Katie King, when embraced by Mr. Crookes, but "felt just like a bag of feathers; so she vanished, and he heard most delicate music as she went off over his head." Lady Conway cross-examined Hunter on the spot, and expressed her belief in his narrative in a letter, dated Lisburn, April 29, 1663. It is true that contemporary sceptics attributed the phenomena to *potheen*, but, as Lady Conway asks, how could potheen tell Hunter about the ghost's debt, and reveal that the money to discharge it was hidden under her hearthstone? The scope of the Ragley inquiries may now be understood. It must not be forgotten that witchcraft was a topic of deep interest to these students. They solemnly quote the records of trials in which it is perfectly evident that girls and boys, either in a spirit of wicked mischief, or suffering from hysterical illusions, make grotesque charges against poor old women. The witches always prick, pinch, and torment their victims, being present to them, though invisible to the bystanders. This was called "spectral evidence"; and the Mathers, during the fanatical outbreaks at Salem, admit that this "spectral evidence," unsupported, is of no legal value. Indeed, taken literally, Cotton Mather's cautions on the subject of evidence may almost be called sane and sensible. But the Protestant inqui-

\* "Proceedings S.P.R.," part xv. p. 33.

sitors always discovered evidence confirmatory. For example, a girl is screaming out against an invisible witch; a man, to please her, makes a snatch at the empty air where she points, and finds in his hand a fragment of stuff, which again is proved to be torn from the witch's dress. It is easy to see how this trick could be played. Again, a possessed girl cries that a witch is tormenting her with an iron spindle, grasps at the spindle (visible only to her), and, lo, it is in her hand, and is the property of the witch. Here is proof positive! Again, a girl at Stoke Trister, in Somerset, is bewitched by Elizabeth Style, of Bayford, widow. The rector of the parish, the Rev. William Parsons, deposes that the girl, in a fit, pointed to different parts of her body, "and where she pointed, he perceived a red spot to arise, with a small black in the midst of it, like a small thorn"; and other evidence was given to the same effect. The phenomenon is akin to many which, according to medical and scientific testimony, occur to patients in the hypnotic state. The so-called *stigmata* of Louise Lateau are a case in point. But Glanvil, who quotes the record of the trial (January 1664), holds that witchcraft is proved by the coincidence of the witch's confession that she, the devil, and others made an image of the girl and pierced it with thorns! The confession is a piece of pure folklore: poor old Elizabeth Style merely copies the statements of French and Scotch witches. The devil appeared as a handsome man, and as a black dog! Glanvil denies that she was tortured, or "watched"—that is, kept awake till her brain reeled. But his own account makes it plain that she was "watched" after her confession at least, when the devil, under the form of a butterfly, appeared in her cell.

This rampant and mischievous nonsense was dear to the psychical inquirers of the Restoration; it was circulated by Glanvil, a Fellow of the Royal Society; by Henry More; by Sinclair, a professor in the University of Glasgow; by Richard Baxter, that glory of Nonconformity, who revels in the burning of an "old reading parson"—that is, a clergyman who read the Homilies, under the Commonwealth. This unlucky old parson was tortured into confession by being "walked" and "watched"—that is, kept from sleep till he was delirious. Archbishop Spottiswoode treated Father Ogilvie, S.J., in the same abominable manner, till delirium supervened. Church, Kirk, and Dissent have no right to throw the first stone at each other.

Taking levitation, haunting, disturbances, and apparitions, and leaving "telepathy" or second sight out of the list for the present, he who compares psychical research in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries finds himself confronted by the problem which everywhere meets the student of institutions and of mythology. The anthropologist knows that, if he takes up a new book of travels in

the remotest lands, he will find mention of strange customs perfectly familiar to him in other parts of the ancient and modern world. The mythologist would be surprised if he encountered in Papua or Central Africa, or Sakhalin, a perfectly *new* myth. These uniformities of myth and custom are explained by the identical workings of the uncivilised intelligence on the same materials, and, in some cases, by borrowing, transmission, imitation.

Now, some features in witchcraft admit of this explanation. Highland crofters, even now, perforate the image of an enemy with pins; broken bottle-ends or sharp stones are put, in Russia and in Australia, in the footprints of a foe, for the purpose of laming him; and there are dozens of such practices, all founded on the theory of sympathy. Like affects like. What harms the effigy hurts the person whose effigy is burned or pricked. All this is perfectly intelligible. But, when we find savage "biraarks" in Australia, fakirs in India, saints in mediæval Europe, a gentleman's butler in Ireland, boys in Somerset and Midlothian, a young warrior in Zululand, Miss Nancy Wesley at Epworth in 1716, and Mr. Daniel Home in London in 1856-70, all triumphing over the law of gravitation, all floating in the air, how are we to explain the uniformity of stories palpably ridiculous?

The evidence, it must be observed, is not merely that of savages, or of persons as uneducated and as superstitious as savages. The Australian biraark, who flies away over the trees, we may leave out of account. The saints, St. Francis and St. Theresa, are more puzzling, but miracles were expected from saints.\* The levitated boy was attested to in a court of justice, and is designed by Faithorne in an illustration of Glanvil's book. He flew over a garden! But witnesses in such trials were fanciful people. Lord Orrery and Mr. Greatrakes may have seen the butler float in the air—after dinner. The exploits of the Indian fakirs almost, or quite, overcome the scepticism of Mr. Max Müller, in his Gifford "Lectures on Psychological Religion." Living and honourable white men aver that they have seen the feat, examined the performers, and found no explanation; no wires, no trace of imposture. (The writer is acquainted with a well vouched-for case, the witness an English officer.) Mr. Kellar, an American professional conjurer, and exposé of spiritualistic pretensions, bears witness, in the *North American Review*, to a Zulu case of "levitation," which actually surpasses the tale of the gentleman's butler in strangeness. Cieza de Leon, in his "Travels," translated by Mr. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, brings a similar anecdote from early Peru, in 1549.† Miss Nancy Wesley's case is vouched for (she and the bed she sat on both rose from the floor) by a letter from one of her family to her brother

\* See many examples in "Li Fioretti de Misser Santo Francesco."

† Ch. cxviii.

Samuel, printed in Southey's "Life of Wesley." Finally, Lord Lindsay and Lord Adare published a statement that they saw Home float out of one window and in at another, in Ashley Place, S.W., on December 16, 1868. Captain Wynne, who was also present, "wrote to the *Medium*, to say I was present as a witness."\* We need not heap up more examples, drawn from classic Greece, as in the instances of Abaris and Plotinus. We merely stand speechless in the presence of the wildest of all fables, when it meets us, as identical myths and customs do—not among savages alone, but everywhere, practically speaking, and in connection with barbarous sorcery, with English witchcraft, with the saintliest of mediæval devotees, with African warriors, with Hindoo fakirs, with a little English girl in a quiet old country parsonage, and with an enigmatic American gentleman. Many living witnesses, of good authority, sign statements about Home's levitation. In one case, a large table on which stood a man of twelve stone weight, rose from the floor, and an eye-witness, a doctor, felt under the castors with his hands.

There are dozens of such depositions, and here it is that the student of testimony and of belief finds himself at a deadlock. Believe the evidence we cannot, yet we cannot doubt the good faith, the veracity of the attesting witnesses. Had we only savage, or ancient and uneducated testimony, we might say that the uniformity of myths of levitation is easily explained. The fancy wants a marvel, it readily provides one by positing the infraction of the most universally obvious law, that of gravitation. Men don't fly; let us say that a man flew, like Abaris on his arrow! This is rudimentary, but then witnesses whose combined testimony would prove almost anything else, declare that they saw the feat performed. Till we can find some explanation of these coincidences of testimony, it is plain that a province in psychology, in the relations between facts as presented to and as represented by mankind, remains to be investigated. Of all persons who have been levitated since St. Francis, a medium named Eglinton was most subject to this infirmity. In a work, named "There is no Death," by Florence Marryat, the author assures us that she has frequently observed the phenomenon. But Mr. Eglinton, after being "investigated" by the Psychical Society, "retired," as Mr. Myers says, "into private life." The tales told about him by spiritualists are of the kind usually imparted to a gallant, but proverbially confiding, arm of Her Majesty's service. As for Lord Orrery's butler, and the others, there are the hypotheses that a cloud of honourable and sane witnesses lied; that they were uniformly hallucinated, or hypnotised, by a glamour as extraordinary as the actual miracle would be; or again, that conjuring of an unexampled character could be done, not only by Home, or Eglinton,

\* "D. D. Home; his Life and Mission," p. 307. London. 1888.

in a room which may have been prepared, but by Home, by a Zulu, and by naked fakirs, in the open air. Of all these theories that of glamour, of hypnotic illusion, is the most specious. Thus, when Ibn Batuta, the old Arabian traveller, tells us that he saw the famous rope-trick performed in India—men climbing a rope thrown into the air, and cutting each other up, while the bodies revive and reunite—he very candidly adds that his companion, standing by, saw nothing out of the way, and declared that nothing occurred.\* This clearly implies that Ibn Batuta was hypnotised, and that his companion was not. But Dr. Carpenter's attempt to prove that one witness saw nothing, while Lord Lindsay and Lord Adare saw Home float out of one window, and in by another, turns out to be erroneous. The third witness, Captain Wynne, confirmed the statement of the other gentlemen.

We now approach the second class of marvels which regaled the circle at Ragley, namely, "Alleged movements of objects without contact, occurring *not* in the presence of a paid medium," and with these we shall examine rappings and mysterious noises. The topic began to attract modern attention when table-turning was fashionable. But in common table-turning there *was* contact, and Faraday easily demonstrated that there was conscious or unconscious pushing and muscular exertion. In 1871 Mr. Crookes made laboratory experiments with Home, using mechanical tests.† He demonstrated, to his own satisfaction, that in the presence of Home, even when he was not in physical contact with the object, the object moved: *e pur si muove*. He published a reply to Dr. Carpenter's criticism, and the common sense of ordinary readers, at least, sees no flaw in Mr. Crookes's method and none in his argument. The experiments of the modern Psychical Society, with paid mediums, produced results, in Mr. Myers's opinion, "not wholly unsatisfactory," but far from leading to an affirmative conclusion, if by "satisfactory" Mr. Myers means "affirmative."‡ The investigations of Mrs. Sidgwick were made under the mediumship of Miss Kate Fox (Mrs. Jencken). This lady began the modern "Spiritualism" when scarcely older than Mr. Mompesson's "two modest little girls," and was accompanied by phenomena like those of Tedworth. But, in Mrs. Sidgwick's presence the phenomena were of the most meagre; and the reasoning faculties of the mind decline to accept them as other than perfectly normal. The Society tried Mr. Eglinton, who once was "levitated" in the presence of Mr. Kellar, the American conjurer, who has publicly described feats like those of the gentleman's butler.§ But, after his dealings with the Society,

\* See Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo."

† *Quarterly Journal of Science*, July 1871.

‡ "Proceedings S. P. R.," xix. p. 146.

§ *North American Review*. 1893.

Mr. Eglinton has "retired into private life."\* The late Mr. Davey also produced results like Mr. Eglinton's by confessed conjuring. Mr. Myers concludes that "it does not seem worth while, as a rule, to examine the testimony to physical marvels, occurring in the presence of professional mediums." He therefore collects evidence in the article quoted, for physical marvels occurring where there is no paid medium. Here, as in the business of levitation, the interest of the anthropologist and mythologist lies in the uniformity and identity of narratives from all countries, climates, and ages. The earliest rappings with which we chance to be familiar are those reported by Froissart in the case of the spirit Orthon, in the fourteenth century. The tale has become almost a *fabliau*, but any one who reads the amusing chapter will see that it is based on a belief in disturbances like those familiar to Glanvil and the Misses Fox. Cieza de Leon (1549) in the passage already quoted, where he describes the levitated Cacique of Pirza, in Popyan, adds that "the Christians saw stones falling from the air" (as in the Greatrakes tale of the Youghal witch), and declares that, "when the chief was sitting with a glass of liquor before him, the Christians saw the glass raised up in the air and put down empty, and a short time afterwards the wine was again poured into the cup from the air." Mr. Home once equalled this marvel, and Ibn Batuta reports similar occurrences, earlier, at the court of the King of Delhi. There is another case in "Histoire Prodigueuse d'une jeune Fille agitée d'un Esprit fantastique et invisible." † A *bourgeois* of Bonneval was beset by a rapping rattle of a sprite. "At dinner, when he would lay his hand on a trencher, it was carried off elsewhere, and the wineglass, when he was about drinking, was snatched from his hand." So Mr. Wesley's trencher was set spinning on the table, when nobody touched it! In such affairs we may have the origin of the story of the Harpies at the court of Phineus.

In China, Mr. Dennys tells how "food placed on the table vanished mysteriously, and many of the curious phenomena attributed to ghostly interference took place," so that the householder was driven from house to house, and finally into a temple, in 1874, and all this after the death of a favourite but aggrieved monkey! ‡ "Throwing down crockery, trampling on the floor, &c.—such pranks as have attracted attention at home, are not unknown. . . . I must confess that in China, as elsewhere, these occurrences leave a *bonâ fide* impression of the marvellous which can neither be explained nor rejected." §

We have now noted these alleged phenomena, literally "from China to Peru." Let us next take an old French case of a noisy sprite in the nunnery of St. Pierre de Lyon. The account is by

\* "Proceedings, S.P.R." iv. pp. 45-100; xix. p. 147.

† À Paris, chez la Veuve du Carroy. 1621.

‡ "Folklore of China," 1876, p. 79. § *Op. cit.*, p. 74.



Adrien de Montalembert, Almoner to Francis I.\* The nunnery was reformed in 1516. A pretty sister, Alis de Telieux, fled with some of the jewels, lived a "gay" life, and died wretchedly in 1524. She it was, as is believed, who haunted a Sister named Anthoinette de Grolée, a girl of eighteen. The disturbance began with a confused half-dream. The girl fancied that the sign of the cross was made on her brow, and a kiss impressed on her lips, as she wakened one night. She thought this was mere illusion, but presently, when she got up, she heard, "comme sous ses pieds frapper aucuns petis coups," "rappings," as if at the depth of four inches underground. This was exactly what occurred to Miss Hetty Wesley, at Epworth, in 1716, and at Rio de Janeiro to a child named "C.," in Professor Alexander's narrative.† Montalembert says, in 1528, "I have heard these rappings many a time, and, in reply to my questions, so many strokes as I asked for were given." Montalembert received information (by way of raps) from the "spirit," about matters of importance, *qui ne pourroient estre cogneus de mortelle créature*. "Certainly," as he adds, "people have the best right to believe these things who have seen and heard them."

The rites of the Church were conferred in the most handsome manner on the body of Sister Alis, which was disinterred and buried in her convent. Exorcisms and interrogations of the spirit were practised. It merely answered questions by rapping "Yes," or "No." On some occasions Sister Anthoinette was "levitated." Finally, the spirit appeared bodily to her, said farewell, and disappeared after making an extraordinary *fracas* at matins. Montalembert conducted the religious ceremonies. One case of hysteria was developed; the sufferer was a novice. Of course it was attributed to diabolical possession. The whole story, in its pleasant old French, has an agreeable air of good faith. But what interests us is the remarkable analogy between the Lyons rappings and those at Epworth, Tedworth, and countless other cases, old or of yesterday. We can now establish a *catena* of rappings, and *pour prendre date*, can say that communications were established, through raps, with a so-called "spirit," more than three hundred years before the "Rochester knockings" in America. Very probably wider research would discover instances prior to that of Lyons.

It is usual to explain the raps by a theory that the "medium" produces them through cracking his, or her, knee-joints. It may thus be argued that Sister Anthoinette discovered this trick, or was taught the trick, and that the tradition of her performance, being

\* Paris. Quarto. Black Letter. 1528. The original is extremely rare. We quote from a copy once in the Tellier collection, reprinted in "Recueil de Dissertations Anciennes et Nouvelles sur les Apparitions." Leloupe: Avignon. 1751. Vol. ii. pp. 1 87.

† "Proceedings S.P.R.," xix. p. 186. "C." is a Miss Davis, daughter of a gentleman occupying "a responsible position as a telegraphist." The date was 1888.

widely circulated in Montalembert's quarto, and by oral report, inspired later rappers, such as Miss Kate Fox, Miss "C." Davis, Miss Hetty Wesley, the gentlewoman at Mr. Paschal's, Mr. Mompesson's "modest little girls," Daniel Home, and Miss Margaret Wilson of Galashiels. Miss Wilson's uncle came one day to Mr. Wilkie, the minister, and told him the devil was at his house, for, said he, "there is an odd knocking about the bed where my niece lies." Whereupon the minister went with him, and found it so. "She, rising from her bed, sat down to supper, and from below there was such a knocking up as bred fear to all that were present. This knocking was just under her chair, where it was not possible for any mortal to knock up." When Miss Wilson went to bed, and was in a deep sleep, "her body was so lifted up that many strong men were not able to keep it down."\* The explanation about cracking the knee-joints hardly covers the levitations, or accounts for the tremendous noise which surrounded Sister Anthoinette at matins. Margaret Wilson was about twelve years of age. If it be alleged that little girls have a traditional method of imposture, even that is a curious and interesting fact in human nature. As regards imposture, there exists a singular record of a legal process in Paris, 1534.†

In this affair it is by no means certain that the right persons were punished. The Franciscans of Orleans, on the first Sunday of Lent, 1533 (old style), examined and exorcised an *esprit tumultuant*. This being manifested itself—beginning by scratching and going on with raps—round the beds of the children of François de Saint-Mesmin, Prevost d'Orleans. The children were Catherine, Anne, and Nicolas, whose ages are not given. Father Pierre d'Arras was the exorcist. By the system of raps, so many knocks counting as "Yes," so many as "No," the Friar elicited from the spirit that she was the dead mother of the children, and was damned for the Lutheran heresy—and for love of dress! On Monday he returned to the charge, but the Assistans Seculiers placed one of themselves "au dessus du lieu où le dit esprit frappoit." After this there was no more rapping. M. de Saint-Mesmin therefore accused about a dozen friars of libelling his late wife; they were shut up in prison, enduring hardness; after long detention the case was heard, and they were condemned to penance and exile for the libels. It is interesting to note that the noises haunted the beds of the children, as at Epworth, Tedworth, and Rio Janeiro. If the Franciscans were the impostors, and not imposed upon, they probably followed some tradition which connected rapping spirits with the beds of children. But the record of the trial is deficient in detail.

\* "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," Edinburgh: Reid, 1685. Pp 67-69.

† Manuscript 7170 A. de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Dissertation, at *supra*. Vol. i. pp. 95-129.

A large book might easily be filled with old stories of mysterious flights of stones, and volatile chairs and tables. In the presence of Home, even a bookcase is said to have forgotten itself, and committed the most deplorable excesses. In the article of Mr. Myers, already cited, we find a table which jumps by the bedside of a dying man.\* A handbag of Miss Power's flies from an arm-chair, and hides under a table; raps are heard; all this when Miss Power is alone. Mr. H. W. Gore Graham sees a table move about. A heavy table of Mr. G. A. Armstrong's rises high in the air. A tea-table "runs after" Professor Alexander, and "attempts to hem me in," this was at Rio Janeiro, in the Davis family, where raps "ranged from hardly perceptible ticks up to resounding blows, such as might be struck by a wooden mallet." A Mr. H. falls into convulsions, during which all sorts of things fly about. All these stories closely correspond to the tales in Increase Mather's "Remarkable Providences in New England," in which the phenomena sometimes occur in the presence of an epileptic and convulsed boy, about 1680. To take one classic French case, Segrais declares that a M. Patris was lodged in the Château d'Egmont. At dinner-time, he went into the room of a friend, whom he found lost in the utmost astonishment. A huge book, Cardan's "De Subtilitate," had flown at him across the room, and the leaves had turned, under invisible fingers! M. Patris laughed at this tale, and went into the gallery, when a large chair, so heavy that two men could scarcely lift it, shook itself and came at him. He remonstrated, and the chair returned to its usual position. "This made a deep impression on M. Patris, and contributed in no slight degree to make him a converted character."—*à le faire devenir dérot.*†

Tales like this, with that odd uniformity of tone and detail which makes them curious, might be collected from old literature to any extent. Thus, among the sounds usually called "rappings," Mr. Crookes mentions, as matter within his own experience, "a cracking like that heard when a frictional machine is at work." Now, as may be read in Southey's "Life of Wesley," and in Clarke's "Memoirs of the Wesleys," this was the very noise which usually heralded the arrival of "Jeffrey," as they called the Epworth "spirit."‡ It has been alleged that the charming and ill-fated Hetty Wesley caused the disturbances. If so (and Dr. Salmon, who supports this thesis, does not even hazard a guess as to the *modus operandi*), Hetty must have been familiar with almost the whole extent of psychical literature, for she scarcely left a single phenomenon unrepresented. It does not appear that she supplied visible "hands." We have seen

\* Witness, Rev. E. T. Vaughan, King's Langley. 1884.

† "Segraisiana," p. 213.

‡ Crookes' "Notes of an Enquiry into the Phenomena usually called Spiritual," p. 86. London: Burns. (Second edition.)

Glanvil lay stress on the apparition of a hand. In the case of the devil of Glenluce, "there appeared a naked hand, and an arm from the elbow down, beating upon the floor till the house did shake again."\* At Rerrick, in 1695, "it knocked upon the chests and boards, as people do at a door." "And as I was at prayer," says the Rev. Alexander Telfair, "leaning on the side of a bed, I felt something thrusting my arm up, and casting my eyes thitherward, perceived a little white hand, and an arm from the elbow down, but it vanished presently."† The hands viewed, grasped, and examined by Home's *clintèle*, hands which melted away in their clutch, are innumerable, and the phenomenon, with the "cold breeze," is among the most common in modern narratives.

Here we close a review which might easily be produced to any length, without entering on the reports of apparitions, and of second sight. These are no less curious, in their uniformity of incident and character (with the differences already alluded to), than the physical "manifestations." Our only conclusion is that the psychological conditions which begat the ancient narratives produce the new legends. These surprise us by the apparent good faith in marvel and myth of many otherwise credible narrators, and by the coincidence, accidental or designed, with old stories not generally familiar to the modern public. Do impostors and credulous persons deliberately "get up" the subject in rare old books? Is there a method of imposture handed down by one generation of bad little girls to another? Is there such a thing as persistent identity of hallucination among the sane? This was Coleridge's theory, but it is not without difficulties. These questions are the present results of Comparative Psychological Research.

A. LANG.

[NOTE.—Since writing this article the author has read D. D. Home's "Incidents in My Life" (1863). In vol. i. pp. 170, 171, Home tells, as an occurrence at a *seance* of his own, how a glass full of brandy and water was lifted by the spirits, set down empty, and refilled! This is one of the phenomena reported by Cieza de Leon as occurring in Peru (ch. cxviii.) in 1549. It is unlikely that Home had read Cieza. Have we here Transmission, or independent invention? The writer finds that, in an unsigned appendix to Home's book, Dr. Robert Chambers, himself a folk-lorist, has collected some of the ancient instances given above, with others. He neglects Mather's cases from New England, which are very remarkable.]

\* "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," p. 85.

† "A New Confutation of Sadducism," p. 5. Writ by Mr. Alexander Telfair. London. 1696.

## THE TEACHINGS OF THE LABOUR COMMISSION.

NOW that the Labour Commission is approaching the completion of its task, so far as the collection of evidence is concerned, and whilst the facts it has elicited are comparatively fresh in our memories, the fitting moment seems to have arrived for threshing out whatever lessons these facts may contain upon a topic which occupies the attention of listeners and readers almost as much, let us hope, as it absorbs the energies of speakers and writers.

The utterances of the representative working men examined before the Commission accord fully with the observation so frequently made of late years that the working classes, now that they command a majority on the electoral roll of the country, have none of that aversion to State intervention which characterised the middle class during its short term of power between the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867. The constitution of a board for compulsory arbitration, the enactment of an eight-hours labour day of either permissive or general application, the inauguration of a system of State pensions as a reward of labour, the recognition in all State and municipal contracts of the rate of pay current in "fair" workshops (*i.e.*, workshops which recognise the trades-union scale) as the minimum of remuneration, and the execution of municipal undertakings by the authorities themselves without the intervention of contractors, these are among the demands pressed upon the Legislature and upon local authorities by a large section of working men, while their leaders are practically unanimous in urging the increased inspection of buildings of every description in which trades or industries are carried on.

At the same time, the evidence given before the Commission exposes afresh the wide differences in opinions and aims which exist among the workmen, and which have already asserted themselves at

the last two or three Trades Congresses. There are the Old Unionists, and at least two shades of New Unionists, to say nothing of the majority of the labouring class, who are not unionists at all. The two great schools of Unionism are fed from very distinct sections of the working classes, and it is instructive to mark the differences which distinguish these sections. The strength of the Old Unionists lies in the shrewd pitmen, iron-workers, and factory operatives of the North and the Midlands, who have long since made their associations strong enough to command the respect of the employers. Circumstances, as well as racial characteristics, have favoured self dependent action. The same men meet month after month at the same spot to work for the same employer. The use of motive power, and the necessity, in mining, of operating upon the raw material *in situ*, draw the workers together, and prohibit home work. Even when isolated at their work, as colliers are, they are often neighbours, constantly associating together in their leisure time. From the representatives of this class comes little demand for State action. In some cases, the Boiler-makers and the Durham Colliery Enginemens's Association for example, the trades are so strongly organised that only a minute fraction of the men are non-unionists, and the unions possess a practical monopoly of labour. It is a significant fact that it is in these very trades that the relation between masters and men seem most amicable. Unionism has been long established, a generation of masters has grown up accustomed to it, while the workmen have learnt something of the limitations of its power. Hence we are struck with the moderation which characterises the tone of both masters and men in giving evidence; though in Wales and some parts of Scotland, where Mr. Keir Hardie has been organising a not very flourishing Union, relations are less friendly.

While the Old Unionists are composed of the more prosperous classes of workmen, the New Unionists are fed from the ranks of the unskilled, the under-paid, the irregularly employed, we might almost say, the unemployed. Take, for an example of the second, the employés in some branches of the woollen industry in Bradford and other Yorkshire towns. These operatives complained to the Commission of irregularity in the rate of wages paid by different firms. One witness declared that the maximum earnings of Bradford weavers are only sixteen shillings and sixpence a week, and the average earnings only nine shillings. Mr. Arnold Forster, himself a member of a large firm of cloth manufacturers, put the average earnings of thirteen thousand weavers at only thirteen shillings and sixpence a week, adding that the majority were single women. An operative reckoned the men to number only twenty-five per cent. of the women. Have we not here the clue to the low wages of the male cloth weavers? The workers being unorganised, the male minority have

to accept a rate of remuneration reckoned for the female majority. It may be added that Mr. T. H. Elliot, in his recent report to the Board of Trade on the relation of wages to cost of production, puts the average annual earnings of adult operatives throughout the woollen and worsted manufactures at £53—about ten per cent. less than those in the cotton trade, which, likewise employing a very large number of women, is better organised.

It is in the Metropolis, however, and among the lately organised masses of dock and general labourers that the New Unionism finds its chief recruiting ground. The woes of the casual labourers in London have been rehearsed in print and in speech till they have become familiar to every one. With this class is blended the fringe of mechanics, clerks, and shop assistants, who are, for various reasons, chronically unemployed or half-employed, and some of whom are continually sinking down into labourers of the least useful description. Messrs. Quelch, McCarthy, Ben Tillett, Clem Edwards, and Keir Hardie are among its chief spokesmen. The Old Unionism, whatever may have been the history of its origin, may be now described as the corporate endeavour of the indispensable workers who have already achieved a position—Mr. C. Booth's Class E—to guard that position from deterioration, to maintain a standard of comfort already attained, and to raise it still higher. The New Unionism embodies the effort of the unskilled and very often superfluous labourers, who have nothing to lose—Mr. Booth's Class C—to raise their daily life from the hopeless level of a struggle for existence a step higher, to the firmer standing-ground of a struggle for comfort. In the early part of this century the workman had no direct political power. Denied this engine of advancement, he forged for himself the system of Trades Unionism pure and simple, as the lever whereby he might raise himself. The New Unionism, which aims at being the motive power of which the State organisation is to be the machine, is the product of the consciousness of political strength newly gained acting on a deep-rooted sense of poverty, uncertainty, and individual helplessness against the tide of competition.

Hence it comes to pass that, while the Old Trades Unionist element among the witnesses confines itself to demanding more efficient inspection, an extension of employers' liability for accidents, and compulsory arbitration (though opinion in favour of this last was not unanimous), the New Unionism, by the mouths of one or other of its representatives, puts forward claims of a much more striking character. A working day of eight hours is, of course, one of these. It was supported by Mr. Tom Mann, himself a member of the Commission, Alderman Ben Tillett, and other less widely known names, including some Welsh miners. Representatives from several Scotch industries, mining included, were in favour of a permissive legislation on the

point. Here Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Mann took different views. The former thought that if the length of the working day was to be regulated, as he advocated, by local option, the right to vote should be limited to Unionist workmen, even though they might be in a minority. Mr. Mann, on the contrary, thought that no section of a trade should be debarred from voting. A good general sketch of the programme of the party is presented in the evidence of Messrs. Quelch and McCarthy. It includes, in addition to the legislative limit of eight hours, the prohibition of overtime and nightwork. At the age of sixty the workman is to become entitled to support from the State, but he is not to be permitted to continue to work. A minimum wage is to be fixed in the municipal workshops which form a feature of the scheme. Thirty shillings a week is specified as a fair subsistence wage. Even the least efficient is not to be paid below this rate. Skill would be allowed a higher remuneration. Municipalities are to contract direct with bodies of workmen for the repair of roads and bridges. The employers, while exposed to the unlimited competition of the municipalities, are to be prohibited from dismissing men for joining trade unions, and from employing blackleg labour during a strike. Some supplementary suggestions are added by other speakers. A tax ought to be imposed on mechanical appliances which reduce the amount of labour required. The burden of prosecuting claims under the Employers' Liability Act ought not to rest on the shoulders of the workman or his society. It ought to form the function of a public official. Trades unions ought to have a veto on the dismissal of their members. This last suggestion came from a representative of the omnibus and tramway men, a class of employes from whom complaints of sudden and arbitrary dismissal have been loud and frequent. Black-listing, the counterpart of picketing, ought to be rendered penal. Women-workers are so hard to organise that their spokeswoman desired State regulation of wages as well as of hours. The nationalisation of the land, without compensation to its present holders, was proposed by Mr. Keir Hardie. Mr. Sidney Webb, who modestly professed to represent no one but himself, urged that unfair employers would be shamed into better ways if the Labour Bureau were empowered to demand from the masters lists of the ages and wages of their workpeople for publication. Mr. Mann is the exponent of the more statesmanlike side of New Unionism, though his view is distinctly socialistic. He considers that the functions of municipal corporations should include the regulating of the quality of articles produced, so that "shoddy," of what kind soever, should not be thrown upon the market, the controlling, of course, the conditions of employment, the supplying the citizens with such universal requisites as light, water, and the means of locomotion, and the providing them all with suitable employment. He approves of profit-sharing and trade-



partnerships, and he does not propose that any limit should be placed on the amount of work to be accomplished within the statutory limit of working hours. Everything required for municipal use should be made by the municipality's own staff. He looks forward to a further curtailment of working hours as population increases, or as machinery displaces human labour.

Thus, the evidence given before the Commission dispels the fallacious assumption that the labour interest is one solid phalanx presenting a united front to the outside world. On the contrary, working-class opinion varies greatly according to locality, to status, and to individual disposition. The views expressed by leaders such as Mr. Mann and Mr. Tillett are, as we have seen, in some respects more moderate than those entertained by the lesser lights of the same school. The Northumbrian Miners have been credited with hostility to the Eight-Hours Movement, but one miner from that region affirmed that the mass of the men were out of sympathy with their leaders on this point. On the other hand, a collier from Derbyshire thought that the men of his locality who had voted for an eight-hours day had done so in ignorance of the real nature of the question at issue, that they had not understood that they were tying their own hands, and that the measure they were supporting would disable them from working beyond the limit fixed by law, even if they wished to do so. It may here be pointed out that it is easy to overrate the value of resolutions adopted by Trades Congresses as manifestations of the strength of opinion on any matter. The Standing Orders as to the qualifications for delegates at the Congress were recast last autumn at Glasgow, but, under the old rules in force during the Conference, the Tailoresses' Trade Union, numbering ninety-six members, and the Railway Workers' Union, with its twelve thousand, sent one delegate each, and therefore possessed the same voting power at the Congress, and this was not a solitary anomaly. The eight-hours limit, ought it to be fixed by a law of universal application; arbitration, ought it to be voluntary or compulsory; trades unions, ought they to be free and open to all, or ought they to be close corporations—upon these and some other points working-class opinion is not agreed, while an indirect commentary on the unanimity with which its spokesmen urged a more rigorous inspection of factories is afforded by the evidence of Mr. Whympster and Mr. Henderson, two of her Majesty's Chief Inspectors, that much more could be done by their department towards remedying abuses were operatives readier in pointing them out. Other witnesses remarked that miners seldom avail themselves of the power they possess under the Mines Regulation Act to choose representatives to inspect the mines. The concentration of industries in the hands of trusts and syndicates is looked on with favour by

the men, as it makes organisation on their side easier, and will facilitate the transfer of industry to the State in the future.

If the workmen are not at one among themselves, so neither are the masters, especially in the attitude they assume towards trades unionism. They may be divided into three grades: the amicable, the passive, and the hostile. Very few probably look upon combination among their hands with absolute complacency. Just as in the thirteenth century, the mediæval monarch was compelled, in spite of himself, to share the allegiance of his subjects with his papal rival, who intervened in internal contests, now on behalf of right and justice, and now simply to assert the dignity of the Church or to extend her authority, so, with few exceptions, the trade union stands to the employer in the position of a foreign potentate habitually interfering within the limits of what he deems his exclusive jurisdiction. It is chiefly among trades where the old type of Unionism is dominant that relations are most friendly. Here the employers have learnt the practical convenience of treating with one thoroughly representative body instead of with isolated fragments of the workmen. This was the view generally expressed by delegates from the coal, iron, and cotton industries. In fact, wherever we find the two sides organised, and in the habit of conferring together through duly appointed representatives, there we also find masters and men in accord upon the advantages obtained under such a system in promoting a good understanding, and so preventing strikes. This last is the more important, as it was agreed that it is much more difficult to get men to come back to work after they have struck, than it is to keep them at work before hostilities have actually broken out, and that the vast majority of disputes would be arranged, if both sides would only meet with an honest desire of arriving at a settlement. Unfortunately, since the date of most of this evidence, the miners' strike in the spring of 1892, and the late strike in the South Lancashire cotton trade, have occurred to efface much of the good-will engendered by the long-continued adoption of more amicable methods of settling disputes.

Far otherwise is it with the employers whose workmen through the ranks of the New Unionism. The two sides regard each other with ill-disguised or openly avowed hostility. Nor is this to be wondered at. Employers, who have hitherto felt themselves in their dealings with the men to be masters of the situation, find all at once that their power is no longer unquestioned, that henceforth, in controversies with their employés, a third party which cannot be made to feel the weight of their displeasure steps in, and, while according protection to their workmen, insists upon having a voice in all negotiations. Such intrusion of an outside body between them and their workpeople will at first seem, even to liberal and fair-minded

masters, impertinent and irritating, especially when a newly formed union, composed, as these unions of unskilled men mostly are, of the rougher element, distinguishes itself at the outset, by hasty and ill-judged action, or by want of loyalty to the declarations and promises of its leaders. The employer, often entirely ignorant of the advantages which have been found to arise even to the masters themselves from the organisation of their workmen, resolves to break the union, and retorts, as the Caledonian Railway directors did, by refusing to accept the intervention of the officials of the union, or to recognise the union in any way whatever. Then follows a strike; the men endeavour, by such means, whether fair or foul, as come most readily to hand, to prevent the importation of "blacklegs," while the employer retaliates by black-listing those who have taken a prominent part in the movement. The existence of this practice of black-listing, though denied by several witnesses, was firmly believed in by the men. Be this as it may, the dismissal of men who have been active agitators breeds constant distrust and ill-will among their comrades. The employer may not be directly responsible; heads of department, and foremen entrusted with the taking on and discharging of hands, frequently act on their own initiative in such cases, either according to their notion of the employer's wishes, or in order to punish a slight to their own authority. Then, when the union complains to the employer, he finds himself in a dilemma. He must choose between perpetuating a rupture with his men, and discrediting his lieutenants. The necessity of maintaining discipline leads him usually to adopt the former alternative.

Again, improved organisation, combined with an acuter perception of a common interest and an enhanced sense of mutual sympathy, has rendered the whole wage-earning section of the community, composed though it is of groups widely differing in education, influence, intelligence, and material prosperity, far more homogeneous than they were some years ago, although, as we have seen, they are not yet unanimous in opinion. Trades Congresses and workmen's political clubs, by associating men on a broader basis than a common occupation affords, and the tone so constantly taken by political speakers and writers in addressing the wage-earning section, have also, perhaps, contributed to create that very homogeneity which they have taken for granted. At all events, the strong, perhaps overweening, sense of their weight in the State has largely inspired the New Unionism. And it can hardly be doubted that it is the wide-reaching aims avowed by its adherents that are chiefly answerable for the mistrust and resentment of the employers. The Old Unionism, modestly restricting itself to improving the lot of the rank and file of the army of industry, accepts the present industrial order and its existing relations. The New Unionism visibly and avowedly strives after a reconstitution of that

army, whose chiefs and subalterns can hardly be expected to await with resignation their sentence of degradation at the convenience of those they have so long been accustomed to command.

As yet, this industrial revolution is but held *in terrorem* over the heads of employers. The newly organised masses, however much they may quarrel with the existing system of wage-paid labour acting under the direction of profit-paid capital, have an instinctive half-perception that it is not wholly devoid of advantage to themselves. Under it the workman is saved all commercial risk. The merchant, the farmer, the manufacturer, may give his toil for a twelvemonth, or even for a series of years, and at the end find himself poorer than when he launched forth on his enterprise, except that he may, all along, have been drawing what may be termed "subsistence money," analogous to the advances made to dock labourers before they receive their "plus" at the week's end. The workman may lack opportunity to toil, but his toil always brings its reward, albeit sometimes an inadequate one. Would he be better off if the disposal of the produce of his labour rested with him? He hardly thinks so. "L'état, c'est moi," is one of his most cherished tenets, and he prefers, for the present, to try how far, under the existing *régime*, the highly taxed and much-inspected capitalist-employer may be sweated by the State for his benefit.

The strain which the relation of employer to employed is now undergoing is too palpable to call for further remark, and, at the same time, the reality of many of the grievances of which working men complain is so generally admitted as hardly to require any attempt at justification in these pages. Demand in these days always creates an abundant supply, and prescriptions to cure these ills have not been wanting, from universal anarchy down to profit-sharing. But can any one drug, however drastic, prove a panacea for them? Surely that diversity of type which enriches human nature would alone be sufficient to render it ineffective or positively mischievous. Our clew-line out of the labyrinth of conflicting claims and interests must be the principle that only a scheme of social reform which recognises these diversities, and, indeed, operates through them while developing their most favourable aspects, can succeed in the long run, or, indeed, ought to succeed at all. As Mr. Ruskin somewhere says, the manufacture of souls of a good quality is a very useful undertaking. But then the souls should not be all on one pattern.

Instead, then, of concentrating all effort upon realising some one scheme, be it socialism, co-operation, or any other, we should rather endeavour to ensure to each an open field where it may work out its own development unhindered. And so each class will have an opportunity of proving, and the community will have an opportunity

of judging, whether or not it renders a service, not to be otherwise obtained, to society at large. Probably there is no occupation which, practised within certain limitations, is not of definite general utility. But the limit may be transgressed in such businesses, for instance, as the conduct of financial operations, the management of a brewing business, or the manufacture of spurious articles. The working class, to judge from the language used by many of its leaders, is under the illusion that the task of production is entirely confined to its own ranks. But, just as demand is called effective only when the would-be consumer possesses the means of obtaining the commodity he desires, so production is incomplete and ineffective, and, indeed, useless, so long as the commodity produced fails to reach the person to whom it supplies a felt want. The boots which Northampton manufactures over and above the requirements of its inhabitants can be said to have been efficiently produced only when they appear on the wearers' feet. The sprat-tinning business, by furnishing a new use for the great catches which every now and then glut the market, has rendered effective what was before ineffective production. Moreover, if the aim, rightly conceived, of industrial and commercial organisation should be to provide, from that great storehouse of Nature whence we draw all our means of material existence, the greatest possible number of consumers with the greatest possible number of the commodities they desire at the smallest possible cost to themselves, then no unnecessary or dispensable process in a manufacture or in any other undertaking can be reckoned as forming a link in the chain of effective production. The arbitrary and exclusive adoption of any one system, whether co-operation, or State-organised labour, or profit-sharing, or work for wages, would disable us from discovering the method best adapted to any given case. We want all to be in operation together, for each has, doubtless, its appropriate sphere which it behoves us to ascertain.

Take, for example, co-operation. The simpler articles of food, clothing, and household requirements, are in such universal demand that a market for them lies always ready at the producer's door. It has been easy, therefore, for wholesale and retail co-operative societies acting in concert, to reduce the trouble and expense of distribution, necessarily high in industries where the extent and nature of demand are not easily ascertainable, or are liable to frequent fluctuations, to the lowest terms, to the great gain of the consumer. Demand is constant; indeed, Mr. Mitchell, the President of the Wholesale Co-operative Union, stated in evidence that it was not subject to serious fluctuations. The practice of giving purchasers a share in the profits no doubt tends to retain custom. It has been the habit of some social reformers to denounce these associations as co-operative only in name, because consumption, instead of production, has been adopted as the

bond of joint action. The two kinds of co-operation, although distinct, are nevertheless equally real, and, besides, some of the associations both pay the trades union rate of wages and allow their employes a share of the profits as well. Mr. Maxwell, President of the Scottish Wholesale Co-operative Society, assured the Commission of this. The Co-operative Boot and Shoe Society at Kettering goes further still. It not only gives the operatives a share in the profits after paying them trades union wages, but, through delegates annually elected by them, they take an active part in the conduct of the business, and indeed form a large minority in point of numbers of the shareholders and hold two-thirds of the funds invested in the Society. And yet the secretary told the Commission that the management do not hesitate to discharge a bad workman even when he is a shareholder. The Society was founded in 1888, and pays 8½ per cent. on its share capital (of which no one of the 378 members may hold more than twenty-five £1 shares), besides disbursing upwards of £4000 a year in wages among its employes.

But co-operation has its limits. It succeeds where success is the reward of steady, honest, routine work, especially where manual labour is a chief factor in production. Industries which require enterprise in opening up new markets, inventive power in discovering new processes, promptitude in adapting production to fluctuations and variations in demand, a large initial outlay of capital, or staying power to maintain large establishments in working order during dull seasons or commercial crises, and especially industries which supply foreign markets, are beyond its scope. They are the province of the private capitalist of organising and directing ability, and success in them will hardly be achieved without his aid. Here, then, the wage-system must survive, ameliorated, on the part of the employer, by profit-sharing, where this arrangement is practicable, and its abuses guarded against by powerful combinations among the men. Co-operation in production can only be carried on successfully by men distinguished not only by honesty, sobriety, steadiness, and capacity for work, but by a liberal and fair-minded disposition, which is not always found in combination with the former excellent qualities. The average workman does not come up to this high standard, and, besides, can there be any doubt that a very large proportion of workmen would prefer working under the old conditions, the whole risk of failure being borne by the employer, to forming part of a self-employing body, each member of which, as he has a voice in its management, so also incurs liability for its undertakings and shares in its reverses as well as in its prosperity? The survival of the system of hired labour will be, then, a boon to the working classes themselves.

- The feeling of distrust and suspicion towards trades unionism

which prevails among employers in localities and industries where militant Unionism is rife, or (which comes to very much the same thing) where Unionism is being newly introduced, has already been alluded to. Mr. Trewby, Manager to the London Gas and Coke Company, put the case in a nutshell when he told the Labour Commissioners that his Company had been able to get on with the older unions, such as the Engineers, but their relations with the Gas-workers' Union had been less satisfactory, because the latter Union was too aggressive. It is not only that the men endeavour to force impossible conditions on the masters, or strike against unreal grievances. It has repeatedly occurred of late years that men expressly disclaiming any complaint against their own employers have come out, or have been called out by their Union, "on principle," as they say, to show sympathy with men on strike elsewhere, or in order to boycott an employer with whom they have had no personal relations whatever. This appears to be the policy of the Miners Federation in the present coal strike. The result is that fair treatment of his workpeople ceases to guarantee an employer against disputes. In their attempt to manifest the solidarity of labour by making labour disputes as far-reaching in their effects as possible, we find at once the characteristic policy, and one of the favourite weapons, of the New Unionism. Can we wonder if employers resent it?

A certain antagonism of interests between employers and trades unions is inevitable. A considerable number of the latter—all, it is believed, of the wealthier ones—discharge a most useful function as friendly societies and employment agencies for their members. But the end for which they one and all exist is, and must continue to be, the defence of the claims of labour against the employer. Is there then no common ground of *rapprochement* between the two sides? Yes, there is, if each will adopt for its motto the phrase of the old Roman jurists, *Do ut des*, instead of "You give all while I give none." Trades unionists already express themselves as interested in the advancement of technical education. It is one of the planks in their platform. They also declare that their rules ensure the efficiency of their members, by admitting as members those men only who "can earn the average wages of the district," though since it is not, as matters stand now, the fault of the Union if every journeyman engaged in the same trade does not join it, it is a little difficult to see how far this rule operates in the direction claimed for it. Still, it would be admitted that, in many instances, the most capable workmen are to be found in the unionist ranks. This is the opinion of so impartial an authority as the manager of the Kettering Co-operative Boot and Shoe Society, which employs both unionists and non-unionists.

Now, if unionists would go a step further, and guarantee the

character of their members, both on the score of honesty and steadiness, and also of capacity, would not the sentiment of the great mass of employers towards the system undergo a sudden transformation, although the unionists might continue never so vigilant over their own interests, and insistent upon securing a good price for their members' labour? Thus they would develop along the line of the old frith and craft guilds to which Mr. G. Howell has traced their origin. The value of a trades-union workman would go up immensely, and though a dwindling in point of numbers might temporarily result from weeding out the less reputable and less efficient members, Trades Unionism would gain a leverage of immense power wherewith to influence employers and the public generally.

It may be objected that cheapness, and not excellence, is the quality which employers and the public look for alike in labour and in the productions of labour, and that the inferior workman and his work are cheap. No doubt some of them think so. Without stopping to challenge the truth of the theory here, it may be asked whether trades unionists are not so strong a force at the present day that, if they throw in their weight on the side of excellence, excellence would win? They preach in favour of it, let them practise as they preach. Some unions do so already. They undertake to make good any loss to employers caused by the dishonesty of workmen who belong to the society. This is the practice of the Amalgamated Society of Boot and Shoe Makers, the members of which do a large amount of the work in their own homes. Even in so unskilled an occupation as the market porter's, the same sort of arrangement has been arrived at. A trade union was not long since founded among the porters of Covent Garden Market, who transfer vegetables and fruit from the railway and market-gardeners' vans to the salesmen's shops, and thence to the greengrocers' carts. This union has obtained an advance of wages from the employers upon agreeing, for its own part, to act with them in checking dishonesty among the porters. But the Boiler-makers' Society goes farther still; indeed, its attitude towards employers is unique in the annals of Trades Unionism. It is a very powerful union of skilled mechanics, comprising ninety-five per cent. of all the men in the trade; in fact, it possesses a practical monopoly in this department of labour. It is also very wealthy, its income for 1890 amounting to nearly £120,000. Instead of using its strength in waging a perpetual warfare with the employers, this society has devoted itself for a considerable number of years to the promotion of industrial peace. In no year since 1880 has the expenditure on disputes reached nine per cent. of the society's income, and in four years it fell short of two per cent. On the other hand, the society in effect makes itself, to a certain extent, responsible to employers for the punctual and satisfactory fulfilment



of their engagements by its members. To quote the words of Mr. Knight, the general secretary of the society, "We have felt that, as a society, our members ought to be made to deal fairly with the employers, and the employers will deal fairly with us. . . . We find also that the employers take account of this fact that we carry out all our contracts with them, and the employers on the other hand faithfully carry out every arrangement that is made between them and ourselves." Not long since, he tells us, some society men, engaged in repairing a vessel required in a great hurry, seized the opportunity to demand a rise of two shillings a week. The firm refused, and at once reported the matter to Mr. Knight, who requested them to concede the demand in order to keep the men on the job, and to send in a bill for the extra wages to the society. The employer did so, and received a cheque for the amount from the society. Another time, a society man agreed to repair two boilers, but hurried over the work, and did it badly. The employer complained to the society, who sent down a competent man to view the work, and report to headquarters. He valued the damage at five pounds, which was paid by the society to the employer.

In both cases, the society recovered the money from the members in fault. Within the last few months, the whole of the boiler-makers in the employ of a firm at Cardiff struck because some of their number had been dismissed for alleged idleness. The local Trades Union authorities ordered them to return to work, pending inquiry. The men refused to obey, and the Union supplied fresh hands to take their places. After this, we are not surprised to learn that employers constantly apply to the society's offices when they are in want of men. And this in an industry where fluctuation is constant and extreme, accidents among the men frequent, and which has to compete for foreign orders!

Here we have a practical application of the maxim *Do ut des*. Other unions discourage misbehaviour by refusing out-of-work benefit to members discharged for drunkenness or misconduct. The precise shape which the recognition of the duties of labour would take would vary somewhat in different occupations. In handicrafts, it would take the form of a guarantee of good workmanship and of proper usage of material. Among men engaged in transport, dock-labourers, stevedores, carmen, and railway guards, it would consist in responsibility for the honesty of the members of the union, and for their careful handling of the goods entrusted to them. It ought to be a tradition in every union that its members are the best men, in every sense of the adjective, in the trade. Men who wish to join it (and the more powerful the union and the more completely representative of the trade, the more necessary it will be to join it in order to obtain employment), will know that in order to do so they

must come up to a certain standard of skill and integrity. There is already a great deal of most commendable *esprit de corps* among trades unionists, although *esprit de corps* has its reverse side—witness the modified credence we attach to police evidence when given in support of police action. But the sentiment should be less narrow; not less conservative of the corporate interests, but less antagonistic to those of its employers, less distinguished by class selfishness. It would be fostered rather by the tone adopted by the leaders in each trade-union centre than by any formal set of rules. It could not be the creation of a moment, it must grow gradually, and in many instances the attitude of the masters would determine whether the growth should be slow or rapid, or even possible.

The question is fast ceasing to be the exclusive concern of masters and men. The influence of the labour interest on town and county councils is out of all proportion to the number of professed labour representatives who have seats upon them, and this influence all tells in the direction of enhancing the power and importance of trades unionism. Unions are looked on as constituting the mouthpieces of the working-classes at large, and not of their own members only. The term "current rate of the district" which many corporations are now insisting shall be paid by persons undertaking contracts for them means practically the local trades union rate of wages, which in most skilled handicrafts, it is important to observe, is considerably above a mere living wage. We may be sure that Trade Societies will do their utmost to secure employment on government and municipal undertakings for their own members. And the more membership in these societies becomes an aid, if not a *sine qua non*, towards obtaining employment, the greater will be the rush to join them. As it is, the recent spread of combination among unskilled labourers has been enormous. The labourers' unions which have been started within the last four or five years rival in point of numbers the largest and oldest among the artisans' societies. Mr. Thorne's Gas-workers' Union numbers 34,000, Mr. Ben Tillett's Dock Labourers' Union has 30,000, the Tyneside Labourers' Union 25,000, Mr. J. H. Wilson's Sailors and Firemen's Union 10,000 members. None of these societies were represented at the Swansea Trades Congress in 1887. They were all present in full force five years later at Glasgow. If, then, the rate-paying public, through its elected representatives, accords formal recognition to Unionism by accepting the trade-union price of labour as the standard rate, is it not entitled to expect these bodies to guarantee the character and ability of the men whose services they provide?

However well organised and prosperous as a whole the working-classes may become, there will always remain a considerable number unable, through slowness, physical defects, or want of energy, to

succeed on their own account, or to render profitable service to an employer. The ranks of such men will be constantly replenished from the ne'er-do-weels and *déclassés*—the *débris*—of the masses above them, from men whose trades have become obsolete, or who have by some mischance been thrown out of regular employment when past middle life, and who have been unable to start afresh. It is of such men as these, together with the foreign pauper immigrant, that the chronically unemployed in part consist, and they intensify the struggle for the classes above by underbidding them. It will be noted that it is assumed here that a numerically large proportion of men out of work consists of men who are genuinely eager for work, and capable, with a little encouragement, of sticking steadily to it. Possibly the assumption is a mistaken one. If so, the experiment about to be proposed would very soon demonstrate its error. Emigration or migration of the ordinary character would here be useless, for the problem before us is not how to transfer men from a place where their labour is not wanted to a place where it is wanted, but to offer them an opportunity of applying their labour, useless to others, to their own maintenance. This may be done by placing land, the raw material of the necessaries of life, within their reach. Is no adaptation of the agricultural labour colony possible which may avoid the more serious disadvantages alleged against the system as carried out on the Continent? Clearly such a colony must not grow from inside, therefore married couples could not be allowed to live together, and probably it would be found necessary to separate the sexes entirely. Inmates must not be allowed to come and go at their own will. The consent of the management would have to be first obtained, and this consent would only be given in the rare cases where it was evident that an inmate had an assured prospect of independence outside the colony. The inmates would, of course, have to work under direction, and, at the outset, a considerable expenditure would have to be incurred in the purchase of land and the temporary support of the inmates. But, once the colony was fairly started, what the inmates could not, under ordinarily favourable circumstances, produce by their own combined labour they would have to go without. To a very considerable extent the colony would become self-supporting as to current expenses, but there would probably always be a few absolutely indispensable requisites (such as cotton-yarn, for instance) which would have to be obtained from outside. Requirements such as these, and the occasional occurrence of floods, bad harvests, and epidemics, would render the colony always more or less dependent upon State support. Colonists who would not work would be relegated to the ordinary workhouse. The question is whether the two advantages gained of entirely relieving the labour-market of the incubus of the helpless class, and of stopping the further growth of that class

from increase of population among its own ranks, would not be so great as to render it worth while to the State to undertake the necessary expenditure, looking for a return not so much to economies effected through the employment of the colonists as to the indirect advantage of saving the useful classes from the competition of the helpless class described above. The agricultural colony would thus form a sort of siding on to which this helpless class, intermediate between the vicious and the useful classes, could be, as it were, shunted out of the way of the traffic of competitive industry. The inmates would reap their advantage out of the arrangement in being saved from the dull pressure of want and anxiety which had weighed them down in their battle with the outside world, and in escaping the dead, hopeless monotony of the workhouse régime, since they would have the opportunity of increasing their comfort by their own labour. At the same time the restrictions upon personal liberty would afford a deterrent strong enough to prevent an influx of individuals capable of supporting themselves under ordinary conditions. To ensure the complete success of the experiment it would be necessary that the more prosperous section of the working-classes should become convinced of the great fact that labour is a commodity capable of over-production in just the same sense and to the same extent as any other commodity is—an over-production attended, however, by more disastrous consequences, since the surplus articles for which there is no demand are living men and women. So they will become disabused of the fatal theory which just now fascinates so many of them that the recurrent difficulty of a surplus population is to be overcome by successive curtailments of the portion of time permitted to active industry.

Just at this moment the current is setting in strong for State intervention at any and every point where a grievance can be suspected. The cry from the working classes is not the only cry, but it is the loudest. They do not realise, or are perhaps at present indifferent to, the grave disadvantages which must accompany the extension of legislative control beyond the point of rendering those acts penal which combine moral turpitude with injury to others. An enactment has this defect as compared with the execution of an arrangement voluntarily agreed upon. Its operation may or may not be beneficial in the majority of cases which come within its purview, but, once passed by the Legislature, it must be enforced, not because it is beneficial, but because it is law, and there must be some cases in which it works injuriously and unfairly. Voluntary arrangement is elastic; law is rigid. Hence arises a general inclination to condone breaches of the law, and even to justify them. The history of compulsory vaccination is an instance in point. The result to the community is a demoralisation which cannot but ensue from the spectacle of a law ignored with impunity.

State action, when resorted to at all in the sphere of industry and commerce, ought to be taken in the interest of the whole community, not of a class,—and the wage-earners, though estimated at two-thirds of the whole population, are but a class after all. There is one interest which we all have in common, however diverse may be our several vocations—namely, our advantage as consumers. Here, then, is the interest which the State—that is, the whole body of the citizens in their corporate capacity—may most legitimately devote its powers to advance.

C. H. D'E. LEPPINGTON.

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF ART CRITICISM.

THE words "art criticism" will not be used in the present paper in the sense of a special function or profession exercised by writers in periodicals or by the authors of treatises on the fine arts, but in the broadly general sense of all expressed opinions about artistic principles or performances. All persons who take any interest in the fine arts, either form, or attempt to form, opinions about those qualities which constitute artistic excellence. Professional artists of all kinds do it continually themselves, and are compelled to do it by their own ambition to improve their work to the utmost, as no one can hope to reach an ideal of which he has not previously some clear conception in his mind. All who have anything to do with the purchasing of works of art, whether as dealers or collectors, or as directors of public galleries, endeavour to enlighten their own judgment by acquiring as much knowledge as may lie within their reach, and the sale of printed art criticism is merely evidence that there is a large public anxious to think rightly about the fine arts, and willing to be guided by teachers supposed to have greater authority and experience.

The question, therefore, whether art criticism in this general sense can be founded on a substantial basis, is one that interests a very great number of persons. It does not merely concern those who write and publish their opinions. Indeed, if the fine arts are admitted to be a part of culture, the soundness of public opinion about them concerns the whole educated world.

There is not space in an article of this kind to lead the reader gradually to the writer's conclusions. It will be practically the best way to give the conclusions themselves first, and then, briefly, the reasons for them.

If we confine our attention to the graphic and plastic arts, and leave, for the present, music and architecture out of the question, we find that there are two elements in them: the representation of nature and the action of human genius. Exactness in the representation of nature is what is called "truth" in art, of which we shall have more to say presently, and human genius manifests itself by the powers of invention and execution, both of which are incompatible with complete and absolute fidelity in the representation of nature.

The best way to understand truth in art is to suppose it generally prevalent above all other qualities, so predominant as to stifle or exclude them. This would happen in the art of painting if it always realised Mr. Ruskin's last ideal of perfection. The best picture, according to the most ultimate declarations of his opinion, is that which most nearly resembles the reflection of nature in a mirror. It would then follow that art would be simply nature with inferior power of illumination, and the works of different artists would resemble each other as closely as do reflections of the same face in the different mirrors in a drawing-room. All the interest of individual interpretation would be at an end, and in exchange for it we should have something like the veracity of perfectly coloured photographs, in which the defects of ordinary photography would be corrected by an eye as faithful in colour as photography is in form. After the general attainment of such an ideal as this, all art might reasonably be anonymous, as the authorship of pictures would be past recognition. It would signify nothing to any one whether a Titian or a Rubens had applied the colour to a canvas if both masters had precisely the same qualities, and indeed the total destruction of all previous art would be but a trifling loss if the well-trained craftsmen of the future could replace its truth with an equally absolute veracity. We do not regret the loss of water that has flowed away when the springs of it are limpid and perennial.

Again, if this perfect and uniform veracity were ever to prevail in art, of which there is no danger, the spirit of it would become indistinguishable from that of positive science. There would be no place in it for feeling, no liberty for imagination. Painting would no longer be the sister of poetry and music, but of such sciences as anatomy, botany, and geology. The painter could not be permitted to dream dreams, he would have to settle down to copy nothing but hard realities.

Even in the copyism of these hard realities every approach to style would be forbidden to him, because style can only be cultivated and practised at the expense of many smaller veracities. Neither would emphasis of any kind be permitted, as emphasis always disturbs the balance of equal and absolute truth.

It is quite possible to see and enjoy nature as one thing, and to

appreciate art as something connected with nature yet essentially different. There is no reason, for example, why a critic should not love nature infinitely, and yet profoundly enjoy, as art, the works of Claude, Turner, and Corot, which are certainly not nature nor anything at all closely resembling it.

Amongst critics Mr. Ruskin has been pre-eminent by his passion for truth, a passion which in his case led to endless and admirable labours. At the same time he had a passion for art, but not in equal degree, and it was hampered in its exercise by the English moral prejudice in favour of veracity as a virtue, a prejudice of the greatest value in ordinary life, but which interferes with artistic considerations. Instead of confessing to himself and the world that he loved nature and art also, each for its own perfections, which would have been the simple solution of the difficulty, Mr. Ruskin undertook the impossible task of proving that Turner's excellence was due to his persistent truthfulness. In some words of advice to students, printed with the catalogue of Turner's drawings, Mr. Ruskin spoke of decision of mind as a habit that might be acquired by simplicity of purpose. He then gave Turner as an example, saying that "his decision came chiefly of his truthfulness; it was because he meant always to be true that he was able always to be bold." And Mr. Ruskin added, "You will find that you may gain his courage, if you will maintain his fidelity." Certainly, Turner had great simplicity of purpose, his only purpose being what seemed to him desirable in art, and to that he sacrificed the truth of nature and every other consideration. He did not even respect the general truth of character, as he frequently gave to comparatively humble and simple scenes a sublimity which did not belong to them. Mr. Stillman says that Turner "had absolutely no respect for truth," yet that "Mr. Ruskin's conviction that Turner was always doing his best, if in a mysterious way, to tell the truth about nature is invincible." The great landscape-painter took an artist's interest in nature, and looked at it with his own eyes, thereby acquiring great knowledge, but he used his knowledge always *en artiste*—that is, with a persistent determination not to be hampered by it in any way.

A much firmer loyalty to truth governed Mr. Ruskin in his own work as a draughtsman, which, perhaps for this very reason, has been less appreciated than it deserved. It had no pretension to manual power or display of any kind, but it was much more delicately observant of natural truth than the drawing, for example, of such men as Theodore Rousseau or Daubigny, whose knowledge of the forms of landscape was far less accurate as well as less extensive than Mr. Ruskin's, though they gained, by practice, an artist's skill in the management of oil paint. For my part, when I see the coarse and shapeless daubing that now goes on in France under the name of



landscape-painting, I cannot help feeling some regret that the influence of Mr. Ruskin's accurate observation of trees and mountains did not extend itself to the Continent.\*

It is quite possible that a too earnest desire for truth might lead some lovers of nature to a profound and permanent dissatisfaction with all art whatever, as it can never be wholly true, even when nature is imitable, and when nature is beyond imitation the want of truth in art must be irritating if we do not accept artistic interest as a compensation. Byron hated painting, and neither Wordsworth nor Scott really appreciated it; yet all three were true lovers of natural beauty which was one of the chief delights of their lives. An intelligent and highly cultivated Frenchman, who loved nature as much as they did, told me that for him the whole art of painting had nothing to offer that could bear comparison with the beauty of a growing cabbage. There is, indeed, a perfection of finish in the real cabbage which no art in the world can rival, and as my friend did not care for skill in composition or in the management of paint, he preferred reality to art. What little art criticism he indulged in referred to veracity alone.

So far as I understand what is now called the "New Criticism," it differs from that of Mr. Ruskin in attaching less importance to truth and more to the purely artistic elements, especially to technical dexterity, of which, it is said, only professional artists are competent to judge. If the anonymous writers who claim to be representatives of the New Criticism are consistent in their contempt for all literary critics of the fine arts, it is to be presumed that they themselves are all practical artists, and there would be still something inconsistent with the principles which they profess if each of them ventured to criticise any subdivision of the fine arts but that one which is practised by himself. In a word, their criticism must be technical, and written, in each case, by a specialist.

The criticism of these specialists differs in one point most essentially from that of Mr. Ruskin. He brought to his task all the resources of a highly cultivated mind, and the consequence was that although, like the rest of us, he may have been liable to error, he rendered the immense service to the fine arts of including them, as a subject, within the range of that general culture which belongs to the intellectual class. Besides this, his personal culture enabled him to treat painting as something higher than a technical trade. The reader may still remember an article by Sir Morell Mackenzie, in the *New Review*, on "The Relation of General Culture to Professional

\* "Coarse and shapeless daubing" would not be a just description of all French landscape, but of much of it; and it is worth noting that those French landscape-painters whose work is most delicately observant somehow never achieve great reputations. Does the reader know the names of Biva, or Berthelon, or Hareux, all three very accomplished and observant men?

Success," where the writer argued that "culture implies strength, sureness, and flexibility of mind, and the development of all its faculties to the highest possible degree, so that they can be concentrated without difficulty on any subject that may present itself." Surely true culture can never be more desirable than in the case of an art critic, who has to deal with so great a variety of minds, expressing themselves in so many different ways. And it is, perhaps, from an uneasy consciousness of the lack of it that the New Criticism is so bitterly hostile to Mr. Ruskin, and so eager to refuse all weight and authority to "literary" criticism, by which it simply means criticism by educated men. There is, indeed, grave reason to fear that without culture art criticism must descend to the level of recriminations on points of manual practice, one artist abusing another artist's work from behind the shelter of the anonymous. By the strangest *contre-vérité*, I observe that the New Criticism now declares Mr. Ruskin to be a "Philistine," which is like saying that her Majesty is a woman of a low social position or Mr. Gladstone an inexperienced member of Parliament. On the other hand, we have the opposite school (now diminishing) of the true Ruskinians, who think that all writing upon art, even when most opposed to Mr. Ruskin's teaching, must be taken, somehow, out of his books. I need only observe that any one who admires Constable or appreciates etching, proves thereby his complete independence of Mr. Ruskin, who declared that Constable was an amateur, unable to draw, and that his pictures had nothing in them. As for etching, it was "an indolent and blundering art," and the only etcher he ever heartily praised was Mr. Ernest George.

The New Criticism, whilst rejecting unprofessional opinion as merely "literary," accepts in general terms the authority of "artists." In reality, however, "artists" are only mentioned in this vague collective way to put the literary man out of court. For their authority to be effective it would have to be unanimous and controlled by some central chief, like the Pope of Rome, who would determine which opinions they were to profess. As, in fact, there is no power able to discipline them in that way, they are in a state of complete anarchy. The "outsiders" do not even submit with a good grace to the adverse decisions of the Royal Academy, yet the Academicians cannot be called "literary critics." They are critics, certainly, and they express their opinions pretty plainly with a single letter chalked on the back of the doubtful or rejected picture. So, in the French Salons and Universal Exhibitions, the jury for fine arts is usually composed of artists. A "literary" critic may sometimes find his opinion coinciding with or confirmed by theirs, in which case it is difficult to see how the New Criticism (always on the side of "artists") can consistently find fault with him. For example, I have

been dealt with very roughly by this New Criticism for my heretical opinions about Mr. Whistler. Let us compare a few dates and see whether, on the whole, I was not either in agreement with French juries or in advance of them. The only picture by Mr. Whistler that I have ever criticised\* was the "Woman in White," which I mentioned somewhat disrespectfully in the *Fine Arts Quarterly* thirty years ago. The French jury (it was a very well-composed and a very competent jury) expressed its own opinion by rejecting that experiment from the Salon. Here, then, I was simply in agreement with the jury, and nobody can blame me without blaming at the same time the eminent professional artists who composed it. In 1867 Mr. Whistler exhibited two pictures and one etching at the Salon. They were admitted, but that was all, he received no medal for them; whereas in the same year I wrote that he was a "great etcher," an expression published in 1868 in "Etching and Etchers," and intentionally maintained in all subsequent editions, though the work has been thoroughly revised.† It was not until 1883 that Mr. Whistler was recognised by a French jury, and then only by a third-class medal. In 1889, but never before, a French jury recognised him as a "great etcher" by awarding a gold medal, more than twenty years after my own use of that adjective. Now, with reference to Mr. Haden, whom the New Criticism looks upon as a mere amateur in comparison with his American rival, I praised Mr. Haden enthusiastically in 1868 (too enthusiastically to be agreeable to his enemies), and, in truth, I have more sympathy with his strong and manly feeling than with the cool though consummate dexterity of Mr. Whistler. For many years my opinion was considered an exaggeration, but it was strikingly confirmed by the jury of the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1889, when Mr. Haden received the "Grand Prix." I beg the reader's pardon for these references to my own opinions, but having been so often attacked of late as a mere "literary" critic, I am not sorry to prove myself in agreement with certain artistic juries, and sometimes in advance of them. The American criticism of the new school expresses contempt for Samuel Palmer, who for totally different qualities always seemed to me an admirable etcher. I discovered later that several distinguished artists, amongst them Rossetti and Mr. Holman Hunt, were also amongst his admirers.

A critic of the new school finds fault with the Academy for not having elected Mr. Whistler during his long residence in England. <sup>to the</sup> ~~to the~~ reader <sup>may</sup> usually criticise silently by the rejection of pictures or the <sup>may</sup> ~~may~~ *New Review*, men. It is their way, and it is not less significant than <sup>ages</sup> ~~ages~~. The new school replies to it by a well-feigned

\* "Coarse and every briefly some small and unimportant experiments in tone and ~~range~~ <sup>range</sup>, but of simply studies, and not pictures.

† ~~and~~ whose work occurs in a notice of Mr. Haden's etching, entitled "Whistler's

contempt for all Academicians. But here, again, comes the testimony of the foreigner, as it does, somehow, unfortunately happen, by a strange coincidence, that when an English painter or sculptor receives foreign honours, he is very likely to be a Member or an Associate of the Academy. Foreigners have not yet learned that the letters R.A. after a man's name are a proof of his incapacity, nor do they think that because the President speaks four languages grammatically he is less likely to paint a picture or to model a statue.\*

It is reasonable to regret, for the Academy's own sake as well as for that of the fine arts, that its honours should never have been given to original workers in black and white. The engraver who translated pictures has had a chance of election, whilst the engraver who worked out his own ideas has never had the slightest chance. It is strange to think that the merits of Rembrandt, as an etcher only, would not have procured for him the modest honour of an Associateship, whilst for some laboured plates, in great part executed by assistants, men have risen to the full honours. This brings us down to the technical foundations of art criticism. Unless a painter has studied black and white art for itself he is likely to think of it too much with reference to painting. Let us take etching as an example. The best original etching is essentially a linear art with suggestions only of tone. Painting, on the other hand, is inevitably a tonic art, and if the painter undervalues etching for its want of complete tonality he misunderstands an art that may be exquisite in its own way. I asked one of the best professional etchers in Paris whether, in his frequent intercourse with painters, he had noticed any peculiarity in their criticisms. "As a rule," he said, "they do not understand any interpretation of painting by etching, as if etching were another art; but they want an imitation, especially of the complete scale of tones—that is, a sort of photogravure without its heaviness and opacity." Their ideal seems to have been realised by the wonderful but terribly laborious plates of M. Gaujean, which no man of original genius in etching could ever endure to execute, even if he had the necessary skill. I remember a distinguished painter who criticised an original etching on the ground that it did not recognise the difference in tonic value between a road in sunshine and the open sky—"a difference," he added, "which is always sure to exist in nature, and which ought, therefore, to be observed in art." The answer was, simply, that original etching does not pretend to the complete tonality of nature, or even to that of painting. One of the finest etchings from pictures is the "Calais Pier," by Mr. Haden, after Turner, in which most of the tones are sagaciously omitted.

Mr. Joseph Pennell, who is a brilliant pen draughtsman, com-

\* Rodin, the French sculptor, who is undeniably a man of genius, said to me, "You have one great sculptor in England." I asked who it was. "It is Leighton, the President of your Academy."

plains that painters do not adequately recognise the rank and qualities of the art which he himself practises. Is not this a reflection on the competence of artistic criticism, for nobody denies that painters are still artists? And might not they, on their part, retort that Mr. Pennell's criticisms on painting have never been distinguished by any very delicate discrimination? One of his most recent declarations is that the Sistine Madonna is "as blatant a piece of shoddy commercialism as has ever been produced." This is a good representative specimen of the new or Whistlerian school of criticism, strong in statement, aggressive and contemptuous in tone, but lacking the note of culture. If artists are weary of the literary critic, this is what they may expect from the craftsman. I wonder if Mr. Pennell supposes that he himself would find mercy. Being only a literary critic, and therefore incompetent, I admire Mr. Pennell's drawings, which seem to me to combine a penetrative observation of nature with great practical skill and an original aptitude for discovering the picturesque where others would pass it by. Some of the best of them were shown to an illustrious French artist, Commander of the Legion of Honour. He glanced at them and said, "Lace!" a laconic but not an appreciative criticism.\*

The strong bias given by practical work in a particular direction may be marked by a disproportionate excess of praise. The same pen which accused Raphael of "shoddy commercialism" has recorded the opinion that Mr. Whistler is a greater etcher than Rembrandt. The explanation of this surprising excess of praise is very simple. Mr. Pennell is himself an etcher and a very clever one, but in many respects he has been a follower of Mr. Whistler. No one ever quite succeeds in copying a model, and the more one tries to do it the more unapproachable the model becomes. We find the same excessive praise of the pen-drawings of M. Vierge, because in them the modern technique is carried to its own peculiar perfection, whilst at the same time Mr. Pennell has nothing but condemnation for the pen-drawings of Titian, to whom he refuses all technical power whatever. "I want to insist," he says, "in the strongest manner, that this and all other drawings of Titian's I have ever seen—and I have gone through almost all the great galleries—are simply of no value whatever for the study of technique."† As the Whistlerian school of criticism accepts only the opinions of artists, I referred this question to M. Lhermitte, whose own technical skill, in several different graphic arts, is admitted by all who know his work. M. Lhermitte expressed the heartiest admiration for Titian's pen-drawings. "Their qualities," he said, "are of course entirely

\* The exact words were, "C'est de la dentelle, ça."

† Mr. Pennell also says: "In comparison with Vierge, Dürer knows nothing of light and shade, Bellini and Vandyke and Holbein are heavy and laboured in their handling, while Piranesi and Canaletto have but an historical interest."

different from those of the modern Spaniards and Americans, but they are very great of their own kind." After this I may perhaps be permitted to say that Titian's pen-drawings seem to me to possess not only a breadth and magnificence of conception which are usually absent from the clever work of the present day, but that there is even a power in the handling itself which Titian did not consciously try for. It came to him because he had his knowledge at his fingers' ends—his own knowledge, which was not that of our most showy contemporaries.

The service rendered by Mr. Pennell to art criticism lies in his demonstration of the consequences of a special skill. His great cleverness in pen-drawing, so far from increasing his breadth of judgment, has had a contrary effect, and it needs little reflection to perceive that this is always likely to be the consequence of a narrow technical training. The good result of such training is in practical production, not in educating the mind so as to enable it to theorise consistently. When Mr. Pennell says, in opposition to the opinion of Leonardo da Vinci, that "the theory of art is of no value and the practice is everything," he is writing from the craftsman's point of view, though even the craftsman has need of a working theory, or, in place of it, a tradition. But when from drawing or painting we pass to writing about art, theoretical knowledge becomes absolutely indispensable, though it ought always to be accompanied by some practical experience to avoid technical errors. Mr. Pennell affirms that unless a drawing possesses "technique," by which he means the most showy modern execution, he "cares not a jot or a tittle for its intellectual, social, or spiritual qualities." But from a point of view which is not that of the specialist there is a peculiar interest in the practice, by eminent artists, of arts in which they had not the craftsman's technical self-consciousness. A great painter takes up any instrument that lies ready to hand, the pen with which he has been writing a letter, he dips it in his inkstand and sets down an idea with it. Then comes the modern specialist and says, "It is unpardonable rashness in you to attempt pen-drawing without having learnt it by devoting ten years to that art exclusively. You have no right to use pen and ink; you are intruding on a profession that is not yours." To this we answer that we know perfectly well the difference between a painter's pen-drawing and that of the professional executant, and that we find a certain charm in the very absence of technical pretension. When M. Vierge or Mr. Pennell executes a brilliant passage he is *performing*; when Meissonier used a pen he did it innocently, and there is a certain pleasantness in that. It is just the difference between autograph and calligraphy. I remember receiving a letter from a distinguished animal painter. It was written hastily with a blunt pen charged with flowing ink. There was something in

it about otter hounds ; so with the same pen my correspondent threw in a wonderful sketch of dogs in full chase—a most delightful sketch, all life and energy and motion. Did it possess “technique”? I never asked the dogs such a superfluous question.

The most brilliant professional work is not done in that simple way. Some of the most skilful draughtsmen begin by painfully laborious pencil studies, which they afterwards unite in a composition, also first drawn in pencil and carefully corrected. When, after hours or days of toil, the composition is finally settled (it costs in many cases as much thought as that of a picture), the artist makes a deliberate selection of the most important lines and fixes them in ink ; then he rubs off the pencil marks and completes his work by a suggestion of light and shade, the whole, when cleverly done, having the appearance of a swift and sudden inspiration of genius. Photography further helps the artist by reduction, which makes it appear as if he could draw with great certainty on a very small scale. Therefore the result before the public conveys three deceptive impressions : that of speed and inspiration when the work was slow, that of certainty when it was tentative, and that of minuteness when it was on a conveniently large scale.

The effect of this exaltation of cleverness on young artists must be anything but salutary. It sets before them a personal display as the motive of their work, a display not differing in principle from that of any other public performers. According to Mr. Ruskin's beautiful theory of the motive of art, it was the expression of man's delight in God's work that made the artist look out of himself and lose self-consciousness in contemplating the beauty of the world. According to the New Criticism, the motive of art is the display of human skill, especially manual skill, and this compels the artist to be incessantly comparing his sleight-of-hand with that of other performers, to his despair if he finds himself inferior, or else, if he excels them, to the satisfaction of his vanity, an evil in either case, as he is occupied perpetually about himself.

Finally, the advocates of the New Criticism may be reminded that in a few short years it will be itself old-fashioned and obsolete, as they tell us that Ruskinism is to-day. It has even a smaller chance of endurance than Ruskinism, because that had culture in its favour, and was therefore always interesting, even when misleading. The New Criticism has but two ideas to live upon : one is a narrow notion of technique, and the other is a jealous hatred of intellectual influences in the graphic arts. But as printed criticism belongs to literature itself it must have the needs of literature, which are knowledge and ideas, and it cannot live for very long by simply insisting on two vulgar prejudices of the studio. The public will soon inquire whether it has anything else to say.

P. G. HAMERTON.

## SUNSHINE AND RAIN.

A MEMORABLE spring and summer. February closed the winter tempestuous and bleak as it should do, for "all the moneths of the yere Hate a fair Februerer"; and then came March, windy, but warm and dry, and the first week of spring saw all the flowers in bloom. "A peck of March dust" was once, if proverbs may be believed, "worth a king's ransom," but this year it went a-begging down the lanes in clouds, and nobody made their fortunes by it. Thereafter, four rainless months of tempered sunshine, ideal weather for health and pleasure. The farmer too began the year with rosiest hopes. Never had crops started more bravely, nor had hay weather more to its liking. But under the unbroken sunshine that followed these promises melted away. June came to a close with hardly grass enough in the meadows to hide a lark. The ox-eye daisies were all dwarfed, and the cornflower, that had to be two feet high last year to show its blue stars above the swathes, lorded it at a few inches over the creeping trefoil and stunted kingcups. The thrushes and blackbirds and starlings, out foraging in the pasture for their young, could look across the whole field by standing on tip-toe; and as for the partridges, they showed above the grass and clover as bison or eland might above the yard-high pasturage of the prairie or the veldt. The weasel found it uncanny going and a profitless quest to cross the meadow, for the field-mice had proved the ground too hard to tunnel in and were off to the ditches and the shady spinney-banks, where the moss grows thick. Besides, there was a hawk hanging in the cloudless sky, and what weasel so bold as to launch himself upon the bare field with the sparrowhawk's eye searching the surface? So he kept to the herbage under the hedge. Even this was scanty, for the campions, pink and white, that should have been



beautifying the banks, were sun-smitten, and the stars of Bethlehem, for want of water, were ghosts of their proper selves. The hedgerows, indeed, were curiously barren of flowers, but the shrubs and trees, in their foliage, bloom, and promise of fruit, were wonderful. Not for many years had the blackthorn, may, and guelder-rose flowered so profusely or set such quantities of berries, while the horse-chestnuts, sycamores, and other trees had crowded every sprig with bloom. So, too, in orchard and garden. The fruit-trees were loaded with blossom, and their promise had held good, and St. Swithin had blessed them, and Frankum's Night passed without malign interference of witches. So the harvests of the orchard will be prodigious. The hazels and filberts are laden with ripening nuts, and if all the walnuts upon the trees grow full, there are boughs that must break with their burdens. The sunny months of March and April brought nothing but good to the trees, for their roots, deep-searching among hidden waters, were independent of rainfall and thrived magnificently; and though in the country it is a proverb that fruit will not set unless the blossom has been rained on, there were bumper crops of cherries and bush fruit—raspberry, gooseberry, currant and strawberry. There are but few plums, and among the wall-fruit the morellas dropped nearly all their fruit. But the peaches, apricots, nectarines, and greengages were laden handsomely, and trees that have not borne for several years are this year in full fruit. Had April ended and May begun with heavy rains, it would have been an *annus mirabilis* for the farmer also; but as it is, the spring and summer that we have had should make "the Year of the Wedding" a memory for all their lives for the rising generation of unbroken sunshine and gracious English weather.

And so July came and passed. Before its time the purple scabious, easily over-topping the dwarfed barley, was in flower; the yellow bed-straw (one of the most beautiful and long-lasting of wild flowers when put in a vase) was in full bloom, and the hedges had been hung for a fortnight before their time with the white convolvulus, and festooned with the tufted vetch. The horehound, which should not have been in blossom for another month, was already going to seed, and the yellow flowers of the avens had dropped, and its points were all tipped with spiky seed-balls. A few familiar plants had not flowered at all, the early orchis, for example, or only very poorly, as the ragged robin, the stitchwort, forget-me-nots, and the bladdered campions. But the rest had done well, in spite of no rain, and notable among them were the meadow-sweet, the knapweed, and the teasels. The foliage of the trees is everywhere unusually full, but the signs of early autumn colouring are already showing in lime and chestnut. The trees have been affected curiously, but not alike. Some, as the ash, poplar, plane, and lime, have seeded or set their seed very well. But the oaks have no acorns, the beech-trees no mast, the horse-chestnuts

few chestnuts. The supply of wild birds' food threatens to be very scanty. The mountain-ash and elder are heavily laden, but these are eaten up long before the pinch of winter comes, and are not important "crops." The hollies have no berries; the hips and haws are dropping off the hawthorns and the roses with the drought, and there is no fruit on the yews. The privet is thickly set, but the blackberry harvest will probably be very poor.

This year St. Swithin was not at all certain of his own intentions, and used his watering-pot in a purposeless and undecided fashion. But St. Swithin has of late degenerated into something of an impostor. In his general moral aspect he still, no doubt, remains the "rich treasure of all virtues" which monkish biographers assert he used to be in the flesh and as good a "saint" as ever—though never having been canonised by a Pope he is really only a home-made saint—but as a barometer the venerable gentleman has of recent years been only so-so. Indeed, in the matter of rain-angury he has now fallen, in some parts of the country, far behind the woodpecker, and cannot, in Welsh estimation at any rate, compare for a moment with the Prophet Jones who, after an exemplary life as a minister, has left behind him in the Principality a reputation as an exemplary rain-predicter also. As a fact it will be found that the greatest number of rainy days have followed when St. Swithin was dry, and this, too, in spite of the saint having selected for his purpose a season of the year when such prognostications had all the meteorological odds in their favour. I would not on that account impute to the respected monk any wilful intention of trifling with the public, but at the same time would point out that should any modern Zadkiel prophecy cold weather for January, if it were cold on Christmas Day, there would not be sufficient audacity in the prediction to make its fulfilment a matter for any great enthusiasm. Yet St. Swithin's prophecy was almost as safe a one to venture on, for it appears from published observations that when spring is dry summer is as a rule wet, and that when the spring is wet the summer is generally wetter still; so that any day will do for reckoning the forty days from as well as the 16th of July, or better, and it does not much matter either whether we reckon backwards or forwards. This saint, when on earth, which was scarcely a thousand years ago, was an ecclesiastic of recognised ability, Privy Councillor to two kings, and tutor, it is said, to Alfred the Great. But he seems to have had a most unwholesome liking for the wet, for when he died he was buried, at his own request, out of doors, so that the sweet rain might fall upon him, while some chroniclers say that he was buried "beneath the eaves" so that he might constantly be dripped upon. Under the rain-spout he lay accordingly for nearly a hundred years, when St. Dunstan, who seems to have had an unconscionable habit of meddling in other people's

affairs, covered his burial-place with a shrine, at which St. Swithin was so incensed that he caused a violent thunderstorm to burst over the heads of the company and to continue for forty days. And it was for this that he was made the Pluvial Saint of England, and July, his month, the month of augury. Yet if one date is to have the same weight as another, there is not a single month in the year that is not as rain-making as July, and besides St. Swithin there are eight other saints who claim the watering-pot. Each month in turn, as well as July, has been supposed to influence the weather of its successor, and these at any rate, Saints Matthew, Paul, Simon, Jude, Medard, Gervais, Martin and Goddieve, can claim equal powers. Moreover, observations of the rainfall have exposed St. Swithin's incompetence so completely, that if we must have an Aquarius in our calendar, why not try one in a later month, say, St. Simon and St. Jude, who are two sloppy saints that fall together in October? If it does rain after that, it can hardly make November worse than it is, while if it does not, it will mend the month. This year St. Swithin christened the apples; not heartily, but still sufficiently; and as all the other rustic rites which the proper culture of pippins demands have been complied with, the owners of orchards await the harvest of the trees with assured complacency. St. Barnaby sent the groves fair weather when the trees were in bud, and St. Dunstan let May pass without a blight. For it should be known that the pious blacksmith in his unregenerate days speculated in a brewery and made a corner in malt, intending to hold the market, and that Beelzebub came to him and offered, if the "saint" would sell himself to the Prince of Darkness, to blight all the apple-trees in the parishes round, so that there should be no cider in the country-side, and beer be more than ever in demand. Dunstan, it is said, agreed to this scandalous arrangement, and his purchaser straightway set forth and blighted all the orchards, for which reason St. Dunstan's Day is held to be a critical one for the trees which are then in full bloom. But this year passed without harm, and so did Frankum's Night, when the three witches in vindictive recollection of the abominable proceedings of one Frankum—who dabbled in witchcraft himself, and tried to steal a march on his neighbours by his incantations and spells—are said to go round with a malevolent "pepper-box" and sprinkle mildew, smut, rot, canker, and every other noxious thing they can, upon the trees with the young fruit just reddening. Then came St. Swithin, the patron saint of umbrellas and goloshes; he too with judicious showers did his best for the orchards. So that blessed by all the saints of the calendar who concern themselves with apples, the fruit-trees in the mellowing sunshine of September ought to fulfil the promise of their boughs.

Ripe fruit all doctors allow forms a healthy food for young and old, and it is pleasant to know that the apple does not suffer from

their special commendation. Do you remember how, when the Pilgrims were at the Inn, the party had apples set before them, "and they were very good tasted fruit"? Then said Matthew the boy, "May we eat apples, since they were by such that the serpent beguiled our first mother?" To which Gaius replied, in one of those appropriate couplets of which the sententious old innkeeper showed always so curious a command :

"Apples forbad, if ate, corrupt the blood :  
To eat such when commanded does us good."

Upon which Matthew the boy changed his ground and went on to explain that the reason he "made the scruple" was that "a while since he had been very sick when eating fruit." It is not often, fortunately, that we meet, outside of Sandford and Merton, a boy who argues about the propriety of eating apples that were given him. But with August passing, the season of green fruit is—let the Guardians of the Groves be thanked—nearly over.

August is the month of the lapwing and the hedgehog, as September is of the partridge and squirrel. All Arctic folk call August "the lapwing month," and here in England too the bird is much in evidence, "scattering o'er the heath and singing its wild notes to the listening waste" ere the guns get to work and while the destinies of grouse still admit of peace in solitude. It has a weary voice, "piping o'er the lea," or "crying along the purple moor," and it flings itself across the sky at sunset as if it had no aims left in life, a homeless, hopeless bird.

The Scotch have never forgiven it for the part it innocently played in the betrayal of Covenanters to their enemies. The persecuted worshippers used to meet for prayer in the most secret valleys, on the most unfrequented hill-sides, just where the plovers had their haunts and nests, and as long as the intruders stayed, the birds kept complaining, flying to and fro above them. The soldiers sent out to harry the conventicles soon got to understand the meaning of the birds—just as in South America the hunters know where the pumas are feeding by the wheeling of vultures above them, and in India the tiger may be tracked by the clamour of jackals around it as it moves. Scotch poets have nothing but reproach for the beautiful bird "of ill omen," which

"Hovering o'er the panting fugitive,  
Through dreary moss and moor has screaming led  
The keen pursuer's eye ; oft has it hung  
Like a death-flag above the assembled throng  
Whose lips hymned praise."

It is odd how little is known about the "urchin," the "prick-backed" hedgehog, "that doth foreshew ensuing storms." Yet the hedgehog, I take it, is a very pleasant little beast. Poets do not

like it because it is prickly. They call them "ugly" urchins and "thornbacks dull." Why ugly and why dull, I cannot say. They have very pretty intelligent faces, the little ones especially, and the only dulness that I have noticed in those I have caught and kept as pets was their sleepiness during the daytime, though if kept without food all night they were often as brisk as possible in the morning. They dislike the sunlight, but on cloudy days, or towards evening, they were always abroad, and if their box is thoroughly shaded they seem to make very little difference between day and night.

Their docility is astonishing, and a very little handling is sufficient to teach them to like being scratched between the fore-legs or stroked between the eyes. Nor when among friends do they curl themselves up. I used to carry them about on my hand open, or they would lie across my knee open when I stroked their backs, and I am half inclined to think the curling up is a procedure that is uncomfortable, and only resorted to from caution. Young ones cannot do it, and old ones, when ill, lose the strength necessary for contracting the skin. When disturbed asleep they are found curled up, though I have often seen them lying quite quiet at full length as if asleep, and when hibernating they are also found in a ball. But has any one ever seen a hedgehog when it was peacefully at its ease roll itself up? have never caught one in the act of curling up, except when it had just been alarmed. May not this be the explanation of their being found in this posture in their nests at night or during frost? Might not the little animals have been lying at full length when they were disturbed, and suddenly rolled up at the first menace of danger? If not, how do you account for it that when you take a hedgehog out of its nest it often has a leaf or two cuddled up inside it? Surely no animal deliberately settling itself to sleep in a ball would do so with such uncomfortable things as dead leaves in the middle of its body. Who would think of taking their boots into bed with them when they wanted to be snug? They never remain rolled up more than a quarter of an hour, and, as a rule, if they are left alone they uncurl in three or four minutes. When rolled up their respiration is regular and in deep, long-drawn breaths, but you can tell when their alarm is over by the breathing becoming rapid and fluttering. As soon as the eyes come up above the fur they are opened; then comes the nose, twitching nervously. The little creature gives a start, and then gets on its legs by a series of short cautious jerks, and when fairly on its feet takes often a very careful survey of its surroundings before making off to cover.

They recognise no danger from the presence of man, and when escaping will crawl over your foot or squeeze through between your heels. If when it is on your foot you stir it, the small thing's puzzlement is very comic. But the disturbance does not alarm it. It

accepts it doubtless as of the nature of an earthquake, and humbly concluding that little hedgehogs have nothing to fear from seismic convulsions, goes on its plodding way without any symptoms of panic. Still more odd is the fact that you may walk close behind a hedgehog as long as you please, and it will not take fright. If you are standing still in its path, the hedgehog will keep straight on and go over your boots. But if you cross its path, or come unexpectedly upon it at very close quarters, it will make a short, sudden rush of about a yard or more in a very stupid way, often on to an open pathway or the turf, and there curl itself up. From all which I conclude that, though its eyes, ears, and nostrils are so well developed, it has really no quickness of sight, hearing, or smell. It relies entirely upon its power of contraction and the knowledge that when it is in a ball it is safe.

I never saw them fight, but when in company they were in a continual state of explosiveness, puffing and snorting in a most delightful way. At the distance of fifty yards it sounded as if some small steam-engine were at work. When they meet and touch noses each snorts and starts back, again advances, snorts and retires, until eventually, giving one another a wide berth, they pass without touching. Sometimes one would make a rush under the others, upsetting them, and the puffing then would be prodigious. They must puff or burst. But they did not fight. This manoeuvre, I take it, is a hostile one, and certainly not without its merits, for if the one that charges under the other erects its bristles as it goes it must make it very uncomfortable indeed for the one above. But I never saw any retaliation nor any use made of the teeth. When at peace with each other they do not seem to be incommoded by each other's spines, but crawl over one another as unconcernedly as if their backs were velvet. In their movements, when wild, they are very noisy, treading heavily, eating their food with a great deal of munching, and going through their toilet with loud lickings. They have no real taste for fruit either ripe or unripe, but will nibble it, and as for plantain roots ("the hedgehog underneath the plantain bores," says Tennyson, in "Aylmer's Field"), said by Gilbert White to be a special favourite of theirs, I never found them to eat it in captivity. That they eat eggs is beyond doubt, but how they do it I could never discover. I have seen them roll them about till the eggs got accidentally into a corner or against some obstacle and then attack them, but without any results, with their teeth. Next morning, however, the shell was there smashed up into tiny fragments, but no vestige of the contents.

Now hedgepigs are of the nature of things that cause places to be bewitched. They are very occult. Some time ago ("leave out the date entirely, Trim," quoth my Uncle Toby) my friend Anthony Partiger

confided to me, smoking very slowly as his wont is when about any matter of moment, "that he thought his garden was bewitched." Why? Because, said he, the tulips bought for double all turn out single, and the hyacinths guaranteed "mixed" are all a livid white. "The candytuft comes up chickweed and the lobelia groundsel, and instead of the 'warranted finest lawn-grass,' I have sow-thistles and fool's-parsley." "But these," said I, "are mere details." "Not a bit of it," he replied, "they are circumstantial evidence."

I was delighted at the turn affairs were taking, as I had long had a whim in hand which I knew not how to gratify, so knowing Tony to get more confirmed the more he was contradicted, I pooh-poohed the idea of witchcraft. But he overwhelmed me with his "reasons," and ended up by asking me, which was not to be disputed with any honesty, if I had not seen that the shrubberies were haunted by whining hedgepigs and the spinney by death-boding owls; and went on to tell me how only last week a brindled cat (much given to mewing at midnight) had spirited away the tabby of the house and taken its place. By this time he had become so positive that the place was bewitched that I did not hesitate to agree with him, and said, "We can soon put the matter right." "How?" he asked. "By planting," I replied, "a small garden of such things as witches cannot bear, and setting out in another part another garden of such things as they take most delight in. The one will serve to conciliate the more malignant, and the other to terrify the weaker-minded." "We will do it," said Tony, "and let us plan it out at once."

And so, while it was raining, we did. Of course the fruit garden, that which was to scare the witches, had to be a pentangle; and as there happened to be a poplar tree upon which there was mistletoe growing—witches dare not come near the mystic plant—just where there was a space of ground suitable for our purpose, we made it one point of the pentangle; and at each of the others set an elder and an ash tree, a hazel and a mountain-ash, the four most potent trees against evil spirits that there are. At the foot of one was to be set bracken, of another St. John's wort, of the third vervain, of the fourth foxgloves, and against the poplar was to be trained black-briony. In the centre of the garden were to be white lilies and sweet-briar (which Satan hates), and the rest was to be overgrown with ground-ivy, roots of anemone and pimpernel being thickly set in amongst it. And against the poplar tree was to be nailed with cross-headed nails a board with the old prayer upon it:

"From witches and wizards and long-tailed buzzards,  
And creeping things that run in hedge bottoms,  
Good Lady, deliver us!

"That should greatly conduce," said Tony thoughtfully, "to the prostigation of witches."

And then we designed the other, though the rain had stopped, and the young speckled robins were out on the path, and the red-admiral sat sunning its wings on the hollyhock opposite. In a corner of Tony's garden was a little pool in which lived newts and frogs (to which witches were ever partial), and over it hung black alders, the favourite tree of such as ride on broomsticks. What more suitable and convenient for the hags' pleasure ground than this corner? And when we came to examine it we found the pipy hemlock growing there and a noble plant of hellebore, all hung with green bells. Surely just the place,

"By the witches tower,  
Where hellebore and hemlock seem to weave  
Round its dark vaults a melancholy bower,  
For spirits of the dead at night's enchanted hour."

"They have been planting here already," said Tony, "and this is no doubt their rendezvous." "We shall please them then all the more if we beautify the place with some more noxious plants." "We will make it abominably charming." "First of all, nightshade. You cannot have too much of that. Witches make their tea of it, and use the foaming juice of aconite for cream. There is plenty of that, too, in the garden, the beautiful blue "monkshood." "Too good for witches," said Tony. "Hush! nothing can be too good for those whom you are compelled to propitiate. Then there must be henbane and betony, and we will give them a juniper bush, for without this they cannot send brides mad. Yews are here already, and the red-branched berries of the arum—"lords and ladies," the children call them, but in Worcestershire we know them as "bloody men's fingers"—and we must add the mallow that softens men's bones and makes them cripples, and the clammy plantain that causes the black sweat in man. For the rest, Tony, do not trim the witches' garden except round under the yew where they sit, but place against the alder ready for their use wands of bay with a tuft of leaves at the end, and hemlock-stalks, and if you have them to spare an old broomstick or two.

"Some nags were of the Biunc cane framit,  
And some of the griene Bay-tree,  
But mine was made of ane Humloke schaw,  
And a stout stallion was he"

You will then have done your best, and if at any time you find a dead shrew or bat about throw it into their garden. Witches have their whims, you know. And Tony," I added, "when you have done all this, I think, if I were you, I should also change my seedsman."

"I was thinking," said Tony, "whether I should not do that first." \*  
Raining again, in a soft warm shower. Listen to the garden



talking while it rains, a patter of voices, quick eager, multitudinous, full of hopes and projects of what they will do "now that it rains." How they will grow and shoot forth and bud and blossom. The roses only are weeping their pretty flowers away, drop, drop, drop, one petal at a time, and then, on a sudden, a whole sob-full. Pan has asked for them: they give them to Pan. And the sweetbriar is worshipful with fragrance, and like incense to Indra, "Lord of the Rain," goes up the scent of lavender and southernwood and thyme. The lilies, of great goodlihead, divinely tall, sway with a stately languid grace; the Canterbury bells are all ringing.

The birds are under shelter, but scarcely out of sight, for the rain drives out a multitude of flying creeping things. The thrush and blackbird make short excursions to see how the worms are coming out; the fly-catcher, as if on a pendulum, swings across an open space, intercepting the fluttering rain-impeded moths; the wagtail paddles along the edge of the path busily feeding; the sagacious robin, comfortably under a bush, watches for the caterpillars that drop by long threads off the wet leaves and dangle in the air. The cat, too, sits dry under the clematis that grows against the house, but now and again one big drop falls upon her, soaking slowly to the skin, and shoots sudden tremors along her furry sides, little zigzag lightnings of cold shiver. And the drenched spider slings herself hand over hand up the line, and, cruddled up under a leaf, sits cat-elbowed watching the rain-drops strike her slanting web and catch in it—useless captives these. The rain makes flat finicking patterns on the path, all specks and dots, like Benares brass-work, but becomes bravely confluent where, under an overhanging fern, it sweeps in mimicry of a torrent round the corner of the rockwork to the grating, where its tiny Niagara disappears. And, lo! the toad with its dandified swaggering crawl, its elbows out like a beau's, and resting every now and again to look about at nothing. Why not pick it up and cross its back with silver? It brings good fortune. "He who is not fortunate must provide himself with a toad, and feed it in his house on bread and wine, inasmuch as they are either 'lords' or 'women from without,' or 'uncomprehended genii,' who have fallen under some malediction. Hence they are not to be molested, lest when offended they should come at night to spit upon the offender's eyes, which never heal, not even if he recommend himself to the regard of Santa Lucia." The "slow soft toad," as Shelley calls it, is a special favourite of mine. I like it because it carries a precious jewel in its head that nobody has yet found, and because it knows how to hatch cockatrices,\* and because it eats gnats. He is a charm-

\* If it finds a cock's egg it sits upon it and hatches it. The result is a cockatrice, which by-and-by grows a crown on its head and becomes a basilisk, which kills by merely looking. A considerable beast.—P. R.

ing person altogether, "the full-blown toad," and never, perhaps, more so than in Spenser's immortal couplet :

"The grisly toadstool grown there might I see  
And loathed paddocks lording on the same."

The worm, too, is now abroad, telescoping its way along the soft ground, and sucking down into its burrow all the leaves it can reach. When the thrush is asleep it will be busiest, this terrible little creature that is responsible for the disappearance of cities and for the undoing and unmaking of all that man sets up. But will it, when daylight comes, remember about "the early bird" ?

And here see "the compendious snail" upon his travels. He pays no rent and fears no brokers. For except when he is inside it his house is unfurnished. There is nothing to levy upon :

"Wherein he dwells, he dwells alone,  
Except himself has chattels none,  
Well satisfied to be his own  
Whole treasure "

It is Davenant who calls it the "nimble" snail, "hast'ning with all his tenements on his back." And why not? How fast would a squirrel go if it had to carry its nest on its back? Or the house-sparrow? And it is truly delightful looking at the creature, so apparently harmless, so much to be pitied, to remember, as De Gubernatis says, that "the snail of popular superstition is demoniacal." And there is no doubt that in the folk-lore of every country the snail is treated as an accomplice of the Devil in all his wicked works.

And then the rain stops, and except here and there for a little puddle fast sinking into the ground and the glittering of the drops hanging at the tips of the leaves, there is no sign of the summer weather having broken. The sky is clear blue, and the sun is bright. The swifts are wheeling and screaming round the house-tops, and from fir tree and elm the birds are singing. And look at them on the lawn, in the field, everywhere. Listen to the humming of the wasps in the trees. People stop and say, "Listen to the bees"; but if they will look they will see there are no flowers overhead for the honey-seekers. It is the wasps who are at work, crowding on the sprays of silver fir and spruce, and scraping together the resin which they need for making the paper of their nests. For the wasp is no more an idler than the bee, and though it often finds a short cut to honey by plundering the laden workers of the hive, it is always busy, and terribly in earnest. It has been a busy year this for everything, for nearly all the birds have second broods, and the flowers are trying to blossom twice. The heat of May and June tempted them to flower, but they were only half-hearted, and now that July has given them rain they are making fresh growths. The bright blue stars of the

chicory are reappearing, they had almost dwindled away for want of rain, and the wild campanulas have picked up heart of grace. The willow-herb, which in Canada follows the track of the forest fires filling up all the black spaces along the railway lines—they call it the “fire-weed”—has its roots in moist places and is lusty and tall; and the foxgloves that have had shade are in the prime of their beauty. But the mulleins, the beautiful plants with soft downy leaves and noble spires of yellow bloom, the pride of the copse, are dwarfed, and so is the toad-flax that makes the hedgerows lovely, and the pretty rest-harrow spread out along the ground brightening the waste corners of the fields is deeper in colour and much smaller than in other years. This deepening of colour has been very noticeable. Whole fields of bird’s-foot trefoil have this July been fiery orange, while in other years children found it a morning’s work to gather a handful of the darker flowers. The campions too were not pink, but rich rosy red. The hawks are out of their reckoning, and beating the hedges they found none of the tiny chicks they expected. The birds were well grown in July and quite able to take care of themselves, and now, with August in its second week, they are as strong of wing as ever they were on the fatal First. What a charming bird it is, this bold little yeoman of our country-side, and in all the home-life of birds can there be anything more engaging than the partridge’s care of her eggs and young ones? Live happily with your family while you may, little bird, for the day of your trouble is close upon you, when the covey you have loved so well will be scattered, and even if you live yourself to call them to you, you will find your voice unheeded, perhaps by both mate and chick.

PHIL ROBINSON.

## HOW TO STOP RIVER POLLUTION.

**A**FTER all the efforts of late years, it must be owned that the state of our rivers is far below the requirements not only of beauty but of health. There has been growing up amongst us a healthy desire to see our land freed from the terrible disfigurement which the factory system has inflicted on it, a sense of duty to the natural loveliness about us, and of the immense value to civilisation of the æsthetic side of life. Mr. Ruskin, our prophet of beauty, in his horror at our violation of nature, quarrels with the whole of our industrial method, not seeing that it also has the sanction of nature and is in the order of progress. But the protest is good; and it is for a more sober judgment to reconcile the inexorable demands of modern manufacture with the higher principles of social culture. Now even those ears which are deaf to the voice of the prophet are quick to listen to the warnings of the doctor, and it is in the name of *sanitas sanitatum* that we have the best chance of protecting our streams. Inspector Cholera threatens to come round, and the public authorities are disposed to clean up in fear of his visit. Still the work of purification is very imperfectly done. The foul water of the rivers and the unhealthy vapours which rise from them constitute an urgent question, and while public attention is drawn to it, it is, I think, worth while to point out where the weakness of the present system lies.

As matters now stand, the disposal of sewage—which is the main question so far as health is concerned—proceeds much in this way. The growing population demands a sewage system, and the collected result, more or less “treated,” is poured into the streams. Some riparian owner, finding the stench unendurable, or some water company or manufacturer drawing a tainted supply from the polluted river,

brings an action. After some eighteen months he obtains an injunction, the effect of which is suspended again and again, in order to give the offending Local Board of Health plenty of time to examine the competing chemical methods, to buy a small piece of land, to get the sanction of the Local Government Board to borrow money, and to put up works. There are two parties on the Local Board, and the prevailing motive is the desire to save the rates. The game of these parties—the Local Government Board, the ratepayer and the injunctor—is at last played out, and the ratepayer probably wins some cheap compensation in the way that work is run up and very inefficiently administered. The riparian owner, or water supplier, or consumer as the case may be, has had enough of costs and delay, and though matters are somewhat improved, the management of the work is starved and the stream is very partially cleansed. It is a system of compulsion, but compulsion by the poorest persons, with a check vested in the central board. Naturally it works badly. The initiative is in the hands of men who have no interest in moving. The city or county councillor who is conscientious enough to advocate spending money on precipitants before the bayonet is actually in the back of his committee, loses caste with his constituents. Is it any wonder if there are sewage committees which purchase a stock of chemicals and put a man in charge of the works, with strict injunctions to use the material only when the effluent is under inspection by powerful neighbours, and then plume themselves before the ratepayers on throwing so little money into the river for the benefit of towns, villages, and estates further downstream?

Now it is a well recognised fact that, for an extremely small sum per head per annum, sewage can by chemical precipitation be rendered as clear and colourless as river water, permanently non-putrescent, and suitable for fish life, and also that the pressed sludge obtained from it is without offensive odour, and is at least equal in value to farm yard manure. But the local sewage committee, whilst admitting the low cost per head and also the sanitary gain to their own town which would result from purification, tell you that it would mean a large aggregate annual outlay by their ratepayers, and that they dare not face them if they expended the money without being compelled to do so by the Local Government Board. Of course in those cases where the purified effluent is discharged into a stream already badly polluted by towns and villages higher up, the cost of purification appears to the ratepayers to be literally thrown away. Add to these difficulties the farther one that members of Local Sanitary Authorities are themselves (as manufacturers) often river polluters, and it will be evident how little hope there is of remedy unless we change the venue of administration.

I have for many years given the subject of sewage purification

close practical attention, and as the result of my observations I am convinced that until the outflows of all sewage works are placed under regular inspection by officers of the Local Government Board (just as chemical works are by the Alkali Acts) the difficulty with the local ratepayer and the polluter who is a committee member will not be overcome.

The principle of the imperial control of local authorities and other bodies through the agency of inspectors is so valuable and essential a feature of our national administration, that it will suffice to name the branches and developments of industrial and social life which are under inspection in order to bring home to us how much we owe to it. Factories, mines, explosives, burial grounds, prisons, constabulary, railways, canal boats, asylums, schools (ordinary, workhouse, reformatory, and industrial), chemical works, loans to local authorities, &c., are all at this moment under inspection. But it is worth while to say a few words about the Alkali Acts in particular. These laws relate mainly to the pollution of the air.

The present statute (The Alkali Works Regulation Act, 1884) governing chemical works enjoins that the best practicable means must be used for condensing the mischievous vapours which issue from the works; and in the case of certain leading manufactures it fixes the proportion of noxious gases per cubic foot of air, smoke, or gas escaping from the works, which must not be exceeded. All works are registered, taxed and placed under a chief inspector and assistant inspectors. From the last issued Report of the Local Government Board it appears that nearly five thousand tests of escaping vapours have been conducted during the year 1891-92. The result of this system has been that the average proportion of impurity is less than half the statutory rate. And, what is perhaps more important, the increase of skill and care bestowed on the processes has resulted in a steady diminution of the noxious impurities; while new inventions have so far succeeded in utilising the waste products, that the standard of the "best practicable and available means" has itself risen. In only three cases was it necessary to take legal proceedings against the manufacturer, and in two of them the offence was only neglect to register works.

A system which deals so readily with the subtle tainting of the atmosphere might surely be applied to liquid discharges, the impurities of which have been so carefully studied and subjected to scientific tests. It would be perfectly simple to insist that the effluents of all sewage works should be from time to time tested by inspectors. The number of such works is limited; all are in public hands, so that there need be no fresh burden on private persons, and registration would be unnecessary.

Indeed, the only measures needful would be to insist that every outflow of waste liquid from sewage works should pass through an open

conduit, accessible to the inspector at all hours of the day and night ; and to give to the chief inspector under the Alkali Acts a few additional assistants. The administration might well be the same as under these Acts. The chief inspector is necessarily a practical chemist, and the sampling of air and that of water are quite in the same line of work. As it is, he is engaged daily in protecting the air from what may be called gaseous sewage ; and, indeed, he has already under his ken two classes of liquid pollutions—namely, hydrochloric acid and the drainage from soda-waste heaps.

The liquid discharges are of such varied character that (as was done in the case of the Alkali Acts) tentative restrictions might be imposed in the first instance, and gradually increased as experience enabled the inspectors to point out to polluters in each case that they were not employing the "best practicable and available means" of purification. For example, it might be required at first merely that every effluent should be made permanently non-putrescent, the test of this being so simple that even a labourer at a sewage works could perform it. (A well-stoppered bottle, half filled with the effluent, then tightly closed and left in a light room at ordinary temperature, should, on being opened, give off no offensive odour however long the liquid is kept.) What a gain to public health and comfort in all towns, villages, and residences alongside polluted rivers would be secured by this one simple, reasonable, and perfectly practicable requirement !

I presume no one will dispute the proposition that if the Local Government Board have the right to insist upon sewage works being erected, they have equally the right to see that practical purification is effected by them. If they placed the control of polluted discharges under the Alkali Act inspector, I have no doubt his first step would be to reverse their present antiquated practice of requiring the construction of purifying works on a specified plan and then ignoring the results obtained. He would allow local authorities to erect any kind of works, and adopt any purifying process or method they pleased, but would hold them rigidly responsible for the character of their effluents. This is the intelligent *régime* under which the Alkali Acts have been administered for many years, and with results so satisfactory to all respectable chemical manufacturers that they now vie with each other in aiming at a much higher standard of purity with their escaping gases than is required by the Acts. Indeed, the inspectors under these Acts are regarded at all well-conducted chemical works as friends instead of enemies, as they are careful to keep the iron hand in the silken glove ; and their surprise visits lead at times to the discovery of unsuspected leakages, which, if not quickly stopped, might cause a manufacturer serious loss as well as trouble with his neighbours.

The present cast-iron policy of the Local Government Board in

regard to sewage discharges offers the most complete contrast to their administration of the Alkali Acts. It has, in fact, led in not a few cases to a dogged determination on the part of well-disposed local sanitary authorities to do nothing to purify their sewage. Such is notably the case in districts where thickly strewn manufacturing towns, which would readily erect sewage works, have found it impossible to comply with the Local Government Board's additional and inflexible requirement that they shall purchase land for filtering the purified effluent. This stipulation has probably been imposed because the Board cannot trust local authorities to spend the necessary amount for the precipitating material, and they accordingly compel them to provide land for at least filtering their sewage. But not a few local authorities who have both sewage works and land are now in this position—to save precipitants they have run their unpurified sewage direct on to the land, and the slimy matter so largely present in raw sewage has long ago choked it up. Let them, however, be allowed a free hand as to the means adopted to prevent pollution, and they will then be as willing as the chemical manufacturers to be held responsible for the result.

There is another very urgent reason for the adoption of this policy. Until a sanitary authority can point to its own effluent, it cannot honestly bring the law to bear on polluting manufacturers within its area; but let H.M. Inspector hold it responsible for all the river pollutions of its district, and it will very soon find a way to deal both with the beam and the mote.

It may here be remarked that quite a number of manufacturing discharges are found to be more easily and cheaply purified when mixed in the sewers with other discharges, including ordinary town sewage.

It appears to me that fresh legislation is not needed in order to bring about this great reform. Let us see what are the present powers of the Local Government Board if they are prepared to exercise them. Clause 293 of the Public Health Act (1875) enacts that "the Local Government Board may from time to time cause to be made such inquiries as are directed by this Act, *and such inquiries as they see fit in relation to any matters concerning the public health in any place*, or any matters with respect to which their sanction, approval, or consent is required by this Act." Clause 294 empowers the Local Government Board to make orders for the payment of the costs of such inquiries out of the public rates. Clause 295 declares that such orders shall be "binding and conclusive," and may be published in any manner that the Board may direct. Clause 296 provides that the inspectors shall for the purpose of any such inquiry have all the powers of Poor Law inspectors.

The words in Clause 293 which I have italicised show that it was



the clear intention of Parliament that no mere technicalities should be allowed to stand in the way of any inquiries which the Board might and ought to make in the interests of the public health; and the succeeding clauses just as clearly empower the Board to take action to-day, by sending out inspectors to any or all of the numberless towns which are now discharging raw or half-purified sewage into the rivers, to the detriment of the health of their own and other populations on the banks. If the publication of the reports of such inspectors and the payment of their salaries and expenses by the local authorities were not sufficient moral coercion to impel them to set their houses in order, then the decks might be cleared for action by putting into operation the extraordinary powers granted by Clause 299, under which, on the complaint of a single person "that a local authority has made default in enforcing any provisions of this Act which it is their duty to enforce," the Local Government Board may order their enforcement within a time limited by them, and on their default may appoint a person to perform such duty at their cost, and may (under Clause 300), if necessary, seize the local rates in payment.

That such severe measures would very rarely have to be put in force if effluents were placed under Government inspection is clearly indicated by the working of the Alkali Acts. The present excellent results of the inspection of British chemical works have been achieved almost solely by moral pressure *barked by the shadow of the law*. It would in fact be a real kindness to local sanitary authorities everywhere to put their sewage treatment under supervision, as it would transform all of them who are mere rate savers for popularity's sake into local administrators proud that they had made their effluents odourless, colourless, and suitable for fish life.\*

Another important effect of the proposal would be that it would decentralise. No town sanitary authority, and none of Mr. Fowler's coming parish or union councils, would have to submit plans of its pro-

\* One word to prevent misapprehension on the part of those who are not "up" in the latest developments of water purification. Impure water, sewage and other polluted liquids purified by a true precipitant are not in any sense "drugged," the precipitant itself being carried down with the impurities and no constituent being left in the water which was not present in it before treatment. Not only so, but recent investigations have proved that even the dangerous germs themselves are entangled by the precipitant and removed by it along with the impurities, the effluent being thus left perfectly germ-free! As, moreover, it is found that the germs are killed by light—even that of a winter sun—it is obvious that if the precipitant carries down the coloured and other impurities which darken the mass of liquid in the reservoir or sewage tank, any still remaining germs must be destroyed by the light which will then freely penetrate its depths. And hence during the heavy floods which inundate all normal sewage arrangements, the storm water has only to be proportionally dosed with precipitant to ensure its yielding in the river a clear, colourless effluent which light will pierce, and in which oxidation will exert its well-known beneficial action. No oxygen being removed by such true precipitation, either from the sewage or the river water, it results also that the higher organisms, which attack and dispose of the insoluble precipitate, will live and thrive in the "precipitated" storm water.

posed sewage works to the Local Government Board. Moreover, the official block now prohibiting all alternative methods of sewage treatment by authorities who cannot find irrigation land would be removed. And as, under an inspection régime, authorities of all kinds would find themselves compelled to honestly purify their sewage, they would, as sensible folk, adopt processes which have stood the test for years, and thus, like the chemical people, soon get on the best of terms with the inspectors of the Board.

Finally I may add that there is nothing whatever in the Alkali Acts to preclude the present Chief Inspector from supervising inspection work outside the Acts; and there is nothing in the public Health Act to prevent the Local Government Board employing him to do the inspection which that Act requires. Similarly, there is nothing but the "use and wont" tradition of the permanent officials of the Board, to obstruct any aggrieved riparian owner or other person who resolutely demands that the provisions of the Act I have cited shall be put in force on his behalf. Though dormant for nearly two decades these clauses would, if practically tested, be found as full of life and potency as the forgotten power to extinguish licences rediscovered a few years ago by the enterprise of the Kendal magistrates.

I submit my proposal to public attention in the full belief that by this simple administrative change of method one of the most important and urgent of sanitary reforms might be achieved without friction or expense, and the risk of infectious diseases and especially of the dreaded cholera among large populations reduced to a minimum.

FRANK SPENCE.

## EVOLUTION A NOTE OF CHRISTIANITY.

**T**HE definition given of Evolution by one of the most distinguished thinkers of our age—Mr. Herbert Spencer—is as follows: “At the same time that all evolution is a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, it is also a change from the indefinite to the definite. As well as an advance from simplicity to complexity, there is an advance from confusion to order, from undetermined arrangement to determined arrangement” \*—that is, there is a *constructive change*. Now, according to this definition, evolution, though not itself life, must be the invariable accompaniment of life, for an organism which does not possess the power of constructive change is dead or dying. Science and history alike teach us this lesson, and there are not wanting men who have seen its application to the religions of the world. Professor Caird, in his “Criticism on the Social Philosophy of Comte,” † says: “To any one who would classify religions according to the complexity and depth of the thought involved in them, it must be apparent that they become more full and definite, not more vague and simple, as time advances. Their progress towards greater universality is at the same time a progress towards greater specification.” ‡

It is the purpose of the present paper to contend that Christianity has shown, and does show, in a most remarkable degree, this power of constructive change, that from its birth it has advanced slowly, perhaps, but surely, to “greater universality and greater specification,” and that it continues so to advance in our own times.

In thus demonstrating that evolution is a note of Christianity, it will be as well, however, to meet at once the objection of those who

\* “First Principles—Laws of the Knowable,” sec. 129. † Chap. ii. p. 97.

‡ The general course of religious development and its culmination in Christianity, is fully and forcibly delineated in the same author’s “Evolution of Religion,” which was not published till some months after the present article was written.

consider that, being of Divine origin, it must of necessity have been perfect from the beginning, and consequently cannot be subject to any change, constructive or other.

There is undoubtedly a point of view from which Christianity is unchangeable; but that is not the human, it is the Divine; and from the Divine point of view all must be unchangeable, for there can be no sequence in it, else we limit the Supreme Being by the conditions of Time, which limit ourselves and bring Him down to our own level. Evolution (which must imply sequence) is altogether a human way of understanding what some would call "a mode of the Unknowable," and others the working of the Eternal God; and since, from the Christian standpoint, all things are of Divine origin, though humanly and consequently incompletely perceived, there is no difficulty in allowing that Christianity, though unchangeable as God sees it, is yet subject to change as man sees it. An important, but not quite so obvious, deduction, and one which it may therefore be as well to examine a little more closely, is that the unchangeableness of Christianity to the Divine perception is the cause of its changing to the human, and for this reason: All evolution presupposes an ultimate, perfect type; for since it consists in an advance from the lower to the higher, from the incomplete to the complete, there must be a highest form, which, when reached, includes all that the lower forms, its previous stages, contained, and in thus including, unites and transcends them all. This highest type exists potentially throughout the whole process of evolution (otherwise, evolution as we understand it—viz., a definite progress towards a definite end, would be impossible), and is the predisposing cause of the stages which lead up to it. It is a Divine conception, and, as such, essentially and eternally perfect; but man cannot apprehend the essentially and eternally perfect, save partially and by degrees. Consequently to him, the perfection exists under the likeness of gradually lessening imperfection, or incompleteness perpetually becoming less incomplete. Applying this to the case in point, Christianity as the Divine conception of the religion adequate to supply the spiritual needs of man is perfect and complete, but the mind of man is unable to embrace it in its perfection and completeness, therefore in order that he should apprehend it in any way rightly, it must appear to him as a continual advance towards that which in reality it is.

Here, however, we cannot but take into account another line of thought which allows, indeed, that Christianity changes, but with the change, not of evolution, but of decay, for all change is not a change of progress and growth; there is another which means deterioration and death, and if Christianity is to be classed (as in the minds of some it is classed) with other religions, it is this latter which sooner or later must be predicated of it. For

“if there is one thing which a comparative study of religions places in the clearest light, it is that no religion can continue to be what it was during the lifetime of its founder and its first apostles. . . . Yet it is but seldom borne in mind that without constant reformation—*i.e.*, without a constant return to its fountain-head—every religion, even the most perfect, nay, the most perfect on account of its very perfection, more even than others, suffers from the mere fact of its being breathed.”\*

There is a confusion of metaphor in the above passage which renders it entirely inapplicable to that “most perfect” religion to which it evidently points. No natural stream can “return to its fountain-head.” It is not kept pure by the same water flowing back to the source and there going through some cleansing process previous to re-issuing on its course again, but by an ever new supply of water given out clear and sweet from the source itself, and taking the place of that which may have been contaminated on its outward journey. The application now is almost too obvious to need stating in words. It is the ever-fresh outflow of life and truth from the “Fountain-head” of Christianity, Who is Himself life and truth, which renews its vigour and purifies it when contaminated. There is no need for a “return” to that which is ever present, and the Founder of Christianity is not dead, but living. The vital principle of the religion which bears His name discloses itself in the words: “Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.” Consequently the changes which it exhibits are the changes incident to evolution, not dissolution.

It may be said, however, if this be the case, how can it be possible to confound the two? Surely the change which accompanies an increasing and developing life must be too diametrically opposed to that which indicates the approach of death for one to be mistaken for the other. Undoubtedly this is true; yet there is a feature which evolution and dissolution have in common, and which, to a hasty or superficial observation, may cause a doubt as to which is in progress. This feature is indistinctness.

We are told that, in order to form a complete conception of evolution, we must understand that its advance from the “indefinite to the definite is not primary, but secondary,” a consequence resulting from the “transformation of a whole that was originally uniform into a combination of multiform parts,” implying “a progressive separation,” and that “while this is going on there must be indistinctness.” In other words, while the separate parts are being differentiated from the whole, their outlines are not defined; they, as it were, run into each other, one part may appear to assume an undue preponderance over the rest, and it is only when each part is complete and definite in itself that all are able to combine so as to form a complete and definite whole; one not because it is uniform,

\* Preface to “Chips from a German Workshop.” Max Müller.

but, because being multiform it is pervaded by a single, organising life.\*

Of dissolution it is said :

"That state of indefiniteness to which a dead body is finally reduced is a state towards which the putrefactive changes have tended from their commencement. Each step in the destruction of the organic compounds is accompanied by the blurring of the minute structure, *diminishes its distinctness*. From the portions that have undergone most decomposition, there is a gradual transition to the less decomposed portions. And step by step, the lines of organisation, once so precise, disappear.†

Yet these two descriptions which bring out the common feature of indistinctness shared by evolution and dissolution alike, show also how in each this common feature is due to an opposite cause, and in developing their great characteristic difference, for the indistinctness of evolution is the result of a "progressive separation," having as its end definiteness and unity, whereas the indistinctness of dissolution is the consequence of a progressive fusion, whose end is vagueness and uniformity. Let us examine briefly the history of Christianity with a view to ascertaining therefrom in which direction its modifications are tending.

That Christianity is both more complex and more definite than the Hebrew religion which was its cradle would hardly require to be asserted, were it not that much confusion of mind has arisen on this point, owing to the great and in one sense mistaken stress which has been laid by writers of certain schools of thought on "the simplicity of Christianity." If by this phrase is meant that Christianity is a religion in which the simple-minded and unlearned find truths which they can grasp and understand, and which are an unfailing source of comfort to them amid the difficulties and perplexities of life, the words are true.\* If they are intended to convey the meaning that the truths themselves are simple, or that the needs to which they correspond are simple, then that meaning is false. Christianity is not a simple religion. In the words of Frederick Denison Maurice, "There may be a hundred thousand simpler faiths. It is simpler to believe in a Great Spirit with the North American Indians; it is simpler to worship wood and stone; but what is the worth of simplicity if it does not account for facts which we know, if it does not satisfy wants which we feel, if it does not lead us up to the truth which we desire?" Not because Christianity is simpler, but because it is more complex than Judaism is it better suited to so complex a being as man. Let us take two examples by way of illustration, one drawn from the teaching given to man respecting himself, the other from that given to him respecting God.

Nowhere in the Old Testament do we find the immortality of the

\* "First Principles—Laws of the Knowable," sec. 138.  
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† *Ibid.* sec. 129.

soul explicitly stated. Reading it as we do by the light of the New, we may discover hints of it, passages which take a far deeper meaning from a belief in it, but the doctrine as a doctrine is not there. The rewards and punishments held out to the Jews were all temporal. The language of their psalmists and of their wisest man with reference to death was not that of men who felt any confidence that it had power over the body alone. "Oh spare me a little before I go hence and be no more seen." "Who shall give Thee thanks in the grave?" are expressions widely different from that of any of the apostles or writers of the New Testament when contemplating approaching death. It is not meant to deny that many Jews believed in a future state of existence, but faith in it did not form an integral part of their religion as it does of Christianity.\*

Now it is not difficult to see that a religion which professedly deals with man as an immortal being becomes at once more complex than a religion which concerns itself only with his life on earth. Motives are introduced which could have no place before; problems present themselves for solution which might otherwise be left on one side; the complex nature of man is brought into prominence, and he is made to feel that every part of it must be taken into account by him as it is by his Creator. Yet if faith in the immortality of the soul enables man to understand himself better, gives promise of fulfilment to aspirations which would otherwise be barren and deceptive, and touches with light some of the darker mysteries of his existence, the religion which inculcates it cannot be other than an advance from "confusion to order," from indefiniteness to definiteness, at the same time as from "simplicity to complexity."

A very cursory comparison of the writings of the New Testament with those of the Old, will suffice to show how very much fuller is the teaching of the former with respect to the nature of the Divine Being than that of the latter. If the New Testament had never been written, it is not at all too much to say that the doctrine of the Trinity could never have been formulated. In the Old Testament God reveals Himself to the spiritual insight of man as the Creator of the Universe, the King and Ruler of men. In the New Testament He reveals Himself as the Father of their spirits, their Redeemer and Deliverer from the bondage of sin and death, the Eternal Spirit, their Indweller and Purifier, answering thus to the deepest and most mysterious needs of their nature. This is not a simpler, but a far more complex, conception of God than that of the Patriarchs or of Moses. At the same time, it is almost infinitely fuller and more definite.

\* Compare the words of the Preacher: "Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me" (Eccles. ii. 18) with those of St. Paul: "Therefore . . . be ye steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord" (1 Cor. xv. 58).

That the germ of Christianity was contained in the religious life of the Jews, we may freely and gratefully acknowledge. How crude and incomplete this religious life was, we can judge by the way in which its self-preservation was carried on. It existed by isolating, by destroying; the stringent laws against idolatry, the terrible retribution with which a lapse into it was visited upon the Jews themselves, the wholesale slaughter of the heathen nations, whose vicinity was a continual source of danger, all point to the same conclusion. Life which can only be maintained by such an "adjustment of acts to ends" as this is life in the early stages of evolution; for highly-evolved life implies highly-evolved conduct, and highly-evolved conduct is such as subserves the life of all, not of a few. At first, the religious life of the Jews appeared to subserve no other end than that of its own preservation. It was preserved as all life is preserved, that from it might evolve a fuller, wider, more abundant life; and when out of Judaism came forth Christianity, the superior vitality of the latter was almost immediately shown by the way in which, instead of destroying, it utilised and assimilated other forms of religious life, retaining all that was good, and gradually rejecting and allowing to waste away and die all that was unworthy, though by a process far as yet from complete.

Correspondence to environment is the condition of any life; correspondence to a complex environment, ready adaptation to changes of environment, are the conditions of a very highly developed life. A religion which could wake an answering response in Jew, Greek, and Roman, despite their widely different mental and moral constitution, a religion which could satisfy alike the demands of the most exalted philosophy and the humble requirements of slave and peasant, showed from the first a vital power comparable to nothing that had gone before it. Nor must we forget that in its origin it was the religion not of a conquering but of a conquered race. It was not imposed like Mohammedanism upon terrified and abject peoples as a *sine qua non* of their existence, but permeated slowly from the lower strata of society to the higher, from the peasants and fishermen of Judæa and Galilee to the throne of the Cæsars, adapting itself with truly marvellous versatility to extremes of thought and culture which seemed as if they had absolutely nothing in common. Even the tide of corruption and debasement, with which its apparent triumph threatened to overwhelm it, was powerless to effect more than a fresh and astounding proof of its vigorous life. The Roman Empire sank in ruins, but the religion which might have been supposed to stand or fall with it, rose renewed and strengthened in the very midst of the barbarian tribes themselves, working with greater might among those stern and savage warriors than it had done in the effete civilisation which they had supplanted.



In Ireland, in Britain, in Germany, in Gaul, Christianity became the national faith, and when fresh hordes of invaders swept down from the North, and ruthlessly snatched at material conquest, they, too, became spiritual captives. Not once, but again and again did the old story repeat itself, and the faith of the vanquished became that of the victors. We shall look in vain for a parallel to this in the history of any other religion, the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," has never had a more striking illustration.

Nor does the lesson stop here, for as every change of environment called for fresh adaptation, it brought into action new and unsuspected powers of organic development. A pause in one direction meant an advance in another.

"Christianity might well have perished more than once. It might have died outright of the public and astonishing wickedness of the Roman court in the tenth century. It might have been crushed out of being by the hordes of Islam in the first flush of their conquests, or by the great Turkish Sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It might have sunk beneath the accumulated weight of corruption which invited the Reformation; it might have disappeared amid the Babel of self-contradicting voices which that Reformation itself produced. At one time it was threatened with death by the relation of the Church to corrupt or absolute governments; at another by the rash levity, or by the dishonest enterprises of speculative and unbelieving theologians. Men said that the Church was killed under Decius and Diocletian; they said so again with greater confidence after the literary blasphemies and moral outrages of the first French Revolution. But practically each reverse, each collapse, each period of sickness and decline, is followed by revival, reinvigoration, victory." \*

Yes; but before the victory was gained, before the reinvigoration was perceptible, before the revival had determined itself, what confusion, what indistinctness, what incoherence obtained, so that to predict the outcome of order, clearness, width, and definiteness from that "Babel of voices" was a thing impossible to many, perhaps to the majority, of Christians. Yet looking back we can see that the great transition stages, attended as they were, and as all transition stages ever must be, by a vagueness of outline and disproportion of parts which made the issue appear to those who were passing through them almost worse than doubtful, were nevertheless stages of growth.

The outcome of the Reformation was a respect for truth as truth, a sense of individual responsibility and individual relationship to the Great Head of the Church, which had been well-nigh stifled under the weight of sacerdotalism.

The outcome of the French Revolution, despite all its extravagances, horrors, and burlesques, has been a growing conviction, gradually, amid many mistakes, false departures, faint-hearted abandonments, taking practical form, that the Christian doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man have a deeper and

\* Liddon, "Easter Sermons," vol. i. p. 130.

more far-reaching meaning than has ever yet been realised by those who have professed a belief in them, and that the remedy for cruel social evils, barbarous political anomalies, and hateful international jealousies, lies here or nowhere.

But we, too, are passing through a transition stage. Before we have well grasped the fact that the last was an advance, though a painful one, while the bearing of much, perhaps most, that we inherit from it yet remains to be fully understood and worked out, the next is upon us. It is an intellectual and moral chaos that the faint-hearted now dread; it is before the invading armies of scientific discovery that they fear to see Christianity go down, unable to satisfy the new requirements springing up on every side, overpowered at last by the complexity of the environment to whose conditions it must adapt itself or die. And at first sight it seems as though such fears were but too justifiable. The old landmarks are giving way, theories of the universe, interpretations of life differing widely from those our fathers held sacred, are pressed upon us, and we feel they are gaining ground, that there is truth in them, though there may be error as well, and therefore that we cannot stand against them; they will conquer us. Perhaps they will. In so far as they are true they must do so, and we ought not to wish it otherwise; but in the very act of conquest the faith in which we have so little confidence will exercise its selective power, and transform them into another and a higher likeness. All that is true and therefore essential and eternal it will absorb, all that is false and therefore accidental and temporary it will reject; but while this double process of absorption and rejection is going on, while fresh and unforeseen developments are in progress, the incoherence which characterises all epochs of change will make itself felt in conflicting doctrines, opposing lines of thought, the advance of apparently irreconcilable claims and counterclaims on one side and the other. A very "Babel of voices" indeed! Yet amid all the confusion there are not wanting signs that once again the change is of growth, not decay, and it is possible to foreshadow the direction in which new development will be the outcome of a revolution of thought more complete and far-reaching than perhaps any that has preceded it. The scientific discoveries, the moral and intellectual conflicts of the nineteenth century, will lead men far on to the practical understanding of what revelation really means; that not in inspired records alone, not in history alone, nor in the heart of man alone, nor in Nature alone, but in each and all is the revelation of God continually proceeding, that the scope of this revelation is coincident with the scope of man's sensuous, intellectual, and spiritual perceptions, and that it widens as his faculties and his knowledge widen. And yet more than this, these same conflicts will lead religious men to acknowledge

that the truth which Christianity embodies has been manifested, not once for all,\* as too much of the popular theological teaching of the day either inculcates or implies, but by a slow and secular process as yet far from complete, and which is as divinely controlled now as in the days of the Apostles; and they will lead men of science to acknowledge that the superhuman is not the contra-natural, nor the material incompatible with the spiritual, nor the chains of sequence which we call laws opposed to a belief in the Divine guidance of the universe, nor human understanding to the Supreme Intelligence. These things are seen now by some, "as in a glass darkly," but the dimness is beginning to clear from the mirror, and the confidence to gain ground that our transition-age, like those which have preceded it, will issue in a stronger, firmer, wider, more penetrating grasp of the "faith which was delivered to the fathers," and which will have proved not less adequate to our needs than it was to theirs.

EMMA MARIE CAILLARD.

\* "The type remains, but it embodies itself in changing shapes; and herein the history of the Christian Churches has been in harmony with all else that we know of God's government of the world; the large variations of form in one age as compared with another tend to show that the form was meant to be elastic, and that the importance which has frequently been attached to *fixity* of form has been exaggerated."—Hatch's "Organisation of the Early Churches," p. 212.

## AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION IN EAST ANGLIA.

ANY one going about East Anglia in an inquiring spirit will be told many facts intended to show that its agriculture is in a state of deep depression. He will find the labourers, especially those of Norfolk and Essex, taking a very gloomy view of things. They will tell him that farmers are everywhere reducing the number of those employed, the land being starved, and left full of stones and weeds. They will speak anxiously of empty farms and lands allowed to go untilld. Nor will he find the tone of the farmers less dismal. He will probably hear that many of them are on the point of throwing up their farms, and that there are land agents who already have hundreds of farms to let.

Such is a summary of my experience in some visits made to various parts of East Anglia towards the close of last year, and the published statements of East Anglian authorities appear to be in the same direction. For example, Mr. C. S. Read, speaking at a meeting of the Statistical Society last year, gave a doleful account of the condition of Norfolk landlords. "In his own county of Norfolk and the adjoining counties," he said, "at least half the gentlemen who were resident on their estates twenty-five years ago had ceased to be so. The hall and sporting were generally let to Londoners, and in many cases the owner lived in one of the small farmhouses on the estate, or was educating his children as cheaply as he could on the Continent."

It is annoying to look the picture of health at the very time that one feels depressed by some painful disease. But this would seem to be the case with East Anglian agriculture. While its people all unite to give the idea that there is something dreadfully wrong with it, the general appearance of things conveys an opposite impression. The mansions of the East Anglian gentry, stables, gardens, con-

servatories, ever increasing in perfection; the family houses of the gentlemen farmers, the costly farm buildings—dairies with all the latest improvements, barns like great halls, bullock-sheds, cow-houses, piggeries, and dog kennels, all of the best—seem to testify that the prosperity of East Anglian agriculture is after all a solid fact. And this its statistics, taken broadly, to a considerable degree support. On the other hand, when examined in detail, and looked at with reference to certain classes, they reveal widespread and long-continued suffering. In fact, East Anglian statistics show that, concurrent with a gradual increase in the wealth of the East Anglian district, there has been a vast destruction of small farmers and labourers, the former beginning about twenty years ago, the latter many years earlier.

If we ask how that depression has come about, we are pointed to the falling market for wheat. But that has been the case for many years, and yet the visible signs just mentioned of the wealth-making power of East Anglian agriculture have continued to go on. Besides, it is clear that the agriculturists of East Anglia have long taken the falling market for wheat into account, and have provided for it, as is evident from the fact that the decrease in land devoted to corn-growing was one-third less in 1882–1892 to what it was in the previous decade, and this decrease in corn-growing has been balanced by an increase in stock-raising. For every herd of 100 cattle in East Anglia in 1882 there was in 1892 a herd of 128 cattle, and for every flock of 100 sheep there was a flock of 117 sheep. The total number being:

	1882.	1892.
Cattle . . .	244,607	314,140
Sheep . . .	1,232,307	1,445,142*

This impression of the solid prosperity of East Anglian agriculture is further confirmed by the returns of the gross estimated rental of the Eastern counties as assessed by the local committees. Taking the whole of East Anglia, town as well as country, we find that between 1873 and 1891 its gross annual rental increased in value by £1,683,702, the amounts for the years mentioned respectively being £6,781,973 and £8,468,675.

Now 1873 was a time admitted to have been prosperous—in fact, to judge from the accounts of certain estates which have been published, rents were then reaching their culminating point. To be able, therefore, to say that the gross estimated rental of Suffolk in 1891 nearly equalled that of 1873, that the gross estimated rental of Norfolk had increased by £370,817 over what it was at that date, while that of Essex had increased by £1,336,313, does not look as if East Anglia was suffering from any vital depression in her staple industry.

\* Agricultural Returns, 1882, 1892.

But in order that the result obtained from these assessment returns should have a definite value, we ought to be able to separate with some nearness to probability rural from urban property in East Anglia. The Returns of Owners of Land in England and Wales in 1873, made to Parliament in 1876, enable us to get approximately at that part of this sum which relates to the rentals of the larger land-owners of East Anglia. These returns did not pretend to give the exact amount of rental the actual owner in every case received, but they professed to tell with all the accuracy possible under the circumstances, what it was estimated the whole of the occupiers paid in rent to those from whom they held their farms. For though an owner may very truly say he does not get half the rental his estate is assessed at, others do, and they form for the time being part of the class who live on the rental of East Anglian land.

These returns being made in a different manner and excluding Metropolitan land, their results as regarded East Anglian rentals (£6,359,699) were £425,274 less than those of the Assessment Committees for the same year. As, however, they enable something like a distinction to be made between urban and rural land, I base the following calculations upon them. A division between the account they give of estates of less than fifty acres and of those above that amount in East Anglia presents the following result:

UNDER 50 ACRES.		ABOVE 50 ACRES.	
Acres.	Rental.	Acres.	Rental.
206,740	£1,967,974	2,891,014	£4,391,755

This shows the former to have been worth, acre by acre, six times the value of the latter, indicating that the land they represent was mainly urban. On the other hand, the rural character of the land the latter represents is even better indicated by its average rental, and the very near correspondence of its extent to the acreage of rural land in East Anglia, as may be seen by a reference to the Agricultural Returns of 1892. Now, if we deduct from the amount at which the gross annual rental of East Anglia was assessed in 1890-91, a sum proportionate to the difference between the assessment for 1873 and the total for the same district, as given in the Returns of Owners of Land for the same year, we shall have for 1891 a sum of £7,933,368 to be divided in the same manner as we have done that of 1873. The difference between the two periods with reference to the lands above fifty acres, which we take here, as above stated, to represent the rural lands of East Anglia, will then be in 1873, £4,391,755; in 1891, £5,481,537. Allow, again, that these figures ought to be reduced 13 per cent., the amount it is contended represents the difference between a gross and net valuation of property in land, and the result will be that the rural lands of East Anglia, which in 1873 had an annual value of

£3,820,727, in 1891, that is in eighteen years, had increased to an annual value of £4,768,987.

It is certainly hard to reconcile this with the gloomy statements made of rents falling from 30 to 75 per cent., with an average decline of 40 per cent. In the presence of such a record as the returns of the rentals of the Eastern Counties by the Assessment Committees for the last twenty years, that is from 1881 to 1891, it is unnecessary to give way to pessimistic views. The slow but steady growth in the value of rentals from 1871 until 1882 has only just been balanced in Suffolk by a slow decline since that date, until the earlier and later period now almost agree, while in the case of Norfolk, also now on the wane, that point is yet a long way off. Meanwhile, Essex presents a steady unfaltering increase all through the twenty years. The stable character of East Anglian agriculture is the first impression produced by a review of these yearly valuations.

This impersonal and general fact ought not to be lost sight of and its importance attenuated by the cases that no doubt can be adduced of loss and hardship borne by individual landowners. We hear every now and then of landlords only taking a portion of their rents and returning the remainder, and also of particular farms where the rent has gone down very considerably during the last few years. For such statements to have a real value in elucidating the truth in this question, we ought to know the history of the estate to which they relate. We ought to know, for example, what were the rentals of its farms thirty years ago, and how far its present rentals are the result of the inflation caused by the way some five-and-twenty years ago capitalists bought up land or took to farming on a grand scale. A statement, for example, like the following, made without the least explanation of the circumstances, or any light on the history of the farm in question, is practically useless. "There is a farm in Swaffham of about 1200 acres which produced to the landlord, ten years ago, £820 a year net; now it is only £100 a year."\* It is intended to illustrate the sweeping statement that many of the light-land farms are not producing more than a tenth part of the rental which they formerly did. But the only conclusion justified, in the absence of all explanation, is that such a prodigious decline points to an inflation of rents delusive and harmful to all concerned. This rush after land and farms took place, I believe, in various other parts of England, but perhaps Norfolk land was pre-eminently sought after on account of the heir-apparent being at the head of its gentry and the leader of its county society. The "jeunesse dorée" came, raising the price of land and the rentals of farms to a fictitious and abnormal degree. A few years made it

\* Royal Commission on Labour: "The Agricultural Labourer," vol. i. part iii. p. 93.

apparent that land and farming was not a game thus to be played at. Wiser and sadder men, one after the other the gentlemen retired from the scene. Meanwhile the landlords who believed this fleeting craze meant a permanent revolution to their advantage, had driven away their smaller but more stable tenants, and had so arranged their estates that they could not break them up again into smaller holdings without considerable expenditure of money. So vast farms, larger than any one cares for mere farming's sake to embark their money in, lie idle.

A Primitive Methodist minister, well known in Norfolk, told me that a land agent had informed him that he had 300 farms on his books to let, and that he had replied to this land agent that he would undertake to let them all if he would split them into small holdings. And a proof that this was no idle boast, but that it might and could be done with a degree of material success, is given in the Report last referred to, and that just opposite the page containing the desponding statements of certain agents of great estates. It is the personal history of the progress of a Norfolk labouring man from a small holding of three acres to a farm of 180 acres, and his rise meanwhile to the ownership of 370 acres.\* It is related by himself, and with all the circumstantiality so conspicuously absent in the statements given on the opposite page of the declining value of rentals. The interest and value of the narration is that it shows that Norfolk farming has during the last twenty years been a profitable business, and that shrewd and experienced sons of the soil know that East Anglian land properly treated is a valuable possession.

A Norfolk land agent, referring to large holdings of 1000 acres or more, says, "a landlord is content with any rent so that he does not farm them himself." At a meeting held at Swaffham, Aug. 3, 1892, a farmer told Mr. Fox, the Assistant-Commissioner, that "the land was getting into a bad state because many farmers did not employ sufficient labour." Upon which a labourer remarked that "the reason some of the farmers did not farm their land properly was because they did not pay rent." A Wesleyan minister stated that at Cressingham and Hilborough the wages were 11s. a week, and that in Hilborough the farms were not cultivated, but laid down for game, the landlords having enough money to live upon without letting the farms.†

Thus we see how a period of fictitious prosperity is really at the root of the present depression. Landlords and farmers in those years got so accustomed to great profits that now some of them do not care to take the trouble involved in making the best of altered

\* Royal Commission on Labour: "The Agricultural Labourer," vol. i. part iii. p. 92

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. part vii. p. 97.



times—landlords, rather than incur the expense of splitting up the large farms on their estates, being willing to take any rent; farmers, rather than employ the labour necessary to the cultivation of their farms, preferring to appear before their landlord *in forma pauperis*; and again, landlords having enough to live on otherwise, saving themselves all further trouble by turning their farms into game preserves. Meanwhile the people for whom all this land was created may go to—the Antipodes, if they like. “Am I my brother’s keeper?”

For it is certain that the high rentals which the land has been forced to pay have driven many good farmers from East Anglia. A Norfolk farmer, farming between five and six hundred acres of land, and as much respected in his own district as any farmer in the county, said lately: “My rent is intolerably high, and I shall give notice next year if it is not lowered. It would be easy if you could deal with the landlord directly; but it must always be through the agent, who is a lawyer. The agent on this estate would take the shirt off your back, but the agent on the estate under whom Mr. —— (another farmer) holds would take not only your shirt but your skin too.” Without doubt East Anglian farmers, even large ones, have not only felt “depression,” but “oppression,” and with the poorer and smaller ones it has gone so far as to result in their being thrust out wholesale from their homes and occupations.

If we compare the number of persons engaged in agriculture in East Anglia as farmers or farmers’ relatives in 1881 with the returns of 1871, we find that in ten years the entire number had decreased by one-fifth, and if, as is probable, the returns for the Census of 1891, when we get them, should show that the decline has continued at the same ratio, then there will have been in East Anglia since 1871 a falling off of one-third of the farmer-class.

If we place this fact side by side with the fact that during the last eighteen years the annual rental of rural East Anglia appears to have increased by nearly one million pounds sterling, we have a striking object-lesson. On the one hand, landlords, or those who represent them, increasing their wealth by about one-fourth; on the other, farmers decreasing in numbers by about one-third. Seven thousand of the farming-class with all who depended on them have suffered heavy loss, and have had to leave their homes and begin life afresh. That these men and women were the small, old-fashioned farmers, who, with their sons and other members of their families, worked themselves, every fact goes to prove. The returns, from which we have already got so much, tell us by the class who have come to replace the 7000 farmers, farmers’ sons, brothers, &c., who have gone, what has happened to their farms. They have been massed into large holdings let to men of wealth, who

have worked them through bailiffs. From 1871 to 1881 the bailiff-class increased in East Anglia from 2490 to 2971 = 527, about 21 per cent.\*

But if hundreds of farmers have been driven off East Anglian lands, thousands of East Anglian labourers have suffered the same fate. For while the total number of those engaged in farming in 1871 amounted in East Anglia to 21,209, those engaged at that time in agricultural labour amounted to 133,395 persons.† This includes those described in the Census returns as agricultural labourers, male and female, farm servants of various kinds, shepherds and woodmen. By 1881 their numbers had declined to 118,581, a decrease of 14,514.‡ And when we get the complete Census returns of 1891 we shall probably find that this falling off in numbers has gone on in about the same ratio during the last decade.

Twelve shillings a week is the ordinary price of agricultural labour in East Anglia, and in Norfolk and Suffolk last winter I heard of notice being given to reduce it to eleven shillings. And this, be it remembered, is not a regular wage upon which the labourer can depend with certainty, but a wage dependent on his health and the weather. If the weather is bad or he succumbs to any of the ailments which at some time or other affect every one, he loses for the time being his means of living. The ordinary rule is payment at the rate of twelve shillings a week for the time actually spent in labour. The best class of masters no doubt find some employment for the men in bad weather, but such necessarily secure the best workers. Now the men say that where the rule prevails "no work, no pay," they lose by bad weather one shilling a week all through the year, or one day a week all through the winter.§ This then must be allowed for in calculating the average amount of an East Anglian labourer's earnings. We cannot suppose more than 25 per cent. are so fortunate as to find masters who do not act on the bad weather rule, and if so this reduces the average wage to 11s. 3d. To this we must add the money made at harvest-time, which is from £7 to £8. This would result in an income of a little over 14s. a week. A team-man, horsekeeper, or stock-keeper, gets a shilling or two more a week, and a shepherd four or five more, and sometimes a cottage rent free. Piece-work is adopted to some extent, and on this system a man of average ability could make 15s. a week. This, including harvest, and supposing the man never to have a day's illness and to be able to defy weather of any sort, would produce an average of about 16s. 10d. a week.

Many persons looking over the Agricultural Labour Reports for

\* Census 1881. Ages and Occupations of the People.

† Census 1871.

‡ Census 1881. Ages and Occupations of the People.

§ Royal Commission on Labour: "The Agricultural Labourer," vol. i. part iii, p. 68, 97. 1893.

Norfolk and Suffolk, and seeing the lists there given of the total earnings of individual labourers in those counties, will go away with the notion that they represent what East Anglian labourers are now generally earning. And this delusion will be assisted by the Commissioner's marginal note, "Labourer's earnings taken from books." It ought to have been stated that these cases are merely examples of what a labourer *may earn* under peculiarly favourable circumstances. In the first place, we are bound to believe that the farmers supplying the examples are themselves what these reports call the best class of farmers: large occupiers, successful, intelligent, interested in and considerate to those they employ. Such farmers must secure the best labourers. And here each farmer selects one—can we doubt that it is his best and brightest example?

The standard of 12s. a week, often repeated in these reports, was the average wage in 1892 of ordinary agricultural labourers in East Anglia; and allowing for gains at harvest-time and losses by bad weather the average income of such a labourer was 14s. a week, or £36 8s. a year; 2s. added to this gives the average income of a team-man, horsekeeper, or stockman at 16s., or £41 12s. a year; and 5s. added, the average income of a shepherd at 19s., or £49 8s. a year.

If the decline in the number of agricultural labourers in East Anglia should prove to have been going on between 1881–1891 at the same rate as it did between 1871–1881, their numbers would have fallen to about 100,000. Dividing that number on the principle laid down in one of the recent reports,\* that ordinary labourers and those engaged in looking after the stock are in proportion to the amounts of land respectively given up to grass or under the plough, we roughly arrive at this result:

55,000 ordinary labourers at £36 8s. a year . . . . .	£2,002,000
43,000 team-men, horsekeepers, and stockmen at £41 12s. a year . . . . .	1,783,800
2000 shepherds at £49 8s. a year . . . . .	98,000
	£3,888,800

From this sum of £3,888,800 an abatement must be made on account of the wages of the women, boys, and old men being included in it at the same average rate as that of ordinary labourers, whereas they probably do not average more than half. This section of East Anglian labourers, supposing its numbers to have declined at the same rate as the rest have done, would number about 32,939, and their average wages at £18 4s. a year, or half those of the ordinary labourer, would amount to £603,881 a year, which taken from the sum mentioned above would reduce the total income of East Anglian labourers to £3,284,919. Possibly the wages of women, boys, and old men might make a higher average than here supposed, but, if so, any

\* "The Agricultural Labourer," vol. i. part iv. p. 27.

under-statement of what ought to be subtracted from the previous figures will balance against any under-statement of what possibly ought to be added.

If now we work out the East Anglian labourers' income for 1873 in the same way, we find it amounted to £4,526,521, wages then averaging 1s. higher per week than in 1892, and the total number of the labourers being then about 130,483.

Thus the change that has taken place in the respective incomes of the landlords and labourers in rural East Anglia in less than twenty years may thus be compared :

LANDLORDS.

1873 . £3,820,727, ... 1890 . £4,768,987 ... Increase . £948,260

LABOURERS.

1873 . £4,633,202 ... 1892 . £3,284,919 ... Decrease . £1,348,283

It would have added considerably to the striking character of this contrast to have placed before each total the respective numbers of the landlords and of the labourers, because it would have shown that within twenty years at least 25,000 labourers, who together with their families probably made up some 80,000 to 90,000 persons, have been driven from their homes and occupations, and so deprived of the right to earn their bread in their native fields. What suffering this must have involved! What physical, moral, and mental misery to thousands of East Anglian families! And the millions of pounds sterling these labourers would have earned and spent in the district in which they lived, has been nearly all lost to East Anglia. This helps to explain how the shops in the villages grow less numerous, and the shopkeepers also become victims of agricultural depression. For they have lost not only this vast section of their customers, but also some 10,000 or 20,000 more persons, representing the smaller farmers and their families, likewise driven during the last twenty years from the East Anglian lands.

It may be thought that this very decline in the numbers of labourers in the Eastern Counties supports the rose-coloured notions of the present condition of the labourer which these Labour Commission Reports seem to have created. But though possibly 30,000 labourers less crowd the market than was the case in 1871, have wages improved? In 1871-72 wages in Norfolk were 12s. to 14s.; when I was in Norfolk and Suffolk in the winter of 1892 they were 10s. to 12s. What is meant by "wages going up appreciably"? From three different lists given in these Reports of Agricultural Labour in Norfolk and Suffolk, I find that the average wages paid to the labourers of these counties during the last ten years have been just about what they were in 1892.\* By what law do agricultural wages rise and fall? Let the economists say if they can. I see no law but the brutal robber law—

\* "The Agricultural Labourer," vol. i. part iii. pp. 29, 30, 84.

"That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can."

The labourer's work, we are told, is less arduous because machinery has been introduced. It may be that modern machines and implements lessen the necessity for the expenditure of human strength, but I doubt whether any labourer, not an engine-man, exists who would not prefer to do without machines. First, as lessening work; second, as adding to the danger and monotony of their lives. It is asserted that the labourer was never better off than he is now; that may be, if by "now" is meant the last twenty years, and "never" only extends to the end of the Napoleonic wars. Would that those who at the first faint glimpse of a turn in the tide are ready to revive the old fable of an English Arcadia, could put on Hans Andersen's goloshes of fortune and live an English labourer's life, say for three winter months, rising up in the dark and going out long before dawn, to walk it may be a mile or more through the cold sopping rain to bait the horses before going into the field; or in the bitter east wind all the gloomy day, bending down, pulling out the roots of weeds, or engaged in some equally interesting employment; and as night comes on, fagged and benumbed, trudging a mile or two through sloughs of despond to a hovel where the bedsteads are on the earth, or you climb to them in a mere garret up a ladder. For all this, and a great many more things equally miserable, is to-day, 1893, the fate of many an East Anglian labourer.

In a village in Norfolk, not very far from the Oak of the Reformation, I called at a cottage, a cottage above the average, and standing in a garden. While I was talking in came a little, well-preserved, but very old woman, spotlessly clean, evidently in her Sunday best. She was in fact the pink of neatness and comeliness. But to this get-up there was a sadly tragic meaning. The old dame had lived too long, all her little means (her husband died nine years ago) had gone, and at last she had sold her furniture. Now penniless, she had applied for help to the guardians of the poor, and had been told she might go into the House. The news of her fate nearly killed her, and at the reference to it she flushed and silently went. She thought I was the officer come to take her way. A Norfolk farmer asked an old labourer in my presence where he expected to end his days. "The House, I suppose," he replied.

A Suffolk clergyman, one who loves the people and has lived among them for years, referring in 1891 to the wretched fate which for centuries has been the lot of English labourers, went on to speak of their diminishing numbers. "The rich increased their riches and their numbers. But the labourers (the best men the world contains or has ever seen) could not better themselves, their numbers too, had to be reduced. This means that a percentage of

them must tramp somewhere or other, friendless and penniless. In many of our Suffolk villages some of us have seen their deserted cottages, which reminded us of the evicted Irish, and of the choked off Scotch Crofters, evicted and choked off through the action of the same Juggernaut system."\*

In Arcady, that is in Norfolk, we are told by a Norfolk clergyman, "People never laugh. The swains of Arcady are very, very, very grim." And well they may be with such an object-lesson before their eyes. But Dr. Jessopp, who has written some powerful and sympathetic things concerning their wrongs, seems shocked that these Arcadians should not only look grim, but as they come to realise the injustice with which they and their forefathers have been treated should express themselves in language more forcible than polite. Their mode of talking of the clergy and gentry appears to him to reveal "a growing heartlessness," "a shocking brutality," and "a ferocious cruelty of hate," which indicates "moral degradation."

But the Suffolk clergyman just quoted gives quite the opposite view of the attitude of the East Anglian labourer.

"One sometimes hears expressions of an apprehension that retribution must overtake the class whose laws have for generations kept the peasantry of England in the wretched and unimprovable condition to which events are now compelling attention. . . . The remembrances of such a history naturally suggest some apprehensions. Those, however, who know them best have no belief that the long disinherited peasantry, now that they have attained in the rural districts to a numerical preponderance of political power, will treat the territorial magnates, legislatively, in the spirit in which the territorial magnates have treated them. It is not the man who has had to bear the injury who proves relentless."

No doubt the difference between Norfolk and Suffolk character partly accounts for the very opposite impression these two clergymen have taken of the temper of the people around them. But I believe the feeling throughout East Anglia is much more uniform than these two statements indicate, and that the truth lies between them. The labourer everywhere has awakened to the fact that a new spirit is in the world. He is beginning to believe in himself and in other men, and to feel some certainty that justice will triumph if men are only true to the God they carry in their souls, and to one another. He is very poor and very ignorant, his mind is "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd," but he has one advantage over the so-called "educated man." He sees truth in its simplicity, and tries to sophisticate neither himself nor others. Thus he sums up in such a pregnant sentence as this whole volumes of doubtful disputations: "God gave the land to all men, that those who do their duty to it might live by its fruit." To a man to whom this has become a conviction, to hold the land and starve it amounts

\* Rev. Barham Zincke, Vicar of Wherstead.

to a sin against God, while to eat its fruits without giving any kind of labour in return ought to be regarded as a crime in any well-ordered society. "I would," said the labourer who held these ideas, "not let the 'lower class' go on in this manner; I would have an Act to shut up all the 'rogues' in prison." Like his predecessors of the fourteenth century, this Essex peasant loved to give his language an enigmatical turn. It was the men who did not work for their bread who should, he considered, be called "the lower class," while "rogue" should be the title of those who had appropriated part of the common inheritance and made it their own peculiar possession.

This probably is only an exaggerated form of the view East Anglian labourers take of landowning, the frequent invisibility of the rent-receivers as a class tending to deprive it of any particular and personal application. On the other hand, though class-feeling is also at work in the labourer with regard to the farmer and the parson, it is very much modified by personal considerations. No doubt the war commenced by the formation of the Agricultural Labourers' Union broke up some happy relationships between masters and men. Doubtless conscientious farmers who, up to their light, had always tried to act fairly to the labourers, felt it a kind of personal ingratitude when their men went out on strike. Difficult indeed it is for men educated in the notion that self-interest is at the bottom of all human actions to believe that the love of justice and the desire to see the wrongs of the vast bulk of men righted and avenged, is a far more powerful motive with the majority of poor men than considerations of their own individual interest. Those who think a man a fool for joining in a strike because in nine cases out of ten he loses far more money than he gains, and who always speak of the leaders with bitter contempt as "paid agitators," are the dupes of their own want of elevation of mind. A finer style of man than I recently met with in various parts of East Anglia it would be difficult to find anywhere, and most of them were local leaders of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union or of the Eastern Counties Labour Federation. What faces! rugged, earnest, cheery, humorous. Eyes clear as crystal, true indices of simple, straightforward minds. And from these minds came thoughts full of wisdom and noble sentiment. I have mentioned the old-world enigmatical phrases of one. He is a fine type of the Essex peasant, a man beloved in his own family and looked up to by his neighbours. In his richly cultivated little plot of land he planted some fruit-trees. "What's the use of doing that?" said some comrade, "you'll never live to eat the fruit." "What of that?" he replied, "others will; we ought to work as if we were going to live two hundred years." Said a Norfolk labourer, who, after a long day's work, spends his evenings in the management

of a co-operative store: "When people say it's the competition of the foreigner that ruins agriculture by rendering corn so cheap, I ask, what foreigner?—it's the English-foreigner you mean; isn't it the people driven off English land to America who raise the corn you complain of?"

Speaking of steadfastness in religion, a Norfolk labourer, a Salvationist, remarked: "Fighting is the best." And as an illustration of the manly vigour a little fighting for a moral object will produce in a rural district, I know of a parish in Norfolk where a series of struggles took place between the ruling classes and the labourers, which so quickened courage and hope in the latter, that whereas not one among them could formerly have bought a cat, now every young labourer has his pig, or his donkey, his pony, or his cow. The man who led them to battle is himself an example of the elevating power of a love of justice and the common good. He had lived in one village for twenty-four years without ever reading a newspaper. Then he saw the *Norfolk News*, and this greatly enlightened him. The *Christian World* appeared, and he became a regular reader. This and local preaching as a Primitive Methodist minister formed all the education he had, but when the Labourers' movement commenced he saw why he had had this education, for it enabled him at once to take the lead in his own district. His efforts to found a Labourers' Union led to the parson and the farmers trying not only to boycott him, but to turn him out of the parish. They bought the house he lived in at a fancy price, but he found another shelter and stuck tenaciously to his post. He began to inquire into the local charities, and to the great wrath of the parson appeared with a number of labourers at the vestry meeting. "What do you do here? You have no right here!" cried their autocratic shepherd. "I hold, sir," said their leader, "an Act of Parliament in my hand, and these men have as much right as you to be here; the only right it gives you over them is that you are to take the chair." "If you don't go," sternly said the parson to the labourers, "I shall send for the police and have you turned out." Frightened by this threat, the smock-frocks rose and went. However, when the day came for choosing guardians they plucked up heart, and, appearing again, one of the labourers had the courage to nominate their leader. But the vicar declared the other candidate elected, taking no notice of the fact that the show of hands was in favour of the people's candidate. The labourers did not yield this time, but demanded a poll. Upon which the vicar said £5 must be put down in ten minutes, or he would declare the election over. The money was found, but before accepting it the baffled parson rung each sovereign on the table. Determined to assert the rights of the people, the leader put the labourers' case in the hands of the most reputed ecclesiastical lawyers in the county.



They won their case, the vicar having to pay heavy costs and to submit to a severe lecture from the judge. The trouble any man must have who throws himself into the cause of social justice was seen in the fact that this "village Hampden" had not only to oppose the parson, but also the ministers of his own persuasion. Educated by the Bible and the newspaper, he had come to see that religion and politics, rightly understood, were synonymous. For by politics he meant the establishment on earth of the kingdom of heaven, and what higher end has a Christian to live for than that? So he tried at the preachers' meetings to introduce the subject, but his companions drew up their garments and thought him worldly. This, however, did not deter him, for after he had led the men through these various local struggles, he said to them, "It is now time for us to go in for 'politics,'" by which he meant to take a part in the general effort for justice.

In no part of the country are the labourers more interested in politics than in Norfolk, and this may, perhaps, be said of East Anglia generally. In Norfolk there may possibly be a more universal interest in politics than in Suffolk and Essex, but the liberalism of the latter counties, especially of Essex, seems of a more advanced type. In Essex, I imagine the views of John Burns and Keir Hardie would be more popular than those of Gladstone and Morley. Out of the six seats in rural Norfolk the labourers won four seats for the Liberals, increasing the polls over those of 1886 by 3511 votes. Their enthusiasm was great. When the poll was declared for Mid-Norfolk a labourer said to a friend, "Bless the Lord! I never prayed for anything so hard in my life as for this election." And another, "If we had not won this election, I could not have believed there was a God." They were all radiant with joy.

The late election brought out into striking relief the fact that the struggle between Mr. Gladstone and the Unionists is but an episode in the greater struggle between the people and the classes. A circumstance happened at one of the elections which illustrates the contemptuous anger felt among the latter at the audacious invasion of privilege and monopoly by agricultural Goths and Vandals; but though I have no reason to doubt its authenticity, I do not intend to repeat it here. No doubt it was the knowledge of the animosity, the existence of this and other stories indicates, that led one of the Agricultural Labour leaders always to insist upon opening every election meeting at which he was present with the hymn from Sankey's "Sacred Songs and Solos," the whole crowd taking the refrain up, and singing it almost with tears:

"Then scatter seeds of kindness,  
For our reaping by-and-by."

No foreigner looking on a sight like this would suppose the

religious instinct dead among Norfolk labourers. However, it seems so to an eminent Norfolk clergyman, and he appears to conclude it from the fact that to-day the soul of the people is concentrated rather on social than theological questions, and that consequently they no longer care to go to church or chapel.

Of course there are many exceptions: how could there fail to be in a district which contains so powerful and earnest a champion of the agricultural labourer as the Rev. Barham Zincke? But, as a rule, the clergy are in little favour with East Anglian labourers. "Except as the source of dispensary tickets, soup tickets, and bottles of wine, they have no faith in the parson, but regard him as a pampered, useless individual, set up by the well-to-do for the benefit of the well-to-do."\* The eminent Norfolk clergyman just quoted, being asked how it was that parsons are so disliked by the labourers, replied: "Because they are the only representatives of the gentry remaining in the country. The parson is always *en evidence*." Which of course admits the truth of the statement that they are regarded as persons set up to defend the position of the well-to-do. It has been recently stated that for eighteen years past the English Church has expended nearly £29,000 a year in building and restoring churches in the Norwich diocese alone. But what effect can that have balanced against the fact that the National Church, which ought to hold up to the nation an ideal standard of morality, sanctions, and has for generations sanctioned by every means, a division of the fruit of the land which, taking into consideration their respective numbers, gives to the class who own the land more than nine times what it does to the class who labour on the land. And thus, rather more than seventeen thousand landlords possess estates which, at twenty-six years' purchase, must be worth a hundred millions sterling, while a hundred thousand labourers are absolute lacklands, owning not a single inch of the soil on which they are born and in the cultivation of which they spend their whole lives. And to the support of this flagrantly inequitable system the Church of England gives and always has given, both by precept and example, religious sanction. Who can be surprised that East Anglian labourers have very little faith in the Church and its clergy?

From the writings of English clergymen in our own days, and in those of the Tudors, a stirring book might be made, full of descriptions and denunciations of the evil results of this worship of the idol Property, emulating in force of language those of the Apostle James and the Hebrew prophets; but the great majority of clergymen (of course there are many noble exceptions, just as there were in Tudor times) seem hypnotised by the society they serve, and we get

\* P. H. Emerson, "Pictures of East Anglian Life."

nothing from them but vague references to certain "great economic laws."

But supposing that the great economic laws to which they refer are as immutable as those which make the fox steal and kill the sheep, how do clergymen explain the fact that the same God who gave Moses the Ten Commandments taught him how to defeat these same immutable, economic laws, by which, if left without control, the property of the poor and weak must everywhere and always gradually and certainly fall into the hands of the rich, and the many become the slaves of the few? The law of the tides is surely as immutable as the law which is continually taking away from him that hath not, and giving it all to him that hath. But men do not sit down and consent to see a remorseless sea gradually wash away the very land which is the basis of their existence. They raise huge breakwaters, build solid dykes, and make thousands of groins all round their coasts. And this attitude is essential to civilisation, which consists in humanity emancipating itself from, and rising superior to, those laws of Nature under which the whole creation has groaned and travailed in pain until now.

Yet here we have clergymen, whose first duty it is to lead in this struggle, repeating the old depressing fable that these laws of Nature are immutable, and intimating that only fools would attempt to stop their action. But if the Bible from beginning to end is not a protest against that, making a thousand assertions to the contrary and proving its assertions by many striking illustrations, then the poor, simple English labourer knows nothing about the Bible, and does not comprehend it in the least. And here is another profound reason why there is antagonism in East Anglia between the parsons and the people. Their very consciences are different, and on great points in morality quite opposed.

What is to-day the condition of the Gallican Church? Absolutely lamentable; even a foreigner, protestant and radical, could not help feeling saddened by the sight. It had its opportunity a hundred years ago: but rather than give up its idol Property, it set itself against the awakening conscience of France. The Church of England—may we not say the whole of the visible organised Church in England?—has been for some time in a similar crisis. The hosts of Labour, already advancing to the conquest of the Promised Land, have again and again said to the Church: Art thou for us or for our adversaries?

Will the answer be only the cry which comes up from the Gallican Church to-day: "Alas! alas! the religious instinct is dead."

If there was one thing more than another of which I obtained assurance in my late wanderings in the three counties of East Anglia, it was that among its agricultural labourers the religious instinct was

not dead; nothing unusual was the matter with it except dissatisfaction with Church and in some degree with Chapel. For although there is undoubtedly a great difference in the extent of disaffection shown to Chapel as contrasted with Church, the former exists, and it is ominous that it affects the best men. But though this is the case, I venture to assert that it means no diminution in religious feeling.

But then, in the thoughtful labourer's mind, religion is closely connected with politics; the one shades off and melts into the other. Sympathy is a key which at once unlocks their hearts, and by which, especially in Suffolk, you will soon have proof enough that the well-spring of religious feeling is very deep and ever flowing. But personally I met with a confidence which was even more convincing among the apparently less susceptible sons of Norfolk and Essex. I recall with constant pleasure a long conversation held in a shed in an out-of-the-way hamlet in Essex with some broom-makers. Better men and nobler hearts it were difficult to find. They were examples of all I have said. Religious, but no friends to Church or Chapel. Devoted adherents of the cause of the agricultural labourer, they supported the Liberal party because at present it carried their fortunes, but it was clear that the leaders they looked to were John Burns and Keir Hardie.

On the edge of a Norfolk Fen, in an outcast and neglected hamlet, among some people notorious for their rough manners, I met with a striking proof that the religious instinct was not dead in East Anglia, but very much alive even where least suspected. Passing a public-house on a Sunday afternoon, a number of young fellows were indulging in jokes and horse-play. One of them followed me. I spoke to him, and he invited me into his cottage and offered me a share of his Sunday's dinner. Ere long a number of his companions tumbled in, and after a few awkward moments of chaffing remarks, they settled down, the end of the conversation being that I should come again and read to them whatever I pleased. They kept their engagement, as I did mine, and a number of young men filled the room.

I read to them Tolstoi's story: "Where love is there God is." Though slightly mystical, these non-church-going, and mostly non-chapel-going youths perfectly well understood the meaning of the story, and evidently accepted the truth it taught, that in every human being there is a spark of the Eternal Life revealed in Christ, and that therefore when we see any one in misery we ought to understand that in that misery Christ Himself is suffering. Never in my life have I better realised what brotherhood there is in men than on that dark, dark night in Scarning Fen.

But that brotherhood cannot be realised until the essential equality of all men is recognised. Can the Church of England possibly do this, organised as it is on aristocratic principles? But possibly the

reader thinks this not only unnecessary but undesirable. Perchance he agrees with the great dame who said : " But, sir, you surely don't think our servants will be with us in heaven." " Why not?" " Because you know it says in my Father's house are many mansions." If your feelings are such that equality would offend you even in heaven, I wish you no more cruel fate than a misquoting schoolboy proposed for himself when, repeating the twenty-third Psalm, he said : " Surely goodness and mercy will follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the House of Lords for ever."

The longer the present agricultural depression continues, the more it is shown to affect all classes, the more it appears the result of an ever-increasing foreign competition, the less possible will it become to defend the present system. As the argument " but it works well," fails, the iniquity of the debased feudalism which so long has had sway over our rural districts will be clearly seen, and the only question will be whether a remedy can be found in harmony with present ideas. The people will not have Protection; the moneyed class, bimetalism; the farmers tend to a lower rather than a higher standard of cultivation, while those who own the soil object, as a class, to changes that would place the land in the hands of those who would do it fuller justice. This state of things is not altogether to be regretted, as it gives time for a morality, new to modern Christianity, but at least as old in England as John Wiclif, to make its way in the country. If this should prove the case, the solution of our rural difficulties will be more thorough, and less likely to bring about a state of things worse than that it supersedes. At any rate, agricultural depression is the handwriting on the wall, warning those whom it may concern that our present agrarian system is weighed in the balances and found wanting.

RICHARD HEATH.

## A STORY OF CROOKED FINANCE.

THE publication by the President of the Local Government Board of a Return on Local Taxation in England, in continuation of the famous report of Mr. Goschen of 1870, reveals an astounding feature in recent imperial finance. According to Mr. Fowler's figures, in the year 1892 no less than £11,846,482 of a total, in round numbers, of £65,000,000 raised by imperial taxation in England, was applied, not for any object of imperial expenditure, legitimate or illegitimate, but for the purpose of reducing local rates; upon an average, this represents a lowering of local rates by 1s. 6d. in the £. But the full effect of Mr. Goschen's finance was not felt in 1892, for in the current year the imperial subvention in aid of the ratepayers will, in England alone, exceed £13,000,000, or one-fifth of the imperial taxation obtained from that portion of the United Kingdom. At first sight, this system of finance appears strange and unaccountable. The taxpayer is the ratepayer, and the ratepayer is the taxpayer. To take money from the one to give to the other resembles the conduct ascribed to a celebrated counsel, who was so much impressed with the value of his opinions that when he gave himself the benefit of his own advice he marked his sense of its value by transferring a guinea from his left-hand to his right-hand pocket. Even this fails to give a parallel, unless we suppose that in transferring a guinea from one pocket to the other the learned counsel deliberately threw away a shilling. One would naturally suppose that the imperial Government would raise so much money as was necessary for imperial expenditure, and no more, leaving to each local authority to raise the sums required for local needs. Such at least would seem to be the policy dictated by common sense. Spending money is always a pleasant exercise of ingenuity, but it is not always so easy and pleasant to pay the bill.

The unpopularity incurred by imposing taxes is the natural and wholesome check upon every spending department. It is only a commonplace to say that grants out of the imperial Exchequer for the payment of local charges tend to waste and extravagance. Many illustrations might be given of this homely theme, but let one suffice. Before any grant was made towards the cost of local police, the average annual charge per head of the population in Scotland towards the pay and clothing of the police was  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$  In 1890 one-half of the cost was borne by the imperial Exchequer. Did this help the Scottish ratepayer? Not in the least. On the contrary, instead of paying  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$  per head, he had to pay  $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ , while the imperial grant, including pensions, amounts to no less than  $12\frac{1}{2}d.$  per head. Property and life are certainly not better safeguarded now than they were in 1854. If there had been no imperial grant, it is possible that the cost might have exceeded  $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ —it might even have reached  $1s.$  per head of the population; but, even so, there is a balance of  $10\frac{1}{2}d.$  per head which would have remained in the pockets of the people. In other words, as taxpayers and ratepayers combined, the Scottish people are paying about twice as much for police as they would have done if they had had to pay as ratepayers only.

The more we reflect upon the policy of allowing local authorities to spend money and requiring the Chancellor of the Exchequer to find the money to spend, the more the mystery deepens. To extract money from a man in his capacity of taxpayer, in order to restore it to him as a ratepayer, appears, under the most favourable aspect, as a strange and foolish proceeding. But when we observe that the effect is to encourage such prodigious local extravagance as almost to double the local expenditure, a policy which on first impression appears to be merely imbecile, assumes a more sinister aspect, and stands in need of a clear explanation. The mystery does not end there. The policy of imperial subventions has been strenuously resisted by Liberal Governments; it has been vigorously supported by the Tory party and Tory Governments. There is, in reality, no question, not even the Disestablishment of the Church, upon which the two political parties are more sharply divided than upon the subject of grants in aid. The Tories have never ceased, since 1846, whether in office or in opposition, to extort money from the Exchequer for local purposes; Liberal Governments, albeit occasionally coerced by the desertion of the landlord wing of their own party to the enemy, have stoutly and steadfastly resisted the clamour of the local authorities. When they have given way—and they have never given way except under irresistible pressure—they have parted with as little of the taxes in relief of the rates as they possibly could. It is scarcely necessary to add that the responsibility for the policy of the Liberal party rests, in so far as it can be made to rest, upon one individual—upon the shoulders of Mr. Gladstone.

If the subject had only a historic interest, if we could believe that we have seen the worst, and if we were assured that no future Government would dare to enrich the ratepayer out of the pocket of the taxpayer, the question of imperial subventions would never be a repay attentive study. But he must indeed be an ignorant or sanguine man who supposes that Mr. Goschen, if he returns to the Exchequer, will rest upon his laurels. The temptation for him to exploit the taxpayer in order to coddle the ratepayer will prove too strong. We have only to look back upon some of his dated projects to realise what is in store for the poor taxpayer, if England should return a Tory majority large enough to drown the united voice of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. His wheel and van tax, and his scheme for providing £200,000,000 of compensation to publicans, are indications of what we may expect. It is no hazardous prophecy to make that if the Tories have another six years of office they will leave the imperial subventions, not at thirteen millions, but at a figure nearer to twenty millions. The subject cannot be dismissed as one of purely academic or historic interest; it is of the gravest importance for the immediate future.

It will be convenient to state at once the conclusions to which a study of this question has led the present writer: conclusions which he believes are now capable of clear and incontestable proof. These conclusions are three in number:

1. The policy of imperial subvention in relief of local taxation is a Tory policy, and cannot be frustrated otherwise than by the defeat of the Tory party.

2. The effect of the system of imperial subventions on the scale it has now attained is to transfer £7,000,000 a year from the working class and lower middle class to the rich ratepayers.

3. The working class pay more than their fair share of local rates, and vastly more than their fair share of imperial taxation; but in comparison with imperial taxation the rates are almost just to the working class.

The system of grants in aid began with Sir Robert Peel. In the expiring days of his last Administration in 1846, he introduced imperial subsidies in favour of teachers in Poor-Law schools, Poor-Law medical officers, salaries of auditors of Poor-Law unions, the Central Criminal Court in London, and the maintenance of prisoners after conviction. The sums which he gave were not large, and they had some measure of excuse. They were partly in the nature of bribes to stir up the sluggish local authorities to higher conceptions of civic duty. Even with the increase which time has brought, Sir Robert Peel's subventions were not of a character to affect seriously the incidence of the burden of taxation. Nevertheless, the system had in it a root of evil, which, nourished by different and less scrupulous hands, has grown into a monstrous parasite.



The next important epoch was the introduction in 1856 by Lord Palmerston's Government of a grant in aid of police. That was limited to one-fourth of the cost of the pay and clothing of the police, and was at first moderate in amount, but since 1874, when the grant was doubled by the Tory Government, it has grown rapidly into a sum of a million and a half a year. That is the one grant of importance which we owe to the Whigs.

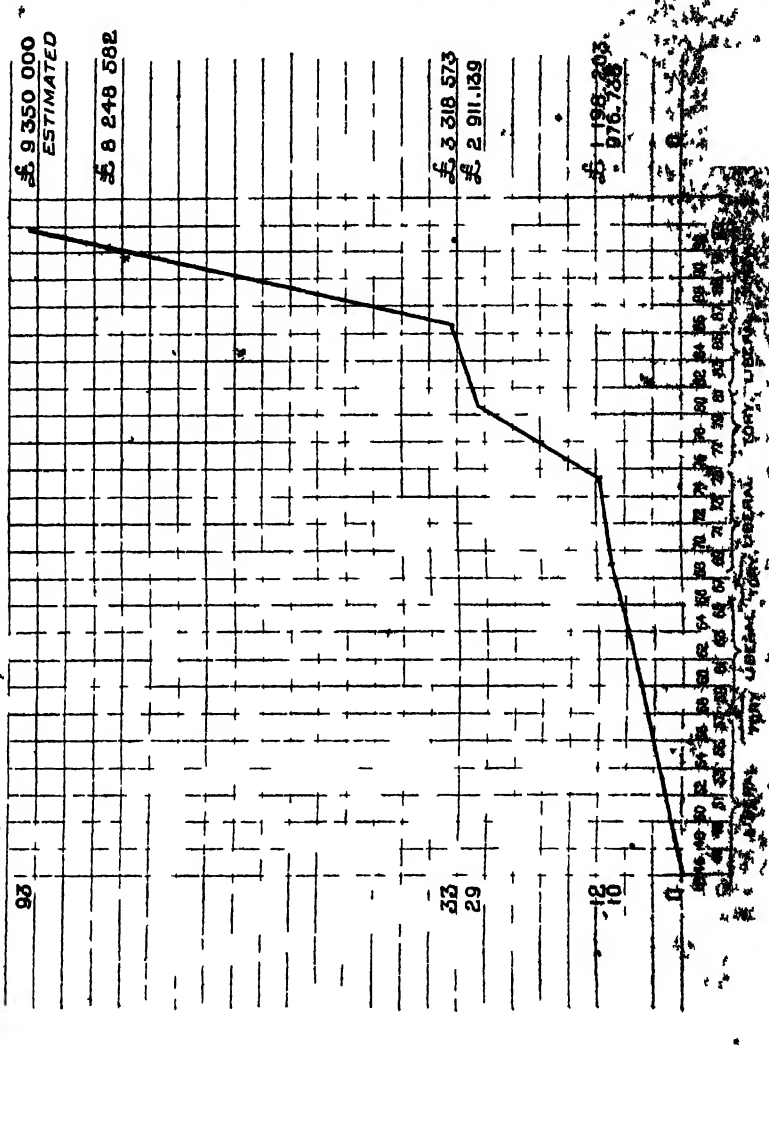
Nothing important was done until 1871, when the Tories came into office with a Tory majority. Amongst other changes which they made was a grant for pauper lunatics, which now amounts to nearly half a million a year. In 1882 Mr. Gladstone's Government was defeated in the House of Commons on a motion, carried by Tories and Whig landlords, in favour of a subsidy, and that Ministry was coerced to the extent of giving a grant for disturnpiked roads. But all these concessions to the landlords were small in comparison with the audacious schemes of Mr. Goschen, whose measures are too fresh in the memory to need recapitulation. Even so late as 1891 he created a fresh grant of £140,000 to the farmers on account of pleuro-pneumonia, in virtue of which he compelled the working classes to pay the farmer's premium of insurance against disease in his cattle. The actual progress of imperial subventions is shown by the diagram on the opposite page, which follows Mr. Fowler's figures, except that it omits from the list of imperial subventions the Government grant to schools paid on the reports of the Inspectors. The table shows that for the period—

1846-1874 (almost exclusively Liberal Government)	the grants rose to	£1,198,203
1874-1880 (Tory Administration)		2,911,139
1880-1885 (Liberal Government)		3,318,573
1886-1893 (Tory Government)		9,350,000

A glance at the table is sufficient to show that the effect of giving power to the Tories is rapidly to enlarge the application of the proceeds of imperial taxes to the relief of local rates. The question that arises out of this state of facts is—In whose interest and for whose benefit are these subventions made? No one who has, however carelessly, put to himself the question, Who pays the taxes, and who pays the rates? can be at a loss for an answer. Inasmuch as the bulk of our imperial revenue is raised by taxes on commodities consumed by all classes, it is manifest that if such commodities are consumed in anything like equal quantities by the different classes, the poor must pay enormously in proportion to their incomes. A washerwoman probably consumes more tea than an average millionaire, but she pays 4*d.* per lb. in taxes—the same as the millionaire. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that, as rates are charged according to rental, the poorer a man is the less does he pay, and there is a rough proportion between the amount he pays in rates

and his ability to pay them. Speaking broadly, the weight of imperial taxation rests on the working classes, but the burden of rates must necessarily fall more heavily on the richer class.

TABLE SHEWING INCREASE OF IMPERIAL SUBVENTIONS IN AID OF LOCAL EXPENDITURE  
1846 - 1893.  
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS £



general way, the fact is patent, yet it is by no means so easy to show with precision to what extent the imperial taxes press unfairly upon the poor or to state with exactness what is the effect of raising a given sum by taxes and distributing it in rates. In order to

the matter on a sound footing, we require to know who pay the bulk of the rates, and this cannot be ascertained without accurate knowledge of the numbers of the working classes and the proportion of the total rateable value of the country which is represented by the rents they pay. In 1888, during the course of an inquiry before a select committee on the rating of waterworks in Scotland, the present writer discovered that accurate figures could be got from the four chief towns in Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. The figures which were obtained were of the most startling character. They showed that, in round numbers, twelve-sixteenths of the occupiers of dwelling-houses paid about one-sixteenth of the poor-rate.

This information came too late for the discussion on Mr. Goschen's Budget for 1888, when the policy of keeping up taxes in order to reduce rates was boldly adopted. Scotland, however, was dealt with by a separate Bill, which was not introduced until within a few days of the close of the Autumn Session. The facts had been ascertained and were available when Scotland's turn came. A sum of £240,000 a year was her share of the spoil, the total sum abstracted from the imperial Exchequer for the relief of local rates being over two millions. I determined to attempt the almost impossible task of defeating Mr. Goschen's financial policy so far as Scotland was concerned, and of preventing a single penny of her share being applied in relief of local rates. This task was not rendered more hopeful by the fact that the distribution of England's share had been carried with hardly a protest, and that when the Scotch Bill came on for second reading at half-past two one morning, there were only three Scotch members present. Under those circumstances an attempt to throw out the Bill would have been labour in vain; the utmost that could be done was to limit the operation of the Bill to the current year, and prevent Mr. Goschen from foreclosing the question of the future distribution of the money. Even this was not easy, but Mr. Goschen was caught in a trap. Foreseeing no opposition, he delayed the Bill almost to the last moment. It was put down for Committee on a Wednesday after the Appropriation Bill. I arranged with Mr. Biggar that the Irish members should talk on the Appropriation Bill till four o'clock or (if necessary) longer. This obstruction succeeded! Before three o'clock Mr. Goschen capitulated. A memorable result followed. In the next year the money was applied, not to the relief of rates, but to the abolition of school fees.

In 1889 a very considerable majority of the House of Commons was against Free Education. How, was it, then, that a handful of Scotch members were able, to use the graphic but not inaccurate description of Lord George Hamilton, to "extort free education at the point of the bayonet" from a Tory Administration? This result was not achieved by any feat of eloquence; it was not secured by agita-

tion out of doors, for Scotland got Free Education almost before it was aware of the impending change; it was not obtained by a party majority, for the party majority was on the wrong side. The cause of Free Education was won by a FACT. That fact was as simple as it was conclusive. I was able to prove that Mr. Goschen's magnificent scheme of relief of local rates would enrich the bulk of my constituents by the sum on an average of 3½*d.* each. On the other hand, the sum of £240,000, which yielded this ridiculous result in the relief of local rates, was nearly sufficient to abolish school fees, which represents a relief, on an average, of thirteen shillings per child. The case reduced itself, therefore, to a choice for the working man between one ounce of tobacco and free education. As soon as that fact was appreciated by Scotch members, they went for Free Education by more than five to one, and Mr. Goschen's Budget burst up under universal ridicule. Not a penny of his £240,000 was applied in relief of rates, and Free Education was won. Rarely has the mighty power of fact been more signally manifested.

The figures which were available in 1888 sufficed to win a remarkable political victory, but they were limited to four towns. For many purposes it was desirable that the truth about the rates should be accurately ascertained for the whole of Scotland, and accordingly I moved for a return that would show separately for each parish in Scotland how many ratepayers there were at different rents, and how much of the valuation they represented. The inquiry was of a very laborious character, and it imposed a severe task upon the clerical staff of the local authorities. Not a few of them have failed to comply with the order of the House of Commons, but 90 per cent. have done their duty, and the return is now published. It enables us for the first time to answer the question with exactness, *Who pays the rates?* Eighty-five parishes are left out, containing rather more than a tenth of the inhabitants of Scotland, but these parishes resemble in every respect those from which we have returns, and we are warranted in believing that their absence makes no appreciable difference in the results. We may fairly assume that the distribution of the population in those eighty-five parishes is the same as in the others. For statistical purposes the return is not unsatisfactory. It enables us to trace with a close approximation to perfect accuracy the effect of taxing the taxpayer in order to relieve the ratepayer.

The following table, based upon this return, supplies the data which are necessary to show in what proportion the local rates are borne by the poorer classes of the community. The table includes all occupiers of dwelling-houses (and farmers) whose rent does not exceed £20 a year. It gives the population of each class, the proportion of the total rateable value of Scotland which they hold, and the proportionate amount of the poor-rate which they pay.

The charge for the poor and education is equally divided between owner and occupier, and we make no great error in assuming that the immense majority of the class living in houses under £20 are occupiers only. A small number are also owners, but they are so few that, with this caution, the columns may be taken as nearly accurate. Their proportion of rateable value is exact. The three divisions correspond to the working class (a) 68·8 per cent. ; the highly paid workman and lower middle class, (b) 10·77 per cent. ; and the lower middle class, (c) forming 6·3 per cent. of the total population :

## SCOTLAND.—Classes of the Population.

	Number.	Per cent. of total population.	Per cent. of total valuation.	Per cent. of poor-rate.
A. Working class (rent under £10)	2,767,664	68·8	12·64	6·32
B. Working class and lower middle class (rent £10 to £15)	433,247	10·77	4·36	2·18
C. Lower middle class (rent £15 to £20)	252,041	6·3	3·62	1·81
	3,452,952	85·87	20·62	10·31

This table enables us to say with almost minute accuracy what burden in respect of local taxation falls upon the working class and the lower middle class. It is clear that these—the most numerous classes, who form about four-fifths of the whole—pay barely above one-tenth of the poor-rate. But how does it stand with respect to imperial taxes? The amount of the imperial subventions (say £1,300,000 for Scotland) is very nearly equal to the entire sum raised from tobacco, tea, coffee and chicory; cocoa and dried fruits. If Parliament were to reverse the Tory policy and stop all contributions from the imperial Exchequer to local rates, it could repeal the duty on tea, coffee and dried fruits, and reduce the tax on tobacco from 3s. 6d. to 8d. per pound. This relief of imperial taxation would enable the workman to buy his tobacco at one penny an ounce, and his tea at 10d. per pound. That is what the workman would gain by stopping the imperial subsidies to local rates; he would of course lose by the amount he paid in rates. If you set off his loss in local rates against his gain upon tea and tobacco, we can then see whether the system of imperial subventions is favourable or not to his interests.

But why take tea and tobacco? it may be asked. Is that quite fair? At this point I must be content with saying that the taxes on tea and tobacco have the first claim upon a surplus, and I shall show presently that if we abolish all indirect taxes except the duties upon alcoholic liquors, we shall still extract from the working class and the

lower middle class an excessive and disproportionate share of the imperial taxation.

How much do the classes with whom we are dealing contribute of the total taxation on tobacco, tea, &c. ? It must not be forgotten that these taxes depend on the quantity consumed, not on the price. A rich man may pay four times as much for an ounce of tobacco as a poor man, but the tax is the same to both. There is, of course, no means of proving exactly how much of these commodities are consumed by different classes. Probably the very poor consume more than an average of tea and less than an average of tobacco; but, on the whole, we shall not be far from the mark if we assume that all classes (as distinguished from individuals) consume tea and tobacco in proportion to their numbers. If this calculation ascribes too much to the poorer four-fifths of the people, the error is very slight—too slight to have any appreciable influence upon the result. Assuming, then, that the consumption of tobacco, tea, &c., may be roughly, but fairly, measured by the number of the consumers, the following table shows how much each class would gain by the remission of taxes on tobacco, tea, &c., how much they would lose by the rates substituted for the withdrawal of imperial subventions, and what would be the net gain. The subventions to Scotland are taken at £1,300,000, which is nearly equivalent to £9,300,000 for England.

TABLE A. (SCOTLAND) *Showing how much the several classes would gain by the repeal of Duties on Tobacco, Tea, &c., to the amount of £1,300,000, and the substitution of rates equally divided between Owners and Occupiers to the same amount.*

Description of Class	Number of persons in class	Amount gained by remission of taxes £	Amount lost by imposition of equivalent rates. £	Net gain. £
A. (Rent, under £10)	2,767,664	893,955	82,160	811,795
B. (Rent, £10 to £15)	433,247	139,939	28,340	111,599
C. (Rent, £15 to £20)	252,041	81,419	23,530	57,889
	3,452,952	1,115,303	134,030	981,273

Class A (almost exclusively working class) lose £811,795 out of every £893,955, or 90 per cent. of their contributions to the imperial Exchequer. Class B (including the best-paid workmen, clerks, and the bottom fringe of the middle class) lose, by this trick of imperial subventions, 79 per cent. of what they pay to the Exchequer. Class C (lower middle class) lose 71 per cent. of their contributions to imperial taxation. Every occupier below the rent of £48 loses, and every one above that line gains, by the policy of keeping up taxes in order to lower rates. Who gets the money thus dexterously extracted from the pockets of the most numerous and least wealthy classes? Out of a total of £981,273 the owners of land and houses would gain £490,636, and the residue would go to enrich occupiers whose rents

exceed £48, and the richer the occupier the larger is his share of the spoil.

It may be useful to put the same facts in a somewhat different shape, and show, per head of the population, how much each pays of a given sum of £1,300,000—(1) if raised by taxes on tobacco, tea, &c. ; and (2) if raised by rates equally divided between owner and occupier.

TABLE B. (SCOTLAND).—*Showing how much each PERSON in Classes A, B, and C, on an average, pays of a sum of £1,300,000—(1) raised by taxes, and (2) raised by rates, and the differences in favour of rates.*

Class.	Each pays in taxes.	Each pays in rates.	Differences in favour of rates.
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
A. Working class . . . . .	5½	0 7	5 10½
B. Partly working class and partly lower middle class . . . . .	5½	1 3½	5 2
C. Lower middle class . . . . .	5½	1 11	4 6½

This table brings out an important fact. A person in Class C loses 4s. 6½*d.* by raising £1,300,000 by taxes instead of rates, but one in Class A loses 5s. 10½*d.* The poorer a man is the more he loses by this scheme of imperial subventions; the richer he is, the less he loses, till a point is reached where he gains instead of losing. To bring this fact out more clearly, the following table is given, in which the ratepayer is supposed to represent five persons. This figure is not quite accurate; he represents really a larger number, but it is near enough. Usually a person dwelling in a house of £100 is owner as well as occupier, and for rents of £100 and upwards it is assumed that the occupier is also owner, and therefore pays double rates. The first three rents given represent the average rateable value of the dwelling-houses in Classes A, B, and C respectively; the other rents given are selected to show the truth of the proposition that has been stated.

TABLE C. (SCOTLAND).—*Showing how much of £1,300,000 each RATEPAYER pays—(1) if raised by taxes, and (2) if raised by rates, and the amount of loss or gain according as one or the other method is adopted.*

	Rent.	Paid in taxes.			Paid in rates.			Loss by imperial subventions.			Gain by imperial subventions.		
		£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Occupier	. 5 ...	1	12	3½	0	3	4	7	8	11½	...	nil	
	. 10 ...	1	12	3½	0	6	8	1	5	7½	...	nil	
	. 15 ...	1	12	3½	0	10	0	1	2	3½	...	nil	
Owner and Occupier	. 48 ...	1	12	3½	1	12	0	0	0	3½	...	nil	
	. 100 ...	1	12	3½	3	0	0	...	nil	...	6	7	8½
	. 500 ...	1	12	3½	24	0	0	...	nil	...	22	7	8½
	. 600 ...	1	12	3½	48	0	0	...	nil	...	46	7	8½

These tables explain, so far as Scotland is interested, the mystery of imperial subventions. What appeared at the first blush as an imbecile policy of taking a guinea from the taxpayer and giving him a sovereign in exchange, is now disclosed in its true character. It is a financial juggle, by which Tory Chancellors of the Exchequer have

dexterously picked the pockets of the poorer classes, and have, thanks to the ignorance of the public, been so far successful as now to rob the working class and the lower middle class in Scotland of £1,000,000 a year, which is ingeniously conveyed into the purses of the owners of property and the richest class of occupiers.

These conclusions are applicable, almost in an equal degree, to England. Unfortunately there is no return for England such as we have now got from Scotland, showing for dwelling-houses, farms, and other assessable property what are the rents paid by different classes, and the numbers of these classes. But the annual report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue gives particulars of the number and value of houses under £10, between £10 and £15, between £15 and £20, and over £20. This information unfortunately is of no help in the case of the metropolis, owing to the fact that the return does not dissect rents above £20, and that the superior limit of working men's rents, which may be taken at £15 outside the metropolis, is probably twice that amount in London. It is, however, possible, excluding London, to give tables for the rest of England, similar to those which have been given for Scotland.

The following table gives the particulars for all England, including farmers, in so far as they occupy dwelling-houses, and excluding London :

*Number and Value of Houses in England (excluding London), 1890 91.*

	Number	Number per cent	Average gross rent	Proportion to gross rental of all England.
			£ s d	
A. Under £10 . . . . .	2 701 832	.. 58.88	5 19 5	... 11.00
B. £10 to £15 . . . . .	918 991	.. 20.72	11 12 5	... 7.6
C. £15 to £20 . . . . .	453 836	.. 10.00	16 17 4	... 5.25
£20 and upwards . . . . .	471,470	10.4	18 0 0	... 15.5
	4 576 149	100.00		

With this material it is possible to show for the same classes of persons, as in Scotland, how they are affected by raising £9,300,000\* for local purposes by taxes instead of rates. The results will be found to correspond with the Scotch figures, if we keep in mind that in England rates are paid wholly by occupiers, and that, England being a richer country, the average rent paid by the working classes is higher than in Scotland.

TABLE A. (England, excluding Metropolis) Showing how much the several classes would gain by the Repeal of Duties on Tobacco, Tea, &c., to the amount of £9,300,000, and the substitution of rates upon occupiers.

Description of Class	Number of persons in Class	Amount gained by remission of taxes. £	Amount lost by imposition of equivalent rates £	Net gain. £
A. (Rent under £10) . . . . .	14,596,352	4,598,153	806,968	3,781,185
B. (Rent, £10 to £15) . . . . .	5,136,488	1,656,021	111,412	1,544,609
C. (Rent, £15 to £20) . . . . .	2,479,079	799,238	382,752	416,486
	22,211,919	7,053,412	1,741,192	5,302,220



**TABLE B.** (*England, excluding Metropolis*).—*Showing how much each PERSON in Classes A, B, and C, pays, on an average, of a sum of £9,800,000—(1) raised by taxes, (2) raised by rates.*

Class.	Each pays in taxes.		Each pays in rates.		Difference in favour of rates.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
A. Working class (rent under £10) . . .	6	5	1	1	5	4
B. Working and lower middle class (rent, £10 to £15) . . .	6	5	2	2	4	3
C. Lower middle class (rent, £15 to £20) . . .	6	5	3	0	3	5

**TABLE C.** (*England, excluding Metropolis*).—*Showing how much of £9,800,000 each RATEPAYER pays—(1) as a taxpayer, if the money is raised by taxes; and (2) as a ratepayer, if it is levied by rates, and the amount of loss or gain as one or the other method is adopted.*

	Rent.	Paid in taxes.			Paid in rates.			Loss by imperial subventions.			Gain by imperial subventions.				
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
Average of Class A . . .	6	...	1	12	1	...	0	6	0	...	1	6	1	...	nil
" " B . . .	11·6	...	1	12	1	...	0	11	7	...	1	0	6	...	nil
" " C . . .	16·85	...	1	12	1	...	0	16	10	...	0	15	3	...	nil
	32	...	1	12	1	...	1	12	0	...	0	0	1	...	nil
	100	...	1	12	1	...	5	0	0	...	nil	...	3	7	11
	300	...	1	12	1	...	15	0	0	...	nil	...	13	7	11
	600	...	1	12	1	...	30	0	0	...	nil	...	28	7	11

The slight difference in the effect between England and Scotland is due to the reasons that have been mentioned. The system of imperial subventions is a little more unfavourable to the poorer ratepayers and a little more favourable to the richer ratepayers in Scotland. The following table shows in each country what proportion of their contributions to imperial taxation the several classes lose through their application in relief of rates.

**TABLE D.**—*Showing per cent. of Imperial Contributions lost through Diversion of Taxes to Relief of Rates by Classes A, B, and C.*

Class	England. Per cent.	Scotland. Per cent.
A. Working-class (rent, under £10) . . .	82	90
" B. Working and lower middle class (rent, £10 to £15) . . .	66·6	79
" C. Lower middle class (rent, £15 to £20) . . .	52	71

The net result of the system of imperial subventions, as applicable to England, is that the working class, if we include London, loses more than £5,000,000 a year, and the lower middle class about £1,000,000 a year. If we add one million for Scotland, it appears that by raising £10,600,000 by imperial taxation, the working class and the lower middle class suffer a loss of £7,000,000 a year, which is transferred bodily to the richer members of the community. So perfect and beautiful is the system that the poorer a man is the more is taken from him, and the richer he is, the more does he gain. Those who suffer are the great mass—four-fifths of the community—who work hard for scanty wages; those who gain are a class proved by the Income Tax returns to be positively gorged with wealth.

Lord Sherbrooke, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, once told a deputation that came to complain of some particular tax that all taxation was robbery. This was witty and half-true. Taxation resembles robbery in one point—it is money taken by force; but it differs from robbery in this respect, that the money is taken for the necessary requirements of the State. If, however, a Chancellor of the Exchequer imposes taxation, not for imperial expenditure, but for the purpose of transferring money from one class to another, the term robbery without any qualification may be employed to describe the transaction. In the romantic days of brigandage the robber sometimes earned a little popularity by his dexterity in fleecing the rich and his liberality in giving to the poor; it was reserved for Mr. Goschen to win another species of renown, for he has fleeced the poor in order to make useless presents to the rich. It is, however, scarcely fair to the brigands to institute such a comparison. Mr. Goschen's achievements have a closer affinity with the confidence trick and the gentle art of thimble-rigging.

Our imperial taxes may be practically divided into two classes: (1) taxes which, like the Income Tax, are made to vary with the taxpayer's resources, great when the means are great, small when the means are small; and (2) taxes that are the same to the rich and poor, or which have no relation to the income or means of the taxpayer. The justice of a system of taxation depends largely upon the respective amounts raised by those two species of taxes. In England, which is the richest part of the United Kingdom, out of every £100 of imperial taxes, £11 comes from the first class and £89 from taxes on commodities. In Scotland, which is considerably poorer than England, only £31 comes from the approximately fair taxes and £69 from the unfair taxes. In Ireland, which is the poorest of all, only £19 is raised by fair taxes and £81 comes from unfair taxes. I say unfair, because it is an elementary rule of all just taxation that the tax should be in proportion to the ability of the taxpayer, but taxes on commodities are the same to the rich and the poor. It follows that if the English working men are taxed too heavily, the system is still more oppressive in Scotland, and most oppressive of all in Ireland.

The result of so great a preponderance of unfair taxes is to establish in this country a system of graduated taxation, but of taxation graduated the wrong way. The richer a man is, and just in proportion as he is rich, the smaller is the share of his income that goes to the tax-gatherer; the poorer a man is, and just in proportion as he is poor, the larger is the share of his income that is appropriated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In measuring the capacity of the taxpayer, justice requires that some deduction should be made from his gross income. This principle is recognised in the Income

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**Tax.** To charge a man who has £150 a year at the same rate as a man who has £1500 is considered unjust, and a rough but fairly adequate remedy is applied by deducting £120 from all incomes under £400, and levying the tax on the balance. This makes the Income Tax a graduated tax up to £400, after which no difference is made. Thus, if the Income Tax is sixpence in the pound, a man with an income of £150 pays only 15s., or 10s. in the £100, a half of one per cent.; if his income is £300, he pays 90s., or 1½ per cent.; if it is £400, he pays 2½ per cent. on his gross income.

If we were to deduct £120 from the incomes of working men, there would be nothing left to tax, and, in applying the principle of deduction, we must be content with a smaller sum. I venture to think that a deduction of £30 instead of £120 would be fair. It represents no more than a reasonable sum for bare subsistence of the workman. In applying this deduction, and in making a comparison between the contributions of the rich and the poor to imperial taxation, it is necessary to assume an average consumption of dutiable articles. In individual cases the average would not be true. A rich man who neither smokes nor drinks alcohol largely escapes indirect taxation, and the same is true of a poor man. But in estimating the weight of taxation upon a class, we have not to deal with exceptional peculiarities; we have to deal with the average consumer; nor have we to deal with the question whether, if he was a wise man, he would be an average consumer; what we have to ascertain is the actual burden of taxation under existing habits and customs. If we begin with a person whose income is £100,000 a year, we know that he pays £2500 when the Income Tax is at 6*l.* in the £, and if we add the very liberal amount of £250 as his contribution to other taxes we have a total of £2750, or 2¾ per cent. on his income. Taking, at the other end of the scale, an income of £50, and deducting £30, we have a taxable income of £20. If the taxpayer consumes only an average quantity of tea, tobacco, beer and spirits, he pays about £6 a year, which amounts to 30 per cent. of his taxable income. Between these extremes there is a nicely graduated scale as shown in the following table.

TABLE—Showing the Percentage of Imperial Taxes to Various Incomes.

Amount of given income.	Amount of taxable income.	Total imperial taxes (partly estimated).	Per cent. of taxes to taxable incomes.
£100,030	£100,000	£2750	2.75
1,030	1,000	40	4.00
530	500	22	4.4
150	120	8	6.6
100	70	6	8.5
75	45	6	13.3
50	20	6	30.00

It is interesting to see how this table would stand if the taxes on tea,

tobacco, and all articles except alcohol were abolished. This would reduce the average contribution from £6 to £4 8s. per group of five persons.

TABLE—Showing the same, retaining only the Duties on Alcohol.

Gross income.	Taxable income.	Total imperial taxes	Per cent. of taxes to taxable income.
£100,030	£100,000	£2,750	2.75
1 030	1,000	38	3.8
5 30	500	20	4.00
150	120	6	5.00
100	70	4 8	6.3
75	45	4 8	9.8
50	20	4 8	22.00

Nearly 60 per cent. of the householders (outside London) pay an average rent of £6, and it may safely be assumed that their average income is under £50 a year. If they were relieved from the taxes on tea, coffee, tobacco, and dried fruits, and had to pay only for beer and spirits, those who consume an average quantity would pay, in proportion to their means, nearly eight times as much as the millionaire with his £100,000 a year, and more than four times as much as those who enjoy £150 a year, for whose sufferings as taxpayers our hearts are constantly called upon to bleed.

The over-taxation of small incomes is thus established beyond cavil: "gross as a mountain—palpable." It is the poor taxpayer, already unjustly fleeced as a taxpayer, who is called upon to find the money which Mr. Goschen scatters with so liberal a hand among the rich ratepayers. The audacity of the man who could perpetrate such a financial outrage is only equalled by the ignorance of the people who submit to it. That, however, is a poor excuse for him. It is their fault, or their misfortune; it is his crime.

This statement would not be complete unless it were shown that even this system of rates, infinitely more just as it is to the poor than the imperial taxation, is still far from attaining a full measure of justice, and that it is the poor ratepayer, and not the rich ratepayer, who stands in need of relief. In preparing a table to show the percentage of rates to taxable income, it is necessary to make an assumption; but, as that is unavoidable, I will make an assumption that errs on the side of over-estimating the poor man's income. Of all the items of expenditure, rent is the one that, on the whole, is the truest index to income. I assume that persons under £20 of rent pay only one-eighth, or 12½ per cent., of their income for house accommodation. Mr. Charles Booth has shown that in London the amount varies from 17 to 23 per cent., or, roughly, one-fifth of the income goes in rent.

It may be pointed out that the working class and lower middle class would gain over all England about £24,000,000 a year if

customs and excise were abolished, and the amount lost to the Exchequer were made up by levying a rate equably according to the valuation. But even then the working classes would still pay in rates much more than a fair proportion of their taxable income, in comparison with the richer ratepayers.

TABLE (England).—Showing the Percentage of Taxes to Income compared with the percentage of equivalent rates to income, if £38,000,000 were raised by rates instead of customs and excise.

	Average rent.	Estimated gross income.	Taxable income.	Per cent. of taxes to income (Customs and Excise).	Per cent. of rates to incomes of equal amount.
	£	£	£		
Class A	6	48	18	33	6·6
Class B	11·6	93	63	9·5	3·7
Class C	16·8	135	105	5·7	3·5
	50	530	500	1·27	2·12
	100	1030	1000	·6	2·00

In this table I have added two incomes of £530 and £1030, taking the rents paid in each case at £50 and £100. The broad result is that, even in rates, three-fifths of the population of England (excluding the Metropolis) pay three times as much in rates as the richer ratepayers, having regard to their relative taxable incomes. This inequality might, however, easily be removed if, in rating, a deduction were made of £4 or £5 from the gross rental in every case, and the rates were equally divided between owner and occupier. With this bare statement one must be content, as the full discussion of the points would require a separate article.

A brief summary may be added of the positions which have been established with respect to the policy of raising money for local purposes by imperial taxation.

First, the system of imposing taxes to enable local authorities to lower rates was introduced by the Tories. Even in opposition they have, through the treachery of the Whig landlord element, attained some success; but it is when in power that they have done most, and under Mr. Goschen's fostering care the system has reached gigantic and alarming proportions.

Secondly, the system of imperial subventions is merely a trick, a sort of financial sleight-of-hand, whereby out of the poverty of the poor is extracted the means to augment the superfluities of the rich. Of a total for 1893 of imperial subventions for Great Britain of £10,600,000, no less than £7,000,000 is taken from the working class and lower middle class, and handed over to the richer ratepayer and owner of land and houses. From an ethical point of view, the proceeding is with difficulty to be distinguished from pocket-picking.

Thirdly, the persons who are made to pay the lordly tribute of

£7,000,000 are precisely those who are most shamefully overtaxed, and the ratepayers who receive the plunder are those whose rates bear the lowest proportion to their taxable income. It is not merely robbery; it is robbery of the meanest and most despicable character—it is robbery of the poor by the rich. The class for whose benefit this odious abuse of the power of taxation is exercised have, per head, ten times the annual income of the poor people whose pennies they do not disdain to pilfer.

W. A. HUNTER.

## AN EARLY ASPIRANT TO THE GERMAN IMPERIAL CROWN.

(WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.)

**T**HE late Duke of Saxe-Coburg was one of those typical princely figures which often come up in times of deep popular commotion, and which now and then, by a favouring chance, suddenly rise to the summit of power. In Germany, during the years of storm and stress (1848-49), no such personage, it is true, appeared, or even could appear.

All dynasties, great and small, were then utterly discredited. When the revolutionary movement culminated in the convocation of a National Assembly at Frankfurt, in which the representatives of the people from Prussia, Austria, and all the minor States were gathered together, its President, Freiherr Heinrich von Gagern—though a moderate Constitutionalist, a member of an aristocratic order, and the brother of a general who had just fallen in battle against a Republican rising in the Black Forest—could not do otherwise than proclaim in so many words the “Sovereignty of the Nation.” No monarch dared to enter a protest against that declaration. All of them felt that only by submitting to the sovereignty of the nation could further peril be averted from their heads.

The nearest approach to a prince enjoying some popularity was, in 1848, the Austrian Archduke Johann. After the waves of the Revolution had become less tumultuous, he was appointed *Reichsverweser*—that is, Vice-Regent of the Empire—by the sovereign Parliament. But his was not a striking nor an ambitious character. For that very reason he met with a comparatively ready acceptance. He was aged. He had fought in the Napoleonic wars on the patriotic German side. He was considered an antagonist of Metternich in the heyday of Habsburg absolutism. He had married a simple innkeeper's daughter, much to the horror of the Court. He mainly

shone by an appearance of easy good-naturedness. Before all, he was innocent of desiring to play a great part. Perhaps he was less innocent, as people afterwards thought, of trying, in a quiet way, to work things round again to the old system which had been overthrown by the revolutionary tempest.

Though monarchs, great and small, had no hold then upon the masses, the course of events finally brought about the offer of the Imperial Crown of Germany to the King of Prussia by the representatives of the nation. Before that offer was made, the old Free City of Frankfurt had been the scene of an unsuccessful Democratic rising. The sanguinary event originated in the popular dissatisfaction with the betrayal of the Schleswig-Holstein cause through the armistice of Malmö. About the same time, our second Republican rising in the Black Forest had been vanquished. Vienna, after a heroic defence against a long siege, had been conquered by the Imperial troops, when court-martialling took place in a most cruel manner; even one of the foremost members of the German Parliament, Robert Blum, a favourite of the nation, being shot in lawless disregard of parliamentary privilege. At Berlin, a *coup d'état* had been effected by General Wrangel.

To save, after all these harrowing occurrences, at least the semblance of the country's unity, Parliament resolved upon creating the title of "Emperor of the Germans" for one of the reigning princes. Contrary to the custom of the older Empire, the dignity was to be a hereditary one. By a majority of only four, the resolution of establishing this new Imperial crown was carried. In the election of a Kaiser, which followed, Frederick William IV. of Prussia was chosen by 290 against 248 votes. But he haughtily refused "a crown bespattered with the blood and dirt of the Revolution." He also said that the (Austrian) successor of thirty German emperors could not be expected to cede his rank to the Prussian monarch. To the historian Dahlmann, who had been the main propounder of the idea of restoring the Empire under Prussian leadership, Frederick William wrote that the attempt to carry it out would bring about the disruption of Germany through the necessary ejection of her Austrian provinces, and that the common fatherland would then be only "a torso." In this latter remark, the mediævalist king, with all his absurd notions of right divine, was certainly right.

So the crown was refused by him. The Prussian and Austrian Governments thereupon made an attempt to dissolve the National Assembly. Those within it who remained true to the cause of freedom and unity transferred its seat from Frankfurt to Stuttgart, and established a Parliamentary Regency of their own, composed of several members. Meanwhile the populations of Saxony, of Rhenish Bavaria, of Baden, had risen in support of the threatened Assembly.



The whole army of the latter Grand Duchy joined the Democratic Revolution.

However, Saxony, which had established a Provisional Government, was soon subdued by Prussian troops. Royalist armies—the Prussian one under the command of the later German Emperor, William, then a Crown Prince—converged, in overpowering numbers, upon southwestern Germany, where the Baden dynasty had been ousted. After a series of battles, lasting some months, they succeeded in overthrowing the national and democratic movement. At Stuttgart the German Parliament was dissolved, in June 1849, by force of arms. When Rhenish Bavaria and Baden, where Democratic Governments had been set up, were conquered, the royalist victor introduced a terrible system of revenge. Many prominent leaders fell under the bullets by drum-head law. The fortress of Rastatt, the prisons, even schoolrooms rapidly converted into gaols, were crammed with many thousands of captives. Such a mass of people fled or emigrated that, twelve years afterwards, the population of Baden was still less than it had been in 1848.

This rapid sketch of events will show that it would have required a prince not only of very advanced Liberal views, but also of an exceptionally strong character, to play an effective leading part on the side of those Constitutionalists who wished to found an Empire, in opposition both to the reactionary Court camarillas, and to the Republicans who had set their heart on the erection of a German Commonwealth.

Duke Ernst of Saxe-Coburg had entered his thirtieth year when the Revolution broke out. That was a good age for playing a part in such an epoch of passionate activity. Danton and Robespierre, who came to the fore when France arose in 1789, were then barely twenty-nine; Camille Desmoulins only twenty-seven; St. Just but twenty-one. Princes, on their part, owing to their position, have their political faculties mostly developed or awakened at a very early age.

From the correspondence between Duke Ernst, his brother, the Prince Consort Albert, and their uncle, the late King Leopold of Belgium, it clearly results that the young ruler of Saxe-Coburg followed the stormy course of events with considerable interest and anxiety. By timely concessions he had averted violent action from his own dominions. He gave up his claim to be called a Duke "by the grace of God"—not exactly, it is true, of his own free will, but with a view of appeasing popular aspirations. So he himself has publicly stated in later years. When dynastic power became triumphant once more, he had, however, the good sense and grace not to resume the old princely pretension of "right divine."

In 1848 the Duke's political connections were of a somewhat chequered kind. He had contact with moderate Liberals, and he

occupied himself, though only behind the scenes, with the promotion of their aims. But he was also on strange terms of close friendship with so ultra-reactionary a member of the German Parliament as Prince Lichnowsky—a despiser of the people who knew no bounds in his outrageous sneers against the “*canaille*,” a haughty aristocrat of the worst type, and therefore so hated that he met with a most cruel death at the hands of infuriated working men during the insurrection at Frankfurt, in September 1848. To Lichnowsky, Duke Ernst actually sent a decoration. The letters exchanged between the two were marked by an incomprehensible cordiality. All this we only learnt from the Duke’s Memoirs, which came out four years ago.

In public, Ernst II. only became better known, in those days, by his participation in the Schleswig-Holstein war. He was with his division of troops near Eckernförde, when two Danish war-ships were actually brought to by German batteries from the seashore. His greater political aspirations began to show themselves first a few years afterwards, when all Germany lay under the pressure of a relentless reaction, and many men felt a desperate longing for a fresh revolutionary outbreak.

The Duke began his move cautiously by the foundation of a “Literary and Political Union” in 1853. He had himself literary inclinations and gifts, even as he had musical ones of a creditable kind. He now wished to draw towards himself a number of prominent writers and politicians who were to help in an agitation in the patriotic and Liberal interest by means of the daily press, of pamphlets, and during elections. The surrender of German lands (Schleswig-Holstein); the putting up to auction of the rudiments of a German navy, as created in 1848-49; and other vile deeds of the royalist reaction, were to be made the theme of indignant attacks against the guilty Courts. Naturally, the Duke meant his Union to stand “midway between Reaction and Democracy.”

The character of the then prevailing system of government in Germany at large—a system at once fierce, relentless, and incredibly petty—may be gathered from the fact that a man like the famed novelist, Gustav Freytag, who held the most moderate Liberal principles, wrote to the Duke in dire distress:—“I should not have imagined that even I would be placed in the position of grasping at the hem of your ducal mantle, and having to implore you to spread its protection over me.” It was with men like Freytag, Diezel—a gifted political writer who met with an early death by drowning at Ostend—and others of moderate or advanced Liberal views, that Ernst II. entered into relations. When his intervention was claimed for the threatened life of the poet Moritz Hartmann—a refugee from Austria, who was in peril of being captured by the troops of the Emperor Francis Joseph in the Danubian Principalities during the Crimean war—the Duke of Saxe-Coburg readily showed his interest.

Towards the end of the fifties, the popular movement suddenly revived with much strength in both Germany and Italy. At Paris, Orsini made his attempt upon the life of Napoleon III. Duke Ernst was present and narrowly escaped being killed. It has often been asserted that Mazzini was the originator of that attempt. In his *Memoirs* the Duke rightly states that Orsini, being estranged from Mazzini, acted on his own behalf. This fact I can testify to from having known both.

There followed, in consequence of Orsini's deed, the Italian war; then Garibaldi's mighty historical feat. In Germany, the "National Verein" was established. It was under the protection of the Duke; it had its headquarters at Coburg; its periodical organ was published there. The call for the reconvoation of a National Assembly soon became loud and deep. Riflemen's associations began to stir in the popular interest. We, on our part, in connection with, and possessing a formal written mandate from, many of the foremost proscribed parliamentary and other leaders of the Revolution, carried on a national and democratic propaganda from London, having many affiliated friends in Germany—some of them in quarters little suspected by Governments. In this way our pamphlets penetrated far and wide; often conveyed under queer disguises and in ingeniously constructed receptacles.

It was in 1860, after the Italian war, that one day I received a somewhat startling invitation. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg, then in London on a visit to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, wished to see me, as well as the exiled poets, Freiligrath and Kinkel—both good friends of ours. He proposed Buckingham Palace as the place of meeting. The invitation was conveyed through an advanced Liberal publicist hailing from the Saxon Principalities. In a journal which then exercised much influence among Germans abroad, the latter ably advocated the popular cause, keeping the balance, as it were, between the Constitutionalist and the Democratic principles. By him I was strongly urged to accept the Duke's invitation.

The surprising proposal suddenly awoke in me a recollection of a time lying seemingly far away—so many stirring events had been crowded into the interval of eighteen years. I remembered how, when I was a youth, the then young Prince Ernst, having just married Princess Alexandrine of Baden, passed by my parents' house in the country near Karlsruhe, in company with the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg. In honour of the marriage our house had been decorated all over with garlands of flowers. On arriving in their carriage, the princely personages stopped for a while to receive my father's greetings. Even now I still vividly see before me the somewhat strongly coloured face of the old Duke, with his cocked general's hat, leaning back in the stately coach. He had fought in the Napoleonic wars shortly before Prussia's defeat and deep fall, and then again in the

War of Independence. But popular he certainly was not in the forties. This unfavourable distinction he shared with well-nigh all his fellow-princes.

"A great deal had happened since then," to use Heine's phrase, which has become current through Lord Beaconsfield. We had been struggling by word, by pen, and by deed in battle, for German freedom and union. Repeated imprisonment; arraignment before a court-martial, when the grave was already literally dug for the expected victim; chains in an underground casemate; proscription from Germany and France, and all kinds of persecution had been my lot. Yet, here was a German prince, with a rapidly rising Liberal reputation, who wished to meet such exiles in the palace of the Queen of England.

I easily guessed the object of the invitation; and my resolution was fixed at once. Being in intimate relations with Freiligrath—then one of the foremost living poets of Germany, and the powerful singer of the Democratic cause—I spoke to him on the subject. In a tone of humorous banter he answered: "If the Duke will meet us somewhere in an inn, at a glass of wine—all right!" I replied: "I shall see the Duke neither at the palace, nor in an inn, nor anywhere else."

To act otherwise would have given rise, among our associates, to very misleading ideas and to downright suspicion. No doubt the Duke of Saxe-Coburg had, from a dynastic point of view, as good a right as any other prince to endeavour to lead a promising movement with a view to his own elevation. But it was not for those who had fought and suffered for different principles, and were still working for an aim different from his, to help him in his personal exertions.

This I say without wishing to deny that, among all German princes of that time, Duke Ernst was decidedly the most free-minded. As regards the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the common fatherland, he, moreover, held the same opinion as the Democratic party. That opinion was, that the federal provinces of Austria, which had been a component part of the old German Empire, even as they were of the subsequent "Bund," should not be sacrificed for the sake of establishing a Prussian hegemony.

I and Freiligrath having declined the Duke's invitation, Kinkel alone went to Buckingham Palace. This poetic friend, who had bravely borne arms in 1849, and suffered imprisonment in the fortress of Spandau, was, politically speaking, a man of somewhat varying moods. I do not know what passed between him and the Duke. The latter, at any rate, generously endeavoured to procure an amnesty for Kinkel and other exiles from Prussia by pleading for such an act before the then Prince Regent (afterwards King William I.). The latter, however, would not hear of it. "When I came to speak of the amnesty," the Duke relates, "he (the Prince Regent) cast a short glance at the list I had held in readiness, and exclaimed that 'he

would never pardon persons that had drawn the sword against him, for that would be criminal weakness.' He then referred again to 'the horrors of the Baden Revolution, which he could never forget,' and he broke out into wrathful expressions against Kinkel. 'Altogether,' he said, 'he would not hear of a return of the refugees.'"

"Only a few years afterwards"—Duke Ernst continues—"a person whose name had been on the top of my list, not only was amnestied, but even rose to a high governmental position. I could not refrain from taking the liberty of reminding the King of the proposition I had formerly made to him, and which he had rejected." This sly hint refers to Lothar Bucher, who had lived as an exile in London, and who became the right hand of Prince Bismarck.

Though I had to decline to meet the Duke, I cannot complain of what he says in his Memoirs, so far as I am concerned, albeit here and there his statements are not quite exact. "The English Cabinet"—he writes in regard to the events of 1859-60—"could not ignore the fact of the Emperor Napoleon having begun to study, at that moment, the German Question as seriously as Lord Palmerston had studied the Neapolitan Question. Louis Napoleon was just then engaged in seeking to establish all kinds of connections with the German exiles in London; a circumstance about which I was well informed. A section of our emigrants resolved upon accepting the French protection on the Italian model, and supporting the designs of the Emperor. More especially, Kinkel had come forward as the defender of Napoleon; and he endeavoured to induce Marx, Blind, and Juch to act in that sense. The journal *Hermann*\* was to be made serviceable to the French interest."

Here the Duke is mistaken on two points. Kinkel and Karl Marx were in every way opposed to each other, politically and personally, and not even on speaking terms. With me, Kinkel would never have ventured upon making any proposal of the kind mentioned; supposing even that he himself had been temporarily lost to all patriotic feeling. For many years I had incessantly branded the Napoleonic system and its author, in countless articles appearing in English, German, Italian and American publications. I was on terms of close friendship with Mazzini, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and other sworn antagonists of Napoleon. All this Kinkel knew very well. On the only occasion (in 1859) when, in my own house at dinner, he once casually let fall an unbecoming remark referring to a possible French attack upon the Rhine, I answered in terms which precluded every possibility of a repetition of the same before me. But I thought then that the somewhat impulsive poet had merely spoken lightly between the cups.

The Duke reports that in a letter, written from London to one of

\* Edited by Ernst Juch, who, however, was *not* an exile, as the Duke erroneously states.

his own acquaintances at Coburg, it was said: "Kinkel, too, will shortly be again quite ours. He is at heart a noble character, although for the moment appearances are against him. It was only the slow action of the national party, and the timid, wretched procedures of the Prussian Chambers, which had induced him to expect the aid we ought to seek in our own midst in Germany, from the impetus Napoleon might give to our Germany after the liberation of Italy."

Further on the Duke writes: "After all, the French party could not gain any firm ground among the German exiles in London. Karl Blind raised his voice in an open declaration, in which he spurned away every intercourse with Napoleonic ideas, describing it as irreconcilable with the tendencies of German Democracy. Kinkel soon returned from the false path he had entered. The *Hermann* maintained, upon the whole, a moderate attitude; and, what was most important, remained firmly anti-French. Now, as that which occurred among the exiles in London always exerted a powerful influence upon numerous people in Germany, this issue had to be regarded as a success in a good patriotic sense."

The full truth is, that, barring a few men, there was never any danger of the German exiles in England going wrong through Bonapartist intrigues. The declaration I issued was rather directed against a small misguided group abroad, which at Paris and Geneva had got into the meshes of Prince Napoleon, who acted as a go-between of the Tuileries among the so-called *Démocratique ralliée*, in which Poles and Hungarians figured. Referring to these latter, the Duke states that General Klapka exerted himself to influence the German colony in London in the French sense. I was well acquainted with Klapka. His connection with Prince Napoleon was no secret. But any endeavour of his to influence the German colony in London in the manner indicated would have been fruitless.

The Duke further states that in an international meeting in London, Freiligrath and I had been the means of "overthrowing the Napoleonic attempts at seduction, thus keeping the better part of the German Democracy intact." The Duke is mistaken in so far as Freiligrath's alleged action is concerned. Though as decidedly opposed to Napoleonic intrigues as myself, Freiligrath refrained from attending meetings, not being accustomed to public speaking. The solitary exception he once made was, when, at my urgent request, he joined our Schleswig-Holstein Committee during the war of 1863-64, and was present at a few of its meetings, but without speaking.

The contact Duke Ernst had in London with a number of Germans of advanced Liberal principles—who, as he relates, "feted him by writings and in song"—was looked upon with an evil eye at the Courts of Berlin and Paris. "These relations," he writes, "had a far greater importance attributed to them than they really possessed. They even gained a kind of diplomatic character, when a report was sent

to the Emperor Napoleon, to the effect that, on these occasions, I had uttered very harsh words against him—so harsh that Napoleon himself observed: '*Cela est peut-être exagéré!*' My uncle (the King of the Belgians), who had received a communication as to Napoleon's discontent, asked me to find out who the French agent was that had sent in such a report. This, however, was not possible, my negotiations with members of the German colony having only had the object of inquiring how the German Societies in London could be made to approach the National Verein."

With the French Emperor, Duke Ernst was then on very good terms. At various times he appeared as a welcome guest at the Tuileries. Being the brother of Prince Albert, he was especially prized as a connecting link with the English Court. In his Memoirs he recounts amusingly in what difficulty he was sometimes placed, at the French Emperor's table, by both the indiscreet questions and the ignorance of the Empress Eugénie. In regard to Louis Napoleon, he had noted down, as far back as 1854, a deliberate judgment concerning his character—namely, that the unfavourable opinion generally held as to his mental qualities and courage was "a downright absurdity." It is true, the Duke found that Louis Napoleon was "slow in thinking, but in the execution of his plans he showed remarkable calmness, firm assurance and consequence, as well as personal courage." He also "had the notable quality of not considering himself infallible, and he was free from arrogance. To have ignored this character of his is the fault, and at the same time the misfortune, of his antagonists in France and on the European thrones. *For Germany he can become much more dangerous than his uncle ever was.*"

In the main, this is an opinion I had often expressed publicly and privately, in opposition to the low esteem formed of Louis Napoleon's capabilities by Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and other French exiles. They seemed to forget that the less capable the successful Imperialist adventurer was made out to be, the greater would have appeared the defeat of their own party.

At the same time it is safe to say that an unscrupulous Pretender easily becomes surrounded by men of higher mental qualities than his own, and of equal recklessness in political morality. Their advice and action often pass then for being the Pretender's cleverness.

In later times, Duke Ernst somewhat modified his belief in Napoleon's capabilities. In the description he gives of the bearing of the Man of December at Orsini's attempt, the personal courage which he formerly had attributed to the French Emperor does not shine very conspicuously. Still, in the main, Napoleon III. was incomprehensibly under-estimated by the Republican leaders of France. I had frequent occasion to observe this as early as 1849, when at Paris as a

member of an embassy of the then Democratic Governments of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria. To those who warned against him as one aiming at a State-stroke, the answer was often made: "Oh, in such a case, he would perish amidst universal laughter!"

Perhaps, from the frequent contact with the French Emperor, Duke Ernst had learnt a good deal about the most serviceable way and manner of influencing public opinion, of trying to gain over adherents to one's cause, and seeking for support in the most different political camps. In the meanwhile, it may be acknowledged, the Duke did some creditable things. During the Crimean war, he saw matters in the right light, though his motives may have been mixed. Possibly owing, in part, to his connection with the Court of the Tuileries; still more so, on account of his relationship with the Royal Family of England; but, nevertheless, pre-eminently in the true interest of European security and civilisation, the Duke exerted himself in favour of a junction of Prussia and Austria, and of Germany in general, with the Western Allies. Unfortunately, his counsel was not accepted at Berlin and Vienna.

Again, it is to be mentioned, as a proof of foresight, that, having found how dangerous Louis Napoleon might become to Germany after his successful Italian campaign, the Duke exerted himself, though in vain, to bring about an immediate military co-operation between Prussia and Austria (then still a member of the Bund) for the purpose of warding off an expected attack on the Rhine. That was before Garibaldi had, in 1860, foiled the Muratist intrigue of Napoleon by his glorious Expedition of the Thousand, which resulted in the establishment of a united Italy.

As to the course of affairs in Germany, the Duke's bearing by-and-by attracted so much attention that he was looked askance at by many Courts there. He thought that if he had not been a prince himself, things might have fared badly with him. He jokingly relates that he "was compared to Garibaldi."

During the Constitutional conflict in Prussia, he was taken to task by King William I. for an alleged understanding with those who opposed the King's and Bismarck's plan of military re-organisation. The Duke had to defend himself against the charge in an explicit letter. Among the Liberals of the National Verein and of the Riflemen's Associations, both which he headed, his name stood high. The former association agitated for the reintroduction of a German Parliament, and most of its members were, in favour of Prussian leadership; but the King of Prussia himself lent no countenance to their aims. All the more was the Duke of Saxe-Coburg looked up to as a leader, and as the coming man. In dynastic, aristocratic, and Conservative circles he was, on the other hand, sneeringly dubbed



the Schützen-König" (the Sharpshooters' King); and similar nicknames were conferred upon him by his antagonists, jestingly making light of the high part he was supposed to aspire to.\*

Among the Sharpshooters' Associations which were thought to be destined to form a kind of bodyguard for a future National Parliament, there were some with distinct Republican leanings. The Duke describes how, in 1862, he, as honorary president of the Riflemen's League, went to Frankfurt, where the great shooting-match festival was to be held, in spite of the warning he had received as to expected Democratic demonstrations. One evening he was informed that in the Riflemen's Hall "the Republic had been proclaimed." Thereupon he hastened to go into the midst of the meeting, in order to quell the threatened outbreak.

Of course it was ridiculous to think that the Republic could be "proclaimed" at a festival. It could at most be toasted. And so it was, in the years before 1866, not infrequently at Frankfurt and elsewhere. Thus at Vienna, at the great Riflemen's Match, the future *Deutsche Eidgenossenschaft* was formally celebrated by one of the foremost popular leaders of Austria, when the names of exiles in England were coupled with it amidst loud applause.

"Among the German Societies in London," the Duke states, "there was most especially one to which I thought I should devote attention—namely, the 'Society for German Union and Freedom,' which pursued thoroughly sensible aims, and which was able to work upon public opinion in England. It seemed to me worthy of a degree of exertion to gain over men who were not without influence in London for the better objects of the national movement."

The Society in question, among whose members were a number of proscribed men of 1848 as well as others, was under the guidance of the present writer, who also was the author of all the publications it issued, in German and English, between 1860 and 1865. I do not know, however, whether the Duke had seen all its numerous pamphlets. I rather think he must have missed some of them. If he had read them all, the passage from his Memoirs just quoted would show that he was willing to go very far out of his way in the desire to gain adherents in an opposite camp.

\* In its necrology, the Progressist *Berliner Tageblatt* says: "We must go back to a time when German unity was vainly striven for, in order to understand the popularity he then enjoyed. In those days, his name was on everybody's lips. As a free-minded and patriotic man, he was the hope of the people. As the 'Sharpshooters' King,' as the 'Duke of the Riflemen's Jackets,' he was the eyesore of the Courts. In him the idea of the regeneration of the nation seemed to be embodied; and not a few expected that in future the Imperial Crown would shine on his head. He himself has certainly, in hours when fancy moves its wings and the pulses beat higher, longingly cast his glance upon this alluring symbol, and dreamt of a fulness of power and splendour, which lifted him far beyond the idyll of his small Thuringian State." Having added that "his wish to obtain power was not supported by a corresponding strength of action, and that even his Liberalism rather failed at last," the advanced Liberal Berlin paper concludes thus: "Nevertheless, the merits he undoubtedly earned in the cause of German unity shall remain forgotten."

Our Society had some patriotic objects irrespective of party. It agitated for the recovery of Schleswig-Holstein; one of its chief pamphlets, in English, being sent to all the leading statesmen, the Members of Parliament, the Embassies, the Consuls and the Press of this country. It advocated such a parliamentary constitution of Austria as to prepare the way for the restoration of Hungarian self-government and of Polish independence. It called for the formation of a German Navy. It issued manifestoes to the Riflemen's Associations, to the Gymnastic Societies; to the Burghers, the Workmen and the Peasants of Germany. It urged the Prussian Parliament to strong action during its conflict with the King and his dictatorial Minister. In the Danish war, when there was danger of the German Duchies being once more left by Prussia and Austria under the rule of a foreign dynasty, if that dynasty would only grant to them a separate constitution, the Society addressed not only the German troops, but also those of Hungarian and Polish origin, who formed part of the Austrian contingent, in their own languages, so as to render a second betrayal impossible by a mutiny, in case of need, of the troops themselves. Agents had been sent to that effect among them. In most of the pamphlets the final Democratic aim was clearly indicated.

In 1865, the Society resolved upon starting a monthly organ: *Der Deutsche Eidgenosse*, edited by the writer of this article: On its title-page appeared the names of a number of distinguished parliamentary and popular leaders of 1848-49, as well as of two generals. Among the co-operators were eminent men living in Germany, like the philosopher Feuerbach; the scientist Dr. Ludwig Buchner; the poets Rittershaus and Schlönbach; the publicist Dr. Gustav Rasch; the former member of the German National Assembly, N. Titus, and others. So rapidly had the Democratic movement made headway that these men, living in Germany, did not hesitate to give their names in public for so pronounced a propaganda.

It was evidently in connection with the Duke's efforts to gain a footing among the German Societies in London that, between 1862 and 1863, a deputation of leaders of the National Verein came to my house to seek an interview. Among them was one of the foremost men at Coburg, a man of pronounced Radical views; a Democratic ex-member of the National Parliament of 1848-49; a Liberal-Conservative parliamentary leader from Darmstadt; and an old University acquaintance, the son of a famed patriot and historian who had suffered for the national and popular cause before the Revolution. The interview, I need not say, though marked by personal friendliness, did not result in any understanding. In our view, the policy of the National Verein could only lead to a dynastic solution, with a corresponding ejection of one-third of German territory.

In 1863, the popular agitation had reached such threatening proportions that the Emperor of Austria invited all German sovereigns

to a meeting at Frankfurt for the purpose of effecting a Federal Reform. In a memorandum he had communicated to the King of Prussia at Gastein it was avowed that the various Governments of the Confederation were "simply keeping up their existence for the nonce, filled with a presentiment of near catastrophes, and that the German Revolution, fanned in secret, only waits its hour. The ground underfoot was quaking, and the rickety walls of the political edifice could scarcely bear up against the next storm."

Delegates from the various State Parliaments were therefore, at the proposition of the Austrian Emperor, to be added to the Diet at Frankfurt as a Legislative Federal Council. This was a concession which could not possibly satisfy public opinion. The Grand Duke of Baden, having learnt better wisdom from the misfortunes of his house—which had been expelled in 1849, the throne being only afterwards restored by Prussian arms—went beyond this Austrian project of reform. He declared his readiness to sacrifice more of his privileges for the sake of national union, and to assent to the convocation of a German Parliament by means of direct elections.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who at that time disapproved of Prince Bismarck's haughty treatment of the Prussian Parliament, was in favour of Federal Reform in a similar Progressist sense. It has been asserted—and Zimmermann, in his "History of the Years 1860-71," gives countenance to the statement—that King William I. was at first ready to join his fellow-monarchs at Frankfurt, but that Bismarck, aiming at the aggrandisement of Prussia and the ejection of Austria, induced the king to decline the invitation.

Those who believed the Duke of Saxe-Coburg to be imbued with very high political aspirations, reasoned in this way :

If a German Parliament is convoked in consequence of an irresistible popular demand, one of its first acts must be—even as in 1848—the appointment of an Executive. The Governments of Berlin and Vienna are utterly discredited through their reactionary deeds. In the Prussian House of Commons the leading statesman has dared to threaten the representatives of the people with reading the "Regulations for Menials" (*Gesinde-Ordnung*) to them, if they did not obey his orders. In such a state of affairs, all Liberals, and even Radicals, so far as they are not wedded to outright Republican principles, would naturally look to a Liberal Prince as their leader. This part the Duke of Saxe-Coburg had played for years with great persistence, going as far as possible in his endeavour to form personal connections even with Republican exiles. There being no possibility of reconciling the clashing dynastic ambition of the houses of Habsburg and Hohenzollern, a minor prince, but belonging to a dynasty which has filled many thrones in Europe, is indicated as head of the Executive by the necessity of the situation. He would be the best Vice-Regent of the Empire. If once he has attained that position by a powerful National Assembly, the rest will easily follow.

To-day, these speculations may seem strange. But those who have lived through that agitated epoch and had an opportunity of learning things hidden to the public gaze, can well understand such a calculation.

It was an epoch in which many a throne was suddenly raised or felled, both in Europe and in America. The tremendous commotion created in Germany shortly before and during the Danish war, when the call for a National Assembly was uttered by a Committee of Members of Parliament from various States, gave all Governments an inkling of what was in the air. Up to 1866 the peril to the thrones was such that Prince Bismarck, in his despatch to the Prussian embassies of May 27, of that year, pointed to the ever-rising strength of the "revolutionary movement" which threatened to bring about "a great crisis," and "a complete dissolution of the existing state of things in Germany." The latter he described as untenable. He added that there were "a number of legitimate demands of the German people, which were not attended to in such wise as every great nation claims." In order to take away "the most powerful pretexts for a Revolution, which usually give a lasting and dangerous strength to such movements," he announced, "in the interest of the monarchical principle," a Federal Reform of his own.

This was his remarkable preface for the war of 1866, which ended in the ejection of Austria, the temporary cutting adrift of the minor States of the South, and the territorial aggrandisement of Prussia in the North. That war produced, later on, the attack of France on the Rhine, owing to a prevalent, but fortunately very mistaken, belief that Germany, being now divided into three stumps—*trois tronçons*, as Louis Napoleon's Foreign Minister, M. de Lavalette, expressed it—would be unable to resist, and that some parts of her would even sitle with the invader, from feelings of revenge against the author of the fratricidal war of 1866.

This deeply disturbed condition of affairs, which was the mark of Germany in the early part of the sixties, must be taken into account, in order to understand that many thought they saw the shadow of an Imperial crown hovering over the head of Ernst II., the most Liberal prince of the country. At one time he seemed to have a good chance of rising to eminence and power. But it was not to be. When the war of 1866 broke out, which he had disapproved and tried to avert, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg hastened to make common cause with Prussia, so as not to lose his own Principality. In that war, as well as in the subsequent French campaign, he could not obtain a command. The whilom "Sharpshooters' King" was still looked upon with a degree of aversion in high quarters. So he ended his days without any possibility of larger action. Yet the careful student of history will not fail to recognise in him one of the characteristic personages of a much-troubled epoch, who at one time came rather near a possible great achievement.

## THE BANDITTI OF CORSICA.

**T**HE Vendetta is a thing of the past, the railways have abolished the Banditti. Such was the very erroneous idea with which we started for Corsica.

In the first place, the railways are not completed. The line that is to skirt the eastern coast has at present got no further than Ghisonaccia. It has no other interest for the traveller than as the speediest way of crossing a pestiferous series of marshes which it is desirable to get over as quickly as possible.

The second railway, from Bastia to Ajaccio, is as interesting as the other is dull. It charges the very backbone of the rocky isle, now bravely breasting the mountain side, now doubling back upon itself as it follows the sinuosities of the valley; anon plunging underground, reappearing, leaping with bold arch from crag to crag, or, on airy viaduct, stepping daintily across some mountain ravine. There is still, however, a gap (of four or five hours by road) between Corte and Vizzavona. There the Monte d'Oro has planted his mighty foot, and for ten long years the human insect has been burrowing beneath, in the endeavour to force a passage.

It is true the leaders of the work were in no hurry to complete their task. The climate was agreeable, the pay good. Upon the Col (or Foce, as it is called), immediately above the tunnel, they erected two or three substantial houses, one of which has since been turned into a delightful little summer hotel, unknown to "Murray," but standing in so glorious a position that it has already become a most attractive and popular resort. Our hostess, Madame Budtz, gave an amusing account of the joyous life led by the engineers. "They had parties of twenty or thirty people staying here all the

summer, they had carriages and horses, they danced, they sang! . . . Oh, *ces messieurs* enjoyed themselves!"

It was partly in consequence of these distractions, doubtless, that a grave miscalculation occurred. The tunnel, having been begun at both ends, the time approached when the two parties should have met underground, and it was only then discovered that they were working on different levels; a mistake involving fresh delay and very serious additional expense. It is estimated that these railways will cost France not less than seventy-five millions, ~~an~~ magnificent gift which Corsica has repaid by fleecing the mother country in every possible manner.

Nor, amidst this general spoliation, have the Bandits omitted to claim their share. For Monte d'Oro is pierced with many caves, which for more than half a century have been the resort of one particular family of bandits who have during that period not only been completely successful in evading the law, but are now practically the rulers of all that country-side. As rulers it was imperative that they should assert their power, and the tunnel was therefore placed under interdict until a tribute had been extorted as the price for leaving the works alone. As chiefs of a numerous clan, it was to be expected too ~~that~~ the bandits should do something for their relations. Thus, from time to time, it would be intimated to the engineers that it would be well for them to take such and such a workman into their pay, or dismiss, perchance, an overseer who had made himself obnoxious to one of the family, which intimation, coming from such a source, it would have been by no means prudent to disregard.

To return for a moment to the Hotel Monte d'Oro (or de la Foce, as it is generally called). In the month of September last there were staying in the house M. Levis (the President or Chief Judge of Ajaccio), President Levis Ramolino (of Corte), and M. Cadella Baye, Premier President of Bastia (that is, Chief Justice of the only Court of Appeal throughout the island). I mention these names because, owing to an incident presently to be related, the conversation turned frequently upon banditism, and it will be seen that I have at least the highest legal authority in Corsica for many of the facts about to be related, together with confirmation of certain further details which I have culled from the works of Gregorovius, Prince Napoleon, Paul Bourde, and Prosper Mérimée.

On the morning of September 21st, 1892, I was writing in my room upstairs, when a tap was heard at the door, and Madame Budtz entered with a face of mystery and excitement. "Madame," she whispered, "would you like to see the most famous bandit in Corsica?" "Who is he?" I asked, temporising, with some slight doubt as to the desirability of accepting such a proposal. "It is Antoine Bellacoscia," said Madame, "the great Bellacoscia himself!"

Why, his name is as famous in Corsica almost as that of Napoleon Buonaparte! He is the *Dogon*, the Patriarch of all the bandits in the island. Forty years he has been in the *macchi*,\* living there (pointing out of the window), in the caves of Monte d'Oro." "And what made him take to the *macchi*?" "The Vendetta! he had had killed several people." "Indeed! And now he is in custody?"

"Oh, dear no! *He is sitting out there in the garden.*"

"It is true," cried Madame Budtz (who is of Danish origin), in answer to my gesture of astonishment, "such a thing could happen nowhere but in Corsica! We have here in the house three Judges, the Prefect, M. Chose, the distinguished advocate, and M. Arena, the Deputy for Corsica at Paris, the famous journalist, the most powerful man in the island, one who will be Governor, Prime Minister—*ajin*, that which is your Lord Salisbury. . . . And Bellacoscia comes back, right into the middle of all these people, *and Monsieur Arcut has invited him to dinner!*" . . . "He's come back? . . . From where? . . . I do not understand." "Well, it seems that after ten years, by French law, he could not be touched for the murders; Bellacoscia knew this, and so determined to give himself up. But he did not know that there is another old law which orders that the assassin shall not remain in the country wherein his victims were slain. So the judges banished him to Marseilles. You may think what it was to a man accustomed for forty years to a mountain life, to find himself in a stifling hot crowded city like Marseilles! In August too! . . . He heard that Arena was here, so he thought he would come over and see him. And here he is, come to solicit a free pardon, and to get his sentence reversed with leave to return to his native land. All the same, he has broken his ban, and if the gendarmes were to come by, they would have to arrest him, of course." "And are they likely to come?" Madame laid her finger on her shapely nose. "They know he is here well enough, and will take very good care to *ke p away*. He has shot more than one of those who have tried to arrest him before now. No! We are all blind! We cannot see him, we know nothing; Monsieur Arena, the Judges, they are all the same! But come, Madame, and I will show him to you out of this window."

Finding that the invitation did not involve a personal introduction, I willingly followed mine hostess to a sort of housemaid's closet at the back of the house. "There!" cried Madame Budtz, flinging open the window with dramatic effect, "Is it not *ex-tra-or-dinary*?"

It certainly was a curious scene to look out upon. Beneath the shade of widespreading beeches, their grand silver boles standing forth as an effective setting to the picture, a long dinner-table had

\* The *macchi* is the local name for the tree heath, arbutus, and other undergrowth of the forest and hill-side. "Thus when a man is in hiding upon the mountains, he is said to have "taken to the *macchi*."

been arranged. No coarse homespun or common crockery was there, Madame's best glass and china decked the board, and her snowiest tablecloth was spread in anticipation of the bandit's meal. And there the whilom assassin sat, a handsome fellow still, in spite of his sixty-four years, with bright eyes, bronzed cheek and pointed beard grey by nature, but dyed, on this occasion (with some simple notion of disguise). Unarmed, to all appearance, with broad felt hat and suit of dark green velveteen, he was the centre of an admiring group who hung upon his words with evident delight; and gradually, as the news of his arrival spread throughout the little hotel, one after another of the guests strolled out to join the party, two ladies (French) took seats at his table and entered into conversation; while Arena himself, a youngish man of distinguished and gentlemanly appearance, stood on the outskirts of the little crowd, elegantly dressed, leaning on his cane, and listening with a smile of benevolent amusement to the lively sallies of his singular guest.

Presently the dinner began: Arena in the post of honour, Bellacoscia on his left. Champagne flowed freely, and the bandit was the life and soul of the company. "With the pistol," he remarked pleasantly to Arena, "I am perhaps not better than you. But put a gun in my hand, and set a pebble rolling from the top of yonder mountain, and if I do not shiver it to pieces as it bounds from rock to rock, I am ready to hand you over any sum you like to name." As we stood half hidden by the shutter, watching (and I sketching) this very curious scene, Madame Budtz gave me the following particulars of Bellacoscia's life, family and antecedents.

Some four years before the battle of Waterloo a man called Bonelli appeared in the valley of Pentica, driving before him a herd of goats. This valley lies between Vizzavona and Bocagnano (now the next station on the way to Ajaccio), and the two places are about six miles apart. The grazing ground thus invaded by Bonelli belonged of right to the commune, but the Vale of Pentica was rocky and inaccessible, and the mayor did not trouble himself to interfere, so Bonelli was left in possession. His next act was to seduce and carry off to the mountains three sisters, by whom he had no less than eighteen children, who all settled in the neighbourhood and had large families in their turn. Thus, in course of time he became the head of a numerous clan, and the village of Bocagnano is practically peopled with his descendants. This man, Bonelli, was the father of Antoine, now dining under the beech trees. The name of Bellacoscia (*Belle cuisses*, literally "Fine thighs") he acquired from the extraordinary agility he displayed in evading pursuit; and the name has stuck to his two eldest sons, the bandits Antoine and Jaques.

Antoine first took to the *machi* in 1848. By that time another mayor had arisen "who knew not Joseph," and, as an honest man,



disapproving of all irregularities, he attempted to recover for the commune the land which Bellacoscia the First had appropriated. In addition to this he refused to provide Antoine, who had no mind for military service, with a false certificate stating that he had already a brother in the army. Such acts as these were sufficient to constitute the mayor an enemy of the family. Antoine and Martin Bellacoscia therefore went down together and shot him in his own grounds.

In Corsica, when a man has committed a murder, they do not call him an "assassin"; he has simply been "unfortunate." *Il est tombé en malheur.* It so happened that Antoine was in love when this his "misfortune" occurred, and though obliged to take to the *morchì*, he saw no reason why this should interfere with his marriage. The lady's relations, however, thought otherwise, and emphatically refused their consent. Antoine announced that he would shoot any other man who dared aspire to her hand, and this threat, for some time, kept suitors in abeyance: but at last one Marcangeli was found to dare the deed; he was wedded to Jeanne Casati in April, 1850, and in the following June, Bellacoscia killed him, and at once proposed for the widow. Then, terror-struck, the Casatis fled the country, and as Jaques had assisted in the deed, he now also took to the *morchì*. Two or three other men he killed from time to time, but they were gendarmes sent to capture him, or shepherds who had betrayed his whereabouts, and *these* murders, as our driver afterwards remarked, were therefore "perfectly reasonable! For the rest he was a good fellow (*un brave homme*), whom everybody liked."

While this story was being told the banquet was going on, and by this time the bandit was standing on his chair, making a speech, and drinking to the health of the ladies.

This was the exciting incident that led the subsequent conversation to the subject of banditism in general, and the Bellacoscias in particular; and many were the tales told of their daring and dexterity. Thus, a party of gentlemen were out shooting on Monte d'Oro, and during their midday repast, one of them looking up, said: "Why, these must be the very haunts of Bellacoscia; what would I not give to see him!" Like a distant echo a voice replied: "Bellacoscia you will never see, but . . . *cartez-vous un peu!*" (scatter a little!) The gentlemen all rose hastily, a bottle was standing in their midst, a shot was heard, and the cork flew into the air! The two bandits, however, by no means decline to receive visitors who come with proper introductions. Among other illustrious guests they have entertained Arena himself, and the famous novelist Edmond About. According to Paul Bourde, one of them wears a watch presented by a Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, and the other shoots gendarmes with a gun given him by an English lord.

During the many conversations that followed on kindred subjects,

Chief Justice Cadella Baye was the only one of the company who treated the matter seriously, or seemed to regard it otherwise than as a rather excellent joke. "It is a great misfortune," said he, "that these bandits have public opinion on their side. But you must distinguish between the 'bandit' and the 'brigand.' The terms are often used indiscriminately; but there is a very wide difference between them. With the brigand it is a question of money; with the bandit it is one of revenge. The brigand is bent on plunder; he robs his victim or carries him off to the mountains, not from ill will, but simply with the object of extorting a heavy ransom. The Corsican would scorn to work on these lines. He kills his man because he *hates* him, because he has been injured by him, because he is the enemy of his clan. And then he takes to the *macchi* and becomes a bandit—one, that is, who is under the 'ban' of the law."

The younger Bellacoscia, Jaques, it is said, has a spice of the "brigand" in him too. He has made himself rich at the expense of his neighbours, and is hated as well as feared; but such mercenary crime is extremely rare in Corsica. The mere fact of being an "assassin" is no dishonour at all, and an assassin like Antoine, who has contrived during forty years to kill all his enemies and yet evade the pursuit of justice, is a hero to be respected and admired. Thus, when he decided to give himself up, the first thing the gendarmes did was to fall upon his neck and embrace him on both cheeks, in token of amity. His journey to Bastia was a sort of triumphal progress; he was welcomed and congratulated on all sides, and there was but one man in Bastia who did not rush to shake hands with him, and that was the commandant of the fortress.

It is this popularity which has enabled him so long to elude all attempts at capture. On four separate occasions have both Jaques and Antoine been condemned to death *par contumace*. It is true that of late the authorities have tacitly agreed to let them alone. It became somewhat ridiculous to go on condemning to death and imprisonment men who were in such entire enjoyment of both life and liberty. But for many years the gendarmes were constantly on their track, and every sort of device was employed to take them or starve them out. With this idea some thirty of their nearest relations were arrested on the charge of complicity; it was known that they were regularly supplying the Bellacoscias with food. But it was no good; the next-of-kin took up the pious task, the brigands fared sumptuously every day, and at the end of three months there was nothing for it but to let the thirty out of prison again. On another occasion their flocks were seized, and publicly sold by auction. A few nights later the brothers descended from their rocky home and quietly drove all the animals back again. The imprudent purchasers

were not so foolish as to go to the Vale of Pentica in order to reclaim their purchase money.

In one sense the bandit governs by terror, because his safety depends upon it. However popular he may be, he takes care to make it known that anything like treachery will be most certainly avenged; and, as no man can guard himself against a bullet, this knowledge makes it very difficult to obtain a conviction, even though the criminal be taken red-handed in the act. During the elections of 1881, there were sixty people assembled in the public place of Palneca. A certain man, on his way to vote, mounted the steps of the *mairie*. Another man, armed with a gun, stood on some steps just opposite; both, therefore, in full view of the crowd below. The man with the gun took aim and deliberately shot the other through the neck. The judge found it impossible to obtain a single deposition. The sixty witnesses had no mind to get into trouble with either the assassin or his family, and even the wounded man protested when he recovered that he had "no idea as to who could have fired the shot." One bullet had been enough for him, and he had no wish to expose himself to a second! The prosecution therefore had to be abandoned.

In the first excitement after a crime has been committed, many will come forward to testify, "They heard the quarrel, they saw the blow." But when the day of trial arrives, they have had time to *reflect*! It is too dangerous; "they must have been mistaken—they can remember nothing!" A case occurred only last November. A crime had been committed, and the principal witness refused to speak. The judge made a solemn appeal to him: "We know that you were present, and, however painful it may be, it is your bounden duty to tell us what took place." The young fellow stood silent for a moment; then lifting his head, he said: "Well, if it is my duty, I will do it. But"—touching himself significantly on the breast—"I know that I would not give two coppers for my skin!" (*Je n'aimerais pas être sous pour ma peau.*) The bandit got off with a few months' imprisonment, and in less than a year the faithful witness was dead.

For the same reason that the witnesses will not speak, the juries will not convict. "Nay, even the judges," said M. Cadella Baye, significantly, "*fatigue* themselves in order to find out extenuating circumstances." (*Se fatiguent pour trouver des circonstances atténuantes.*) A notorious example of this took place only the other day. Two families had quarrelled, and a formal defiance had been exchanged. Prosper Mérimée, in his vivid Corsican novel, "Colomba," calls the Vendetta the "duel" of the poor. "Guard thyself,"—"I am on guard!" Such are the sacramental words exchanged by two enemies before they are at liberty to lie in wait for each other's life. On this

occasion one of the adversaries was by no means an expert with his carbine, but from the moment the enmity was declared, he might be seen day after day practising at a mark set up against an oak tree that stood near the public road. At the end of three weeks, when he had, in his own estimation, acquired sufficient skill in the art of murder, he lay in wait for his enemy, and shot him as he passed beneath the very oak which had done such good service to the assassin during his preliminary course of study. Nothing could have been more cold-blooded and deliberate than this act; yet the court chose to consider that the original provocation was a sufficiently extenuating circumstance, and the murderer got off with a penalty of only four or five years.

"My father was a judge at Ajaccio," said President Levis, "the greater part of his life, and during all those years he had only occasion four times to pass a sentence of death."

"And in how many cases was it *deserved*?" demanded Chief Justice Cadella Baye.

"Oh!" returned the President, with a careless laugh, "*par ringtaincs!*" (You might count them by twenties!)

To show how strongly the sympathies of the people are with the assassin, the following case may be cited. A short while ago a murder was committed in the course of a drunken brawl; and it was rumoured that the authorities had got wind of the affair. "Be off! Save thyself! The gendarmes are coming!" the excited bystanders cried. But the murderer was too tipsy to realise the situation and obstinately declined to move; so the company fell upon him and pushed him out, and as he still lingered, they actually beat him with their sticks to make him sheer off before the gendarmes could arrive.

According to Corsican notions, it would be a cowardly act to refuse shelter, bread or powder to a bandit. For, after all, what is the bandit in his eyes? Simply a man who has been *wronged*, and who, having failed to obtain justice, has taken the matter into his own hands. With his profound mistrust in the administration of the law, every Corsican feels that one day, sooner or later, he may find himself in the same position.

"Among the peasant class," I said, "that is perhaps intelligible; but how is it that an educated man, holding a high position, like M. Arena, should condescend to receive and dine with an assassin like this Bellacoscia?"

"Ah! There comes in the question of politics, and the spirit of 'clan' which plays so serious a part in all our public institutions."

These bandits are, in fact, the most powerful political agents. The elections for the Council General are at this moment going on, and Arena's brother is a candidate for the commune of Boccognano

peopled almost entirely by Bellacoscia's numerous relations. As chief of the clan, he can dispose of nearly every vote in Boccagnana, and the seat is practically his, to give to whom he pleases. On this occasion he has been good enough to nominate Arena's brother, and, having seen him safely elected, he naturally comes now to Arena to solicit a free pardon for himself in return.

This is by no means a solitary instance of a bandit interfering with the elections. There is a certain ex-mayor at Ajaccio, dismissed for fraudulent transactions, who is nevertheless a power much to be deferred to. He can not only dispose of one hundred votes, but *he has also two bandits* in his family, a brother-in-law and a son.

The Corsican loves not work, neither is he greedy for gold; but he is ambitious, an eager politician, keenly desirous of place and power, of anything, in short, that may set him above his fellow-men. The word "politician," however, must be understood in a local sense. The questions that agitate the Continent have small concern for him; his politics begin and end with the triumph or aggrandisement of his clan. The chief of a clan has no sinecure! He is expected on all occasions to exert himself for the interests of his clients. If an adherent wishes for a post, it is the duty of the chief to obtain it for him; if he has incurred some fine or penalty, the chief must use his influence to get it remitted. His clients in return (as to public matters) will obey his lead implicitly. He may be a Republican to-day, he may turn Monarchist to-morrow, but it will make no difference in their allegiance, nor will he lose a single follower thereby; it is an understood thing that what he has done, he has done for the good of the clan, and as in former times they would have followed him to the battle, so they will follow him to the ballot box to-day.

This spirit of "clan" first took its rise during centuries of abominable misgovernment. Under the infamous rule of the Genoese, justice was not administered, it was sold. For an isolated individual, there was no security either for life or property; he had no chance in the battle of life save by allying himself to some powerful family that could make his interests respected. The more numerous the clan, the more its influence would be felt; therefore the Corsican glories in the number of his cousins, as he would in the strength of his right arm.

Nor has a century of French rule done much to improve the situation. If justice is no longer sold, it is at least affected in every department by this all-pervading spirit. The mayors, magistrates, assessors—nay, even the native judges themselves—are so imbued with it, that it has engendered in them a sort of "false conscience," and the ordinary rules of right and wrong are merged in the one paramount duty of upholding the interests of the clan. This was shown during the construction of the railway by the curiously varying

valuations of the land through which it was to pass. The clan of Casabianca was then in power. The jury were selected by a Council General, presided over by a Casabianca. The father of this Casabianca was their foreman, and they were assisted in their deliberations by a third Casabianca, who had been appointed solicitor to the company. Needless to say that the verdict of such a jury was given in accordance with the "conscience of the clan," that degenerate conscience which pronounces everything legitimate that can tend to the profit of one's friends. Thus a certain piece of land was valued at 2000 francs; it belonged to an enemy, and the price was reasonable enough; but the adjoining plot of land belonged to a friend, and though it was all but similar in quality as in extent, the jury adjudged the proprietress no less than 13,000 francs!

The spirit of clanship permeates the Corsican's daily life. In every village there are two clans, the good and the bad, mutually detesting each other, always on the watch to take each other at a disadvantage. The good clan is the one in power, or, in other words, that which is most numerous; but in most cases the numbers are so nearly balanced that three or four deaths on one side, or the return of half a dozen absentees on the other, might be sufficient to turn the scale. Then at the next ensuing election the position would be reversed, and the bad clan would become the good.

These elections are a constant source of excitement. There are the elections for the Council General (or local Parliament) sitting at Ajaccio, and there is the election for the four Deputies representative of Corsica at Paris, and there are also the municipal elections. Moreover, the electoral lists are revised every year in the month of January, and at these times great is the agitation in every village, and endless are the tricks resorted to by the rival candidates for place and power.

For instance, the mayor will *forget*, for two or three years, to register the birth of his enemy's son. Then when that son, arrived at manhood, presents himself to be inscribed on the electoral lists, there will be a dispute as to his age, which, by a little ingenuity, may be prolonged till all chance of exercising his privilege for that year will be over. On the other hand, if the election is a close one, it is easy, by a slight alteration of the register, to antedate the birth of any well-grown youth belonging to the friendly clan, so as to give him the privilege of citizenship before his time.

It is a grand thing to be a Member of the Council General; an excellent thing for a clan to have a *juge de paix* among its members. But the post of all others to be desired is that of mayor. Each mayor is a sort of little king in his own domain, and the possession of "the seal" enables him to give an official sanction to all

kinds of irregularities. Thus, if it be inconvenient to a friend to pay his taxes, the mayor will provide him with a certificate of indigence. It would be useless for one of the opposite clan to appeal for a similar indulgence. However poor, it would most certainly be decided that he was very well able to "pay up."

A certain man had got into money difficulties, and applied for help to the Committee for Charitable Assistance at Ajaccio. He produced official papers testifying that he was left with a daughter "newly born." His only daughter happened to be just thirty-five years of age; but then he was a friend of the mayor's! Occasionally these frauds are found out, as in the case of a certain youth who desired altogether to escape the prescribed term of military service, and was promptly furnished with a false certificate to the effect that he was "the eldest son of a widow." The Gendarmerie had their suspicions—possibly they may have been put up to it by one of the rival clan. Anyhow, they took occasion to call, and found the "orphan" sitting at dinner with his father and mother and a brother several years older than himself. This was unfortunate, of course, but matters are not usually looked into so closely: the Corsican naturally loves intrigue, and has always a fair chance of success.

It may be easily imagined what an excitement all this plotting and counter-plotting adds to the village life, and what a daily interest it is for the village politicians of either side to meet and discuss their affairs. There is always something new to talk over, some new grievance over which to grumble, or triumph wherein to rejoice; some fresh humiliation to be inflicted on the enemy, or some intrigue to be set afoot whereby to gain a vote, or lure over a discontented adherent from the other side.

During a ten days' driving tour we passed through many Corsican villages, and often had occasion to notice this sort of out-door meetings; the first group, perhaps, beneath the spreading chestnuts at the entering in of the village street; the second where the road widened in front of the *mairie* or the church. Lounging on the wall, enjoying the fresh air and sunshine, no doubt, but neither asleep nor dozing, like the Neapolitan *lazzaroni*; making way for the carriage, but generally with the air of having been interrupted in some important and interesting conversation.

The men of either party will live in the same village for years, and never speak; nor will they take any notice of each other, save to exchange a mutual scowl as they pass. Sometimes even the hostile factions will not walk on the same side of the street. In "Colomba," Prosper Mérimée relates how one clan appropriated the north and east sides of the public square, while their opponents never crossed it except by the west and south; and he describes the commotion aroused in every breast when the hero returns after some years'

absence, and, totally oblivious of the local etiquette, is seen unconsciously walking upon his enemy's side of the way. Heads are thrust out of every window, the gossips run together—"What can this portent mean? Is there to be a shameful reconciliation after all these years? Or rather, oh, glorious thought! is it not a studied insult? . . . a challenge thrown out the very day, nay, almost the very hour of our chief's return, showing that our ancient wrongs are not forgotten, but that the Vendetta is to be pursued as keenly as it was in his father's time?" . . . Such a trifle as this may lead to a whole series of assassinations. Where the minds of men are kept in a constant state of irritation, it needs but a spark to kindle the ever-smouldering embers of hatred into flame. A dog shot in a vineyard was the cause of an outbreak between the rival families of Tafani and Rochini, which caused the death of no less than eleven victims; but behind the petty incident cited, in the act of accusation, as the "motive" of the crime, there was the concentrated essence of years of accumulated rage. Bourde says that in some of the villages in Corsica he had seen men who, by the incessant persecution of their enemies, were wrought up to such a state of excitement that they were positively fearful to look upon. He adds that he has read several recent works "On the criminality of Corsica," but that they have all the same fault. They none of them set forth clearly *why* it is that there are so many crimes.

The reason is threefold :

First, the mal-administration of justice.

Second, the spirit of clanship, which it engendered, and which now fosters that injustice in its turn.

Third, the laxity in enforcing the licensing laws with regard to the carriage of arms.

In many parts of the island every fourth man we saw carried a gun. The pig-driver followed his pigs with a carbine over his shoulder; the peasant, eating his dinner by the roadside, carved his bread and cheese with a knife that was practically a dagger. Our trusty driver, apparently the most peaceable of men, caught sight of a wood-pigeon when we were passing through the forest of Aitone; he turned to snatch up his greatcoat, and pulled from the pocket thereof a pistol, ready loaded. Given, an excitable people, a quarrel always ready to break forth, and a weapon always at hand, and the result of the equation may be reckoned upon with tolerable certainty.

M. Cadella Baye was appointed to the Chief Justiceship in the autumn of 1891. He told us that on the very day of his first arrival in Corsica he heard a noise in the street, and put his head out of the window. Two men were having a violent altercation, and after the mutual abuse had gone on for a certain time, one of the two whipped out his knife and stabbed the other, "there, in the public



street of Bastia, by daylight, under my very eyes." "And what happened?" "Oh, nothing! nobody took any notice; the wound was not fatal, but it might have been." "But how is it these things do not get into the newspapers?" "Well," replied a journalist of Ajaccio to whom the question was addressed, "partly from a sort of local patriotism; we do not desire to expose our wounds to the hostile criticism of strangers. Again, we not unfrequently receive a letter on these occasions couched somewhat in the following terms: 'Sir, you have heard, no doubt, of the misfortune that has befallen our family. We hope that you will not add to our annoyance by publishing the details of the affair.' We understand, of course, what that means, and as we wish to lead a quiet life, we generally take the hint!"

A notable instance actually occurred during our stay in Corsica. The elections for the Council-General were going on all over the island. The canton of Soccia comprises several villages, amongst others Guagno, noted for its famous mineral springs, and also for the turbulence of its people. The elections took place in each village, and on the morrow the presidents of the several bureaux were to meet at Soccia, for the formal declaration of the poll. In consequence of certain disorders that had already occurred, the mayor of Soccia issued an edict to the effect that none of the inhabitants of Guagno were to enter the village that day. The inhabitants of Guagno chose to ignore this order, and sixty of them, all armed, and all angry that their candidate had been defeated, marched upon Soccia, headed by their mayor. Two gendarmes (not armed) had been placed at the entrance of the village, and warned the advancing troop that they were to come no farther. The mayor of Guagno cried, "Fire!" There was a general volley from his followers, and the two gendarmes fell dead. "They both bore excellent characters; one of them had been twenty-four years in the service, had been proposed for the military medal, and leaves a wife and three children."

Such was the first account in the daily paper of Bastia. It occupied about seven inches of one column. The next day the editor had had time to reflect (or he, too, may possibly have had a significant warning), for in an article three inches long, the account was somewhat qualified, and there was this important emendation: "It seems we were not correct in stating that it was the mayor of Guagno who gave the order to fire upon the gendarmes." The third day there were just two lines: "In consequence of the unfortunate affair at Soccia, it is probable that the mayor of Guagno will send in his resignation." That was all! I took in the newspaper regularly for a week, for I was curious to see how the affair would end; but there was nothing more; apparently no inquiry, no prosecution of the offenders.

Those amongst them who felt most guilty would probably at once take to the *maerchi* and thus help to swell the already too

numerous ranks of the banditti; indeed, the profession is held in such high esteem, that many a man will join those ranks for a cause far short of murder. An instance occurred the other day. A prisoner, handcuffed, was being taken by rail to Ajaccio. In passing through one of the tunnels, he managed to escape out of the window, unseen by the gendarmes who accompanied him. He had committed some trifling offence, for which he would get but a month's imprisonment at most, but he preferred to take to the *macchi* rather than submit to even this trifling penalty.

Nor must it be supposed that the bandit's life is altogether one of hardship. He must be always on the alert, it is true, and at times, when the pursuit is hot, he must rough it in forest and cave, but for the most part he will be in shelter, an honoured guest beneath the roof of some friend or relative who will not only give him warning at the approach of danger, but will often volunteer to accompany him; and so strong is the spirit of clan, that these "protectors" will actually lay down their lives for his sake. In 1887, a bandit thus escorted was attacked by gendarmes. The bandit escaped, but in the fierce conflict which ensued, his four "protectors" were slain.

Nor is he cut off from the interests of life, or the society of his fellow-men, for his services are in constant requisition. "He has a bandit in his service" is, in fact, a familiar Corsican expression. In other words, you feed, pay, and protect the bandit, and he puts his gun at your disposal. You have a bad debt, he will collect it for you; his arguments are irresistible! You are pursued by a creditor, the bandit will make him give you time. If your land is devastated by shepherds, the bandit will drive them away; if you are a shepherd, and a proprietor disputes your right of pasturage, the bandit will make him hear reason. In short, the bandit is a sort of *deus ex machina* standing in the place of the law, which is powerless, and of that justice which is no justice at all.

His love of power and intrigue will sometimes lead him to interfere even with the domestic concerns of his neighbours. M. Levis relates this curious story, which came under his official notice. A famous bandit called Vuzzoni, took a great fancy to a young gentleman of good family, but poor. "What you want, my friend," said the bandit to him one day, "is a rich wife. Now I have a young lady in my eye, an heiress, only sixteen. *You shall marry her.*" The young gentleman was surprised, but not altogether unwilling. "How know you the lady would consent?" he asked, "and would her father agree to such a proposal?" "Why not?" said Vuzzoni, coolly; "you have rank, she has wealth—what could be more suitable? Only leave it to me." A few days later, he came back, saying, "Well, I have arranged a shooting-party, where you can make the young lady's acquaintance. Put on your best clothes, and make

yourself smart, so as to appear to advantage in her eyes." The party came off, the introduction was effected, and the marriage proposal was broached.

Neither the lady nor her father offered any objection; indeed, it might have been scarcely safe so to do; but the father mildly observed that he thought the young people ought to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted before the matter was finally settled, and as this seemed reasonable enough, a second meeting was arranged. Then the father, driven to desperation, and having no other means of evading the unwelcome proposal, went and gave secret information to the police as to the place and hour of the rendezvous. The notice was so short there was no time to send for reinforcements; there were only six men available, and it was known that the bandit's party consisted of eight or ten.

Fortune, however, favoured the right. Vuzzoni and his men were at dinner in the house of some peasant protector, and his dogs, usually so keen to scent a gendarme, had apparently been dining too, for they failed to give the alarm till the house was practically surrounded. Vuzzoni started up, crying, "We are trapped!" Fire-arms were snatched up, and the battle began; those without trying to break in, and those within shooting through the windows at their assailants, who were partly sheltered by a projecting balcony which covered their operations.

"We must end this," cried one of the gendarmes to his comrade; "he shall not escape us this time! Do thou stand here, I will attempt to scale the balcony, and while Vuzzoni is occupied with me, do thou take good aim, and let thy bullet be mortal!" The attempt was made, and the brave fellow received the bandit's charge in his breast, but at the same moment his comrade fired, and Vuzzoni fell back dead. The rest of the party surrendered when they saw their leader fall. But when the captors entered the house they found there also the intended bridegroom, who looked exceedingly foolish in the smart attire he had put on to captivate the lady.

When interrogated before the magistrate as to what he was doing there, he murmured something about "a shooting-party." "A shooting-party?" said the magistrate, "What! *in these magnificent clothes!*" But the gentleman was too much ashamed of himself to give any other explanation, so he was sent to prison with the rest, and it was only some months later that the truth of the matter leaked out.

Two other good stories told by President Levis I am tempted to give before concluding this article. Two brothers, Cucchi by name, villains of the deepest dye, found the neighbourhood of Ajaccio too hot to hold them, and resolved to take refuge in Sartene. They found a small boat upon the beach, and desired the owner to put out to sea.

“Impossible,” said the man, “the boat is too small for such a voyage, and would certainly founder.” “Do as you are bid,” said the Cucchi, covering him with their guns. Under these circumstances the boatmen had no alternative; so he got in, and they pushed out to sea. But the waves were high, and by a little dexterous management, he contrived to make his boat rock in such a fashion that the bandits became violently sick. “You see I was right,” he coolly remarked, when his passengers seemed sufficiently reduced, “you will certainly be drowned if we go on thus. You had much better let me put you ashore, and go back for a stronger and better boat.” “So be it!” gasped the bandits. “Oh, anything is better than *this!*” They were put on shore, and in due time the boatman returned with a larger boat, but at the bottom of it lay four gendarmes disguised as sailors, and the brothers Cucchi were taken before they had time to discover the trick.

The second story was of a notorious bandit of the name of Bastanasi. He was a man of considerable erudition, had been educated at Pisa, knew Latin, and had belonged to the medical profession. On one occasion he also was going to Sartene on a vessel which stopped at Ajaccio. Knowing that the gendarmes were after him, he did not attempt to land, but as he had a fine voice and could also play the guitar, to beguile the time of waiting he got out his instrument and began to sing and play.

A fisherman in the port recognised the voice, and likewise remembered the song. He went and informed the authorities: and it was thus through his love of music that Bastanasi was arrested. “I saw him land,” said M. Levis. “The handcuffs were on his wrists, and the guitar was slung round his neck.”

During the Third Empire, a great effort was made by the French Government to put down banditism in Corsica. Large sums of secret-service money were spent in rewards for the betrayal or capture of bandits, the laws against carrying arms without licence were strictly enforced, and at the elections—a time always fruitful of bloodshed—it was intimated so clearly to the authorities which candidate was to be chosen, that there was very little scope left for the rivalry of the clans to display itself. Towards the end of the reign of Napoleon III., Bourde says there were but twenty bandits left in Corsica. There are now, under the rule of the Republic, nearly six hundred.

The traveller, indeed, need have little fear; the Corsican is not mercenary, and he prides himself on his hospitality. Many a little service we received, and, at first, endeavoured to pay for, but the unwilling hand and look of displeasure made it so plain that to offer money in Corsica was not considered “good form,” that we soon gave up the practice, while a few extra words of gratitude would cause the face of the recipient to light up with pleasure and an agreeable sense

of patronage. The bandit partakes in the characteristics of his race, and is therefore, as a rule, not dangerous save to those with whom he is at war; but though the stranger may practically wander with impunity throughout the length and breadth of the land, the natives enjoy no such security. The Vendetta lives on from father to son, and there is hardly a Corsican, however peaceably disposed, who is not conscious of having at least half a dozen enemies, hereditary if not personal, of whose malice he lives in constant fear, and to whose vengeance he may any day fall a victim. The law cannot protect him, for the assassin is almost certain of impunity; he has but to become a bandit, and is thenceforward sheltered and supported by the whole of his clan.

And though the bandit of Corsica has not, at present, the mercenary taint which is so inconveniently characteristic of the brigand of other lands, it cannot be but that so large a body of men, carrying arms, ruling the elections, terrorising the natives, and living in utter defiance of the law, must sooner or later prove a very serious danger to the State.

CAROLINE HOLLAND.

## THE DRIFT OF LAND REFORM.

THE problems raised during recent years by the Land Question are numerous and increasing, but they are scarcely more numerous, or more rapid of growth, than the solutions of them propounded by legislators: indeed, it is now rather hard to say whether these land difficulties themselves or the many laws and projects intended to remove them are the most bewildering. These projects of land reform have some characteristics in common. They have all been ushered in with every show of good intention, they are all more or less remotely based on experience, and, above all, they are all alike innocent of any reference to a consistent land system: while they bear unequivocal testimony to the zeal of both the country and of Parliament, and prove that agitation has done its work. But if popular zeal is not to express itself in misdirected legislation it seems necessary that some effort should be made to determine the principles on which the land system is to be re-constructed. As a matter of fact we are already far on our way towards a new land system, but our procedure has been so empirical and our legislative remedies so haphazard and fragmentary in character that it would puzzle most of us to explain from the laws that have been passed what the new system is to be.

It is evident that the multiplication of laws will not of itself lead to any kind of system, and that it is imperative to inquire into the effect of the principles adopted in the Bills that have been favoured by Parliament. In no other way can we determine what changes are adequate to effect the necessary reform without unnecessary disturbance. And now that so many inroads have been made into the old land system of the kingdom it is natural that there should be a general desire to ascertain what part of it, if any, is to be left standing and what is to replace the remainder.

The old system, which lasted practically intact till about twelve years ago, was simple enough as regards the relation between the owners of land and the rest of the community. Subject to such restrictions as those of entail and settlement, the owner had absolute power. But this system, although simple, was not satisfactory, and the reform of the land laws took a prominent place in practical politics before the Liberal Government came into office in 1880. What surprises us now is that the reform of the land laws should have been so little agitated until so recently, and that the right of the proprietor of the land to do as he would with his own could have remained so long unquestioned. The landlords, throughout our islands, made their own terms with all who came upon their lands. They were besides protected in many instances by entail or settlement against the creditor or buyer—nor have they even yet altogether lost this protection. Thus there came to be an exclusive interest owning large estates on which large farms became the prevailing subdivision. Consolidation of holdings was encouraged by the land system, although it was mainly due to the attraction of the high wages which drew people into the centres of manufacturing industry, to the growing wants of the working classes, or to the fall in the relative value of agricultural produce. The process resulted in a diminished country population. It increased the proportion of farm servants who, while tilling the soil, held none of it themselves and whose wages were sometimes remarkable as showing upon how little a man can subsist. High farming came in, leaving the tenant still more completely in the hands of his landlord. The towns grew with the manufacturing industries, and with their growth came a prodigious rise in ground values and increased burdens upon the occupiers of town holdings.

The land troubles came first to a head in Ireland; they were more acute there than elsewhere, and were besides complicated by other social troubles. Nevertheless a good deal was done for tenant farmers throughout the United Kingdom between 1880 and 1885, when public sympathy was extended to the labourers, along with the franchise. During the reforming period Liberals and Conservatives shared office about equally, and the change of policy of both political parties has been as complete as it was sudden. For while the Liberals have sought to regulate the relations of owner and occupier it was the Conservative Government which passed the Land Purchase Acts and initiated the communal control of land. The reforming movement is still going on: the present Administration has already appointed commissions of inquiry in Wales and the Highlands, and has brought in the Parish Councils Bill, of which the land clauses are not the least prominent feature.

No one who has grasped the characteristic features of the British

Parliament, and realised the work that comes before it, can escape anxiety as to the bearing of legislation on this great and now complicated subject. The country has not hitherto made any choice as to the general direction of reform in this matter of land, and as no leading statesman has placed the question on a sound and definite basis, legislative enactments have become a mere series of disconnected experiments leading to contradictory results. Parliament prides itself on being practical, but a merely practical body tends to use make-shifts and temporary expedients. Parliament may wisely perhaps refuse to discuss general principles, and its refusal may be harmless; but it may also fail to be guided by them, which is the reverse of harmless. In regard to land it has proceeded not only on different, but on inconsistent principles, as can easily be shown by grouping the more remarkable Acts it has recently passed. For, in the first place, State arbitration has been instituted to rectify the relations of owner and occupier; in the second, tenant occupiers have been helped to become occupying owners; and in the third, local authorities have obtained certain powers to acquire and administer land. We have examples of the first in the Irish Land Act of 1881, and in those which amend it, and in the Crofters, the Agricultural Holdings, and the Ground Game Acts; of the second in the Irish Land Purchase Acts, in the main portion of the Small Holdings Act, and in the Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill; of the third in the Allotments Acts, in some clauses of the Small Holdings Act, and in Bills dealing with building lands.

It is hard to conceive means more divergent and inconsistent for reaching any final solution of the land problem. The first set of Acts would maintain the present land system as it is by patching it up here and there, the second would indefinitely multiply irresponsible private owners, and the third introduces an absolutely new system, that of Local Control for public purposes.

All of these methods may be very good in their own way, and their respective advantages and disadvantages may appear to be so equal as to render selection unimportant. But to admit that any one of the three would prove advantageous to the community is by no means to admit that all three mixed together would constitute a good land system even though their immediate results were beneficial. Catholicity of spirit does not exclude the right to select amongst inconsistent principles, and Parliament cannot for ever ride upon principles which are moving in different directions. And if we consider whither the lines hitherto followed by Parliament lead, and what results must follow from its legislation, it will become evident that there will be collision and confusion. This, moreover, is the only way of estimating the value of its enactments. They are to be gauged not by their immediate results so much as by those far-reaching effects which modify the social structure.



We assume, then, that changes in the system of land tenure are good, or at least inevitable; and we consider it evident that the methods employed by Parliament being inconsistent they must, when their active operation has brought to light the remoter consequences involved in them, bring about a chaotic rather than an orderly land system. It remains, therefore, to examine the working of each of these methods in some detail, in order that we may decide which of them can be developed and which disused, so as to provide that the conditions of a sound and comprehensive land law may be fulfilled.

The first principle, that of State arbitration to mediate between owner and occupier, is readily invoked and easily applied. It can take the form of transferring a right once and for all to the occupier, as under the Ground Game Act which effected a most satisfactory and permanent settlement; or it can intermittently operate through a land court by fixing rents and conditions of tenure. It may be remarked in passing that no other method than this could well have been suggested for Ireland and the Highlands, where there was need for immediate remedy, and where a great deal was expected and very little had been thought out. Nor is there any doubt that valued rents have done good in affording security to tenants where they had made landlord's improvements, and that the interference in these cases can be justified on economic grounds.

We admit, then, that the immediate consequences of State arbitration have been good. But if we look beyond immediate consequences and consider this method as a permanent one, universally applied, as undertaking, in fact, to supervise for all time the business relations of owner and occupier upon any considerable scale, we must confess that it does not promise to bring about a permanent arrangement. Or rather, in so far as a land court fixing rents and conditions of tenure must end in creating occupying ownership, it will bring about a permanent form of settlement; but that form is neither aimed at by the advocates of this method, nor is it likely to be that which the country would deem desirable. It may succeed in its immediate aim and, for the moment, bring about the amendment of the old system which is intended. But it will end in leaving the occupier the master of the situation. For it deprives the owner of the control over the property which is nominally his, and reduces him into a mere lumberer of the ground naturally desirous of freeing his capital by realising the value of his judicial rent. It is evident that no one can be reasonably expected to purchase the land except the tenant; for dual ownership is not an attractive form of investment for any person. But the tenant on his part is not as a rule likely to have sufficient means to acquire his freehold. He certainly would have no adequate motive, and he would rather confine his efforts to reducing the tribute fixed by the court as the due of his

*ci-devant* landlord, for whom as a mere recipient of rent so little remains to be said. This unsatisfactory relationship between landlord and tenant can only be brought to a close by Land Purchase Acts such as have bestowed ownership upon Irish tenants on terms usually associated with acts of bribery or philanthropy—experiments which no Government will find it easy in future to repeat. Looking to the general results of this method of dealing with the land laws, we may say that even if the tenant does not become *de jure* the owner of his holding, his position is so independent that he is not likely to submit to any interference with the rights he has received. Whether he becomes a freeholder or remains under judicial rent, he will be equally tenacious of his position as against the rest of the community. And the question thus necessarily arises whether the nation in curtailing or abolishing the power of the great landowner, is not merely strengthening the position of the class in actual occupation of the land, when it should try to secure the interests of all. If the interests of the community are inconsistent with the arbitrary powers of a few landowners they are not less inconsistent with the arbitrary powers of many. And to make a larger proportion of those who hold the soil the absolute masters of it is evidently the surest way to hinder any other step in land reform; for the fewer the owners the easier it is to deal with them. Some of the addresses issued at the last general election will illustrate this point. The Liberal candidate for North Antrim supported legislation for farm-labourers but was “opposed to this being done by depriving the individual farmer of land which he can ill spare,” adding, “but there is no reason why power to purchase suitable farms put upon the market and to create small holdings for agricultural labourers should not be vested in elective parish councils.” The Antrim farmer has the control of the land market; and while he would complacently support grants to buy out the landlord so long as the terms were sufficiently moderate, he would turn lukewarm or hostile if limitations were proposed to his own newly acquired rights on behalf of the landless.

Apart from these general considerations, some of the details of this method of State arbitration are open to criticism. One of these is its costliness. This was well discussed, in his book on Wales, by the late Mr. R. A. Jones, who was himself an advocate of valued rents. The Irish Land Commission cost the country nearly half a million in its first three years, exclusive of the additional charges that were borne by the suitors, which remain untold. The Crofters' Commission costs about £9000 a year, and the private law charges must also be considerable; while the reductions it annually effects in rent amount to some £3000. (It is true that this Commission has wiped off large arrears, but they were in any case irrecoverable.) As the rents in the Highlands were reduced about 30 per cent., the charge upon the

country is as great as the whole of the rental dealt with. It thus follows that, if this method is to be continued, some simpler system of valuation, like that of the Agricultural Holdings Act, must be introduced. So long as land courts intervene as State agents, so long will they be costly. On the whole, then, while State arbitration brings immediate relief to tenants, and provides occupation for lawyers, we must conclude that it fails either to secure content or to maintain the old system. It involves rather a constant series of amending Acts, and ultimately ends in legislative enactments providing for land purchase: the machinery is very costly, while its benefits are restricted to actual occupiers whose interests may not be identical with those of the rest of the community.

The mere fact that State arbitration is usually applied in cases where two men, or two classes of men, are come to loggerheads, extinguishes the hope that it can permanently reconcile them. It is therefore plain enough that when the old system is upset, there are but two ways to achieve final results: one, the system of peasant proprietary which has been established, in place of the feudal system, nearly everywhere in Europe where there have been land troubles; the other, already initiated in Great Britain, of transferring land from private owners to the local authority, wherever the change is needed.

And now to examine the first of the two remaining methods—namely, “occupying ownership.” This was a favourite remedy of the older school of Liberals, but they did little to give effect to it, beyond taking some tentative measures—subsequently extended—in Ireland. Occupying ownership was in the first instance designed to promote peasant ownership, but the enormous land values created by the rapid growth of towns has obscured the original intention, and, in fact, divided the land question of Great Britain into two distinct branches. Hence leasehold enfranchisement was adopted a few years ago as a panacea for the more recent difficulty, and the enfranchisement of the occupier has been urged rather to check the pillage of urban leaseholders by ground landlords than to turn rural tenants, many of them tilling their hundreds of acres, into freeholders. But the cases of urban and rural occupiers are not parallel. In the case of towns, the only just claim of the leaseholder against his ground landlord is that for fair compensations for his outlays and improvements. At present the leaseholder is liable to have the value of his buildings and improvements confiscated by his landlord, and he has, at the same time, to bear the whole burden of the rates. So far his lot is very hard. But, in respect of the ground value of the site of his house, he can establish no claim that he himself, rather than the landlord, should receive the increase of value given to that site by the growth of the industries of the surrounding community. His claim, indeed,

is in one regard even less than that of the landlord, for it is he who benefits during the currency of his lease by any rise in land values. Leasehold enfranchisement would, in fact, be a measure of endowment to a large number of house-owners. But it is evident that a special class of the community—namely, house-owners—acquires no better right to the unearned increment from the fact that the number constituting that class is increased. It makes no difference to the mass of Londoners, for instance, whether the unearned increment goes to 10,000, or to 100,000 ground landlords.

Returning to the case of the ordinary occupiers of land in rural districts, we may say that it is not now proposed to turn existing tenants into owners. The Small Holdings Bill of the late Government aimed at creating new peasant owners—that is, to make owners of labourers, not of tenants. The demand in the country districts is for allotments and small holdings to give the working classes access to land and the labourer a chance to rise; to open a fresh field for small investments, and of course to remove discontent. And here the question arises, whether these new holdings should be held as the absolute property of those placed upon them, or be held from the local authority as trustee for the common good? Peasant proprietary has been shown by experience to maintain a stable, thrifty, and populous society in activity and contentment; and it may be readily maintained it has great advantages over the existing system. But, on the other hand, the existing large farms cannot be universally broken up into small holdings without the loss of some hundreds of millions sterling, already invested in their equipment. Hence, quite apart from the general question of small farms *versus* large, the field open for peasant proprietary is at present limited; and even where it exists it is plain that its essential advantages can be enjoyed both by the peasant and the community, provided the rights of ownership are not made absolute. It is not generally accepted by either party that the creation of small absolute landowners is an object which should be pursued very far, if at all; nor can all the characteristics of a peasant proprietary claim our admiration. If the vices of a peasant are not seen on so grand a scale as those of a great landlord, they are nevertheless of the same kind; and it is certain that if the peasant were to pursue his own interest, say in demanding a duty on corn, he would be a great deal more able to exercise a political influence than the Protectionist Tory squire. Furthermore, it seems absurd that a small landowner, who has been set up by public aid, should be entitled to receive the unearned increment of building sites, perhaps from neighbours, who by the payment of rates have become part security for placing him on his land; or that he should become the owner of a coal seam which may hereafter be discovered beneath his property. Indeed, the working of minerals would be seriously affected if each owner of a plot

held his share of them. It seems reasonable, then, that where small holdings are created for agricultural occupation, the local authority should be entitled to draw revenue, to reserve rights, and to enforce proper regulations. In abolishing the large landlords we can scarcely afford to abolish all their functions. The power of the landlord to weed out useless or ill-conditioned tenants had advantages which might be well transferred in some degree to the local authority. Indeed, under this system the local authority would, to a certain extent, fill the landlord's shoes in the cases where small holdings are constituted, exercising control to a greater or less degree as public opinion might from time to time determine.

It seems, then, that to confer ownership upon the occupiers of existing agricultural holdings in Great Britain is uncalled for; and that the creation of new peasant farms to be held in absolute ownership would not be the best method for the community as a whole; and, finally, it is the town council, not the leaseholders, which should receive land values whenever reckoning is made with the ground landlord.

It remains only to consider the advantages or disadvantages of communal control, by which we mean a system under which local authorities could have power to acquire land in case of public need, or wherever it can be shown that general interests would be better served by vesting the ownership of the soil in a public body, rather than by allowing it to remain in private hands. To render this method effective the powers already given to public bodies would have to be enlarged, so as to give them a freedom of action, limited only by such control of the Local Government Board as would protect the ratepayer from undue risk, and by the right of any private owner to obtain judicial arbitration if he is expropriated. Our experience of this third method is not so ripe as is that of the others, though not unreasonable hopes are entertained that it will give most assurance of stability, usefulness, and fairness.

The words "communal control" may at the first glance suggest visions of communism and land nationalisation, but it is reassuring to remember that this very system was adopted a few years ago by the Conservatives, who denounce "community of property" as the policy of their opponents, and would be the last to adopt it as their own. It should be clear that there can be no inevitable danger in the management of land by local authorities since Mr. Chaplin gave those bodies power to acquire and administer land, under the Allotments and Small Holdings Acts of the late Government.

There is in fact no reason why communal control should be confounded with the communism of Karl Marx or the land nationalisation of Mr. Henry George. For while these latter methods mean that all private owners are to be supplanted with a stroke of the pen by an army of State officials, the object of communal control is

limited to the expropriation of private owners for certain specific public purposes, to provide allotments or small holdings where there is reasonable demand which cannot be satisfied by private arrangements; to supersede private ownership in exceptional cases where the relations between owners and tenants are not conducive to their own, or to the public advantage; or to secure the building value of land to the community which has created the value.

Communal control may be extended to the first of these objects alone, or equally to them all. Some of the powers may be deemed wide, but in any case, owing to the limitation of rating powers, the principle must be of slow growth; while even if it be pushed to the most extreme point, to bring about the abolition of private property in land, it is plain that the extension of public control must pass through the test of competition with private ownership, so that it cannot prevail until proved by experience to compare favourably with individual ownership. And as private owners will enjoy the usual advantages which the direction of industry by one person immediately interested holds over its direction by several, they ought not to have much fear from competition.

Nor need we suppose that land held by local authorities will be badly or expensively administered. Public bodies already hold property in various forms, often in land itself, without showing marked incapacity for management. Land is no harder to manage than gas, water, tramways, or police; and indeed it is easier to find cases where the exercise of local control has been too long deferred, than where it has been premature. It is said that public control of land would lead to jobbery, but public opinion is adverse to jobbery, and the acts of a public body are even more freely discussed than those of a squire or ground-landlord, not to mention that it is liable to control as well as criticism, while the landlord is not.

The delegation of power to local authorities must be large if it is to be of itself effectual and sufficient for the different purposes of Land Reform. Allotments, small holdings, building values, and land transfer, make up the land question of our day, while primogeniture and settlement can be dealt with at leisure. There must be a real safeguard for the rural population, and one which will also prevent populous places in the future from being the happy hunting-field of the ground-landlord.

In dealing with land, town councils would have a different end to pursue from that of the county bodies. For no one denies that a building estate is profitable and easy to manage, while few would be bold enough to say as much for agricultural rents. It would be natural to expect that a council would be much more prepared to take over land in a building area than in a county or parish, because it could be made pretty sure of a profit on the one transaction, while it would

have a fair chance to lose on the other. Therefore, while the local authority might endeavour to supersede the owners of building lands, if that could be done on a fair valuation, it would, save in exceptional cases, act mainly as a check on the country landowner.

There is not much money in agricultural land nowadays when rent represents little more, and sometimes rather less, than the interest upon capital expenditure, and where the rent of the soil is interest from the permanent improvements made upon it. The country gentleman's income from agricultural land in times of depression like the present is usually nothing more than a moderate return upon the buildings, fences, roads, drains, or reclamations made by him or his predecessors in title. Not only have all these to be provided, but the farmers and labourers who occupy or till the land must make their way and be housed and paid before the owner can get rent. So that if the country squire is a burden on the community, it is not because, like the town landlord, he comes into a fortune made by others, or by an accident of Nature, as in the case of mining royalties. If it should be found as expedient to get quit of the squire as of the ground landlord, it will not be because the position of the one resembles in any way that of the other.

The rent of agricultural land in Great Britain is estimated at over fifty millions; it is more difficult to estimate ground values which also amount to many millions. But while millions of agricultural rental virtually represent the interest of improvements upon the land, which in Scotland at any rate have never been carried out with more creditable vigour than during the recent years of depression, the millions of ground rents represent the interest upon capital created by the growth or industry of populous places, and this goes to ground landlords, speculators, and householders. There are no deductions from the ground landlord's income; he recognises few responsibilities, and may reap a hundredfold where he has not sown. The greater part of the population are townspeople, and the mass of them receive no benefit from the ground values they have created, except in so far as the householders pay rates upon them. That building land bears its value irrespective of whether it is built upon or not, is a sufficient proof that the value is due to the growth of the town and to municipal expenditure. A growing town *must* have land. The area surrounding its site belongs as a rule to comparatively few owners, who are monopolists with power to exact any tax or condition for its use. When the land is agricultural the landlords have to pay rates and taxes, and to make the permanent improvements; but so soon as they obtain ground rents, returns accrue which exceed the wildest expectations ever held about agricultural profits; and the owners of the land are able to place the whole of the local burdens upon their tenants, while the buildings erected by the tenants

along with the streets, water, gas, and other municipal improvements, go to form a security for maintaining the value of the ground rents and for their punctual and eternal payment. The owner of prospective building land gets from five shillings to five pounds an acre as its yearly agricultural value, but by the growth of the town in wealth or population, he is offered, or is able to exact £25, £50, or £500 as annual ground rent.

This bare outline of the history of ground values shows the point in the prevailing system which is most open to inquiry and to attack. The conviction has grown that as it is the town which creates ground values, so it is the town which should enjoy them; and if the confiscation of existing ground values would be unjust, it would nevertheless be both just and prudent to provide that the towns, overburdened as they are by local taxation, and overcrowded, should be enabled to retain any future building values they may create, and to determine for themselves the way in which the city should expand and how it should be built. Thus the object which the town council should pursue is by the facts of the case both wider and more definite than that before the county council. Moreover, while the country landlord is commonly led by sentiment and tradition to entertain some sense of public duty, the interest of the ground landlord is more strictly limited to the mere receipt of rent: so long as he gets fair compensation, his sentiment will not be injured by the action of the public body, and he will cheerfully transfer his money to some other investment. And while the sentiment of responsibility attaching to the ownership of country estates has done much to maintain the character of their management; this sentiment being almost unknown and unexpected in the private management of town holdings, it may reasonably be anticipated that the town council, charged with the supervision of the city, would prove the more active and intelligent possessor of the site. It is not difficult to supervise a building estate; it could be as readily done by a firm of solicitors responsible to the town, as the business with which they are charged in the interests of a private client.

There is much to be said for the principle of rating unoccupied land on its capital value as a fair means for securing land for towns upon easier terms. That land worth a million should be vacant along a street without paying rates is an object lesson which is readily appreciated. But if the unearned increment on building value is to be readily secured for the community, this can only be done by giving an urban authority power to claim a valuation of land which it is likely to require within a certain term of years, this valuation being the price at which it would subsequently buy, plus any further compensation due to the owner for any outlay he had subsequently made. It is said that this incubus would destroy the selling value of the



land. But if this were fixed by arbitration at, say, £1000, that being the price which a willing buyer would offer a willing seller, then the right to receive not less than £1000 in case of expropriation for land which is rented for agricultural purposes at a couple of pounds a year is an incubus which is supportable; while so long as the town did not exercise its right to expropriate, the owner would be absolutely free to develop it as best he could with every security for his outlay or rents. The ultimate effect would be that towns could get land at its ordinary selling value, the whole building value due to the growth and the industry of the community being gradually secured for it. The need for this valuation arises because a town could not buy all the land surrounding it out and out without the probability of loss, and the initial burden would be far too great. A building value would be placed on all the adjacent land, while a city usually expands only in certain directions; therefore much land would have to be bought at speculative value which would never be used.

It may be said that the effect of these proposals would be to produce sweeping changes in the basis of property in towns. But there is a sweeping case to justify a change. There is surely good reason to expropriate the ground landlord who draws the maximum of profit with the minimum of service, while the claim of the city that it should profit by the values it creates and be able to determine the conditions on which site shall be held by the inhabitants is sound. Remedy will no doubt be more and more urgently sought in Parliament, as it has already been sought by the London County Council and other municipalities. The case of the rural population is neither so strong nor so pressing. Nevertheless, there are common principles in both cases, the welfare of the people is involved in both, and it is expedient that the remedy provided should be applicable to both. It should meet the demands of the working classes in town and country so far as they are valid; and it should allay the apprehensions of landowners by giving them the assurance of untrammelled possession of their property, subject to this one right on the part of the community to appropriate them, wherever just grounds can be shown, by giving fair terms of purchase.

If landlords fear communal control, let them at least remember what legislation has already effected in the United Kingdom, and what it purposes to effect. If this plan of reform, fully and fairly applied, contains the main elements of finality and enables changes to be brought about gradually with full recognition of private rights, would it not be in their own interest to further it rather than to remain subject to constant legislation and constant anxiety? If, as a class, they have to lose possession of more or less of their rights of property, they are more likely to get

fair terms from local authorities under an arrangement formed with general assent, which does not seem impracticable, than they are under such legislation as a reforming Government can from time to time force through a blocked house amid all the heat and agitation of party conflict; a policy of passive resistance is not adapted to small classes with great fixed possessions under the control of masses of voters. If landowners give this proposal fair consideration they may find that so far from assisting to cut their own throats, they are rather following the way to preserve their property in land or its value, and even to enable private ownership to have a fair chance. Private ownership can only flourish where it has the support of public opinion—without that support, rights of property will be constantly disturbed and mutilated by legislation of every conceivable kind.

We have now seen that there are grave objections both to legislative acts based upon the principle of State arbitration and to those intended to promote occupying ownership, and that landed property in England is becoming involved in a network of inconsistent legislation. Such considerations may well be held to justify the provision of communal control as the backbone of land reform. Its strength lies in its flexibility. In one district the land system could remain entirely unchanged; in another a few allotments might be formed; in a third small holdings; while all the while private effort might be stimulated. Owners might be bought out from a city or from a country-side; for the system can be applied equally to the site of a cottage or of London, to the island of Lewis or a roadside allotment. Land commissioners would no longer be needed, and with a few minor Acts the land system could be left to take care of itself. There should be cheap registration and transfer for land in order to give private ownership a fair chance. To avoid what might be too serious a question for some local authorities, any tenants below a certain rental—say £30 or £50—could be entitled to have their own rent fixed by arbitration, wherever they had themselves provided a substantial portion of the improvements on their holdings. For it is difficult for an owner to make the fixtures on a great number of small holdings, and to look after them; it is desired to encourage the class of small occupiers who have been disappearing; and it is fair to give security to tenants of houses and lands, especially to those least able to take care of themselves, and who having to make their own improvements find their conditions of tenure the more onerous.

There is one form of occupation which could be well undertaken by the State itself. The creation of State forests would add largely to national wealth, especially in Scotland, where there must be about three million acres which ought to be planted, and where the growth of timber is the right solution of the Highland question. On fair

hill land, instead of 1s. a year for grazing, from 5s. to 20s. can be made when it is covered with plantations. Many an acre of land worth 20s. has been known to grow a crop of larch worth £100, and when the timber is manufactured a sum equal to the profit can be realised to provide for wages and outlay. Private owners cannot as a rule forego immediate rents, however small, for the sake of profits which, however great, are remote. Communes may own plantations here as on the Continent; but we do not burn wood, and communal plantations will not be a matter of to-day or to-morrow. It is the State alone which can secure this dormant wealth and occupation for the people, which lies as assuredly in the broken lands of the north as it does in the building lands round a centre of industry.

It may be that if there is a good deal of wild talk and fear about the land question, it is due less to its inherent dangers and difficulties than to the lack of serious and impartial consideration of reform, and of resolution in executing it. The progress of reform in Ireland may not seem encouraging to everybody: the landlords are ruined, and the tenants have not become content under an extravagant system of State arbitration, and of loans to bring arbitration to an end—along with the landlords. But political and race hatreds will upset any land system, or any other system, that can be devised by man. The Irish question gives us no information, unless it be a warning to take time by the forelock: it would be as disastrous to plunge our system into an Irish cauldron as it would be, because of any failure in Ireland, to resist a full measure of necessary reform in Great Britain. There is great need for early decision; because, if land reform is to be properly undertaken, it should be in one of the calm periods when it is most apt to be neglected. If the interests of the community are liable to be overridden in a calm, so are those of the landlord in a storm; and if both regard themselves as alternately pillaged, it must be for the interests of both to enter into a fair compact which would help to remove one of the most abundant causes of social discord. The land question is one of the most pressing of those before us; it is that with which we are in every way best prepared to deal; and if it can be fairly adjusted in a spirit of patriotism and with mutual good-will, private rights can be justly treated, and public rights can be freely recognised so far as political contrivance will permit. The method of reform advocated involves no violent shock to existing interests and protests against the harsh enforcement of public demand; it provides an effective instrument to deal with a many-sided subject, and one fit to bring about any necessary change with enough vigour to satisfy the more ardent devotees of Reform.

R. MUNRO FERGUSON.

## SERPENT-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPT.

ONE of the most delightful of old books of travel is the "Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV., &c., par ordre de Louis XIV., dans la Turquie, l'Asie, Sourie, Palestine, Haute et Basse Egypte. &c., où l'on trouvera des Remarques très-curieuses, comparées à ce qu'ont dit les Anciens sur le Labyrinthe d'Egypte ; un grand nombre d'autres monuments de l'Antiquité, dont il a fait la découverte ; une Description du Gouvernement, des Forces, de la Religion, de la Politique et de l'état present des Turcs ; une Relation de leurs Préparatifs faits pour la dernière Guerre contre l'Empereur, et un Parallele des Coûtumes Modernes des Egyptiens avec les anciennes." Paul Lucas had already prepared himself for his "mission scientifique" by an earlier voyage up the Nile, an account of which he published, though his enemies declared that the voyage had been taken in imagination only and that the author's knowledge of Egypt was derived from his experiences as cook to the French Consul at Cairo. Whether or not such allegations were true, his second book proved him to be a man of acute observation, with a genuine interest in antiquities and a considerable knowledge of what had been said about them.

In his first book of travels he had given a description of a wonder-working serpent which was revered by the Mohammedan inhabitants of Upper Egypt under the name of Sheikh Heridi, the home of which was in a mountain hollow opposite Tahta. Paul Lucas asserted that the serpent could be cut in pieces, and that the pieces would not only disappear but reunite in another place. Such stories were naturally received with incredulity in France, to which the fame of the serpent-saint had not previously penetrated, and the envoy of the antiquarian curiosity of Louis XIV. was therefore particularly anxious

to confirm the truth of them. A visit to the saint was accordingly included in the programme of his voyage.

North of Tahta he passed a camp which he found to be that of a certain Omar Hassan Bey, "who had come to receive tributes which the Arabs are forced to pay him."\* He at once made himself known to the Bey, who entertained him courteously.

"After having taken coffee," he says, "and drunk some water made from the sugar-cane, which is a fairly pleasant beverage, the Bey asked me what was the object of my journey and how he could be useful to me. I told him that I was looking for plants and some other curiosities in Upper Egypt, but that finding myself in this district I wished to be enlightened on what had been said in this country about the famous serpent in regard to which so many marvels were recounted throughout Egypt. I confessed to him at the same time that the account I had given of it in France had turned everybody against me, so that I was determined to examine the matter on the spot. The Governor answered that I had only to go a little further, that the serpent was on the Akmin (Ekhmin) side of the Nile, that a Dervish who is regarded here as a saint, having a short time before built a Marabout, that is to say, a small chapel, Haridi or the Angel (for this is the name which is given to the serpent) was come to live with him, and that ever since he had been performing astonishing miracles. He thereupon began to describe these alleged miracles to me, but I do not dare even to repeat them here, so extravagant did his account appear to me. When I asked his permission to visit this new abode of Haridi, he said that that was unnecessary, and that he would send for the Dervish with orders that he should bring the serpent himself. We had been talking hardly an hour when the Sheikh arrived, and after having gravely saluted the Governor, who at once asked him if he had brought the Angel, he drew it from his breast and gave it to Hassan Bey, who put it in his own. It is a snake of moderate size and which seems very tame. I was seated all the time close to the Governor and watched his countenance attentively. Each set himself to recount some fresh miracle of this serpent; that which seemed to me the most extraordinary was the history of the cure of a woman of Akmin, who had been paralysed for eight years. All the remedies she had employed having been useless, she requested with much earnestness that some one would be kind enough to carry her with her pallet to the place where the Angel was kept, declaring by her cries and tears that she would be cured of her inveterate malady. At last some of her friends determined to satisfy her, and having made a sort of litter, they prepared to carry the patient to the chapel of which I have spoken, and which is nine or ten leagues from Akmin. While they were proposing to rest at some little distance from the chapel they saw a serpent coming, which crawled up into the litter. This obliged them to run away, as they thought the woman must be guilty of several crimes and that Heaven was desirous of punishing them before she had arrived at the abode of Haridi. However, these same men, getting ready to kill the serpent and on this account approaching the sick woman, it fled away, and she found herself entirely cured. After the recital of this story and several others just as incredible, the Dervish asked to be allowed to go, and Hassan Bey having stated that he intended to keep the serpent some time longer, the recluse told him that it had already departed long ago, and that at the moment he was speaking it had reached the chapel. Hassan rose suddenly to look for it,

\* "Voyage," vol. ii. pp. 32-37. (Amsterdam, 1720).

undid his girdle, moved all the cushions in the room, and finding the serpent no longer there was seized with amazement like all the rest of the party. He ordered a man to take a horse at once and see if it really had returned to its ordinary abode. The messenger came back half an hour later and reported that the Angel had actually arrived there, and that it had advanced more than twenty steps to meet the Dervish who takes care of it."

Paul Lucas remained some time longer with "the Governor" and then took his leave. The following morning he resumed his voyage and in "a few hours passed near Tahta opposite the grotto where the serpent used to be." From these words it would appear that before the "Marabouts" had been built for it by its friend the Dervish the serpent had inhabited an excavation in the rock.

The fame of the serpent-saint has lasted through all the political and other changes which have passed over Egypt since the days of Sicur Lucas. Norden, the Dane, who sailed up the Nile in 1737, has more to tell us about it than he has about most of the antiquities of the country which he contented himself with observing from a distance.

"The Arabs," he tells us, "maintain that Sheikh Haridi having died in this place was buried there, and that God by a special act of favour transformed him into a serpent which never dies and which cures and grants favours to all those who implore its aid and offer sacrifices to it. It appears nevertheless that this miraculous serpent makes some distinction between different persons; it is much more propitious towards the rich and powerful than towards the smaller folk. If a sheikh finds himself attacked by some malady, the serpent is gracious enough to allow himself to be carried to him: whereas in the case of the common people it is necessary that the patient should have declared his desire for a visit and have made a vow to recompense the saint for his trouble. Even in this case the serpent does not come out without a somewhat curious ceremony: it is absolutely needful for a virgin of unspotted character to be charged with the embassy, for the virtue of the fair sex is alone of avail with it, and if that of the ambassador has suffered the least taint it will be incurable. As soon as she presents herself she pays the saint a compliment and begs it in the most humble terms to deign to let itself be carried to the person who has need of its help. The serpent, which can refuse nothing to a virgin, forthwith begins to move its tail and makes some leaps. The child thereupon redoubles her prayers and makes fresh entreaties; at last the serpent leaps upon her neck, lies upon her breast, and remains quietly there while it is carried in State with great *hollas* and *hausais* to the person who has wanted it. Hardly is it arrived when the patient begins to feel himself recovering. This miraculous physician does not retire, however; it is kind enough to remain for some hours by the side of the patient, provided that meanwhile care is taken to refresh its priests or its saints, who never leave it. All proceeds amazingly well if an infidel or a Christian does not appear upon the scene; his presence would disturb the fête. The serpent, who would perceive it, would disappear at once: it would be useless to look for it, it would not be found; transported to the other side of the Nile it would know how to re-enter the tomb which is its ordinary retreat, without being seen. The Arabs dare to assert further that if this serpent is cut into pieces, the parts will immediately reunite, the outrage not being able to put an end to its life, since it must be eternal. The Christians of the country, who believe themselves more enlightened

than the Arabs, reason very differently on the subject; they decide the case according to the spirit of their religion; they believe very piously that this pretended saint is the demon himself, who, by a just judgment of God, has power to deceive this blind and ignorant people, and that which confirms them the more in this belief is that they have a tradition that it was to this place that the angel Raphael banished the devil Asmodeus, of whom mention is made in the Book of 'Tobit.'

A page or two further on Norden adds: "Cutting the serpent in pieces and seeing the parts reunite would be an incontestable proof of its immortality; but that has never been done, and when the Emir of Ekhhim one day ordered this test to be performed in his presence, the priests excused themselves from making the attempt; they will never proceed to such an extremity." \*

Passing from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, we find that the belief in the miraculous powers of the serpent-saint in no way diminished. When Leigh in 1812 made his somewhat adventurous excursion up the Nile into Nubia, Sheikh Heridi, as it is termed by the natives, was still performing miracles. He wanted to see it, "but as our arrival was unexpected, and time had not been given for the necessary previous arrangements of putting the animal into the oracular cove, we were answered that he was gone abroad, and could not now be consulted."<sup>†</sup> Ten years later Sir Frederick Henniker writes about the serpent as follows:

"The path leading up the neighbouring mountain (Gebel Sheikh Heridi) is long, steep, and boiling; about half-way towards the summit is a large quarry or grotto; a few steps onward the path runs down into the heart of the mountain; it presents a romantic crater, in the hollow of which is the cell of Saint Eredy. Saint Eredy is held in great veneration by the Arabs, and in consequence of repeated pilgrimages the rugged rocks have been worn into a tolerable path, but the length and difficulty of it is still sufficient to try the Mussulman's faith—it will never make of me a *Turkish saint*. I would rather ascend the 'Sancta Scala' on my knees, or even kiss the cross erected in the Coliseum, notwithstanding the many dirty mouths that slobber their prayers over it, for only the exemption of two hundred days from purgatory per kiss. My guides inform me that a sacred serpent lives in the cell, and is occasionally, like the relics at Rome, held up to the veneration of the true believers. It is not visible now, the subtle animal never makes its appearance in winter. Gemelli mentions a snake in this country that was *sacred*, the priests used to cut it into several parts, and the snake, worm-like, would join itself by diabolical agency. Who knows whether it were not Lucifer himself?" §

### ❶ Sir Frederick Henniker's description of the "romantic" situation

\* "Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie." Par Frédéric Louis Norden. Nouvelle édition par L. Laugel. Vol. II. pp. 34-5. (Paris, 1795.)

† "Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country beyond the Cataracts." By Thomas Leigh. Second edition, p. 97. (Murray, 1817.)

‡ This is not correct, as the quarry which was excavated by one of the Ptolemies is practically at the top of the cliff.

§ "Notes during a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis Baria, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem." By Sir Fred. Henniker. Pp. 108-109. (Murray, 1821.)

chosen by Saint Heridi for his abode is sufficiently accurate. It resembles the crater of a volcano, being surrounded on all sides by steep and rugged rocks. Nothing can be more picturesque than the appearance it presents when looked at from above. Standing on the inner edge of rock through which the quarry mentioned by Henniker has been cut, we see deep below us a rounded hollow, within which are two white *qubbas* or domed Mohammedan shrines and a solitary palm. On all sides rise barren and broken cliffs of limestone, with grey outlines sharply marked against the blue heavens. By the side of one of the *qubbas* is a deep cleft in the rock which forms a natural cavern, the roof of which is at the extreme end open to the sky.

But the path described by Sir Frederick Henniker is not the only one which leads to the habitation of the saint. A far less fatiguing and far more romantic one is through a winding wadi with precipitous sides which leads into it from the north-west. The wadi is one of the most striking bits of scenery that are to be seen in Egypt. The rocks through which it is pierced have assumed the most fantastic shapes, while the narrowness of the path and the heights to which the almost sheer cliffs rise on either side, lend to it an air of solemnity, if not of gloom, which is well fitted to prepare the pilgrim for initiation in a religious mystery. The contrast between the gloom of the winding and rugged gorge and the brightness and light of the crater-like hollow into which it suddenly conducts him is extreme. The path through the gorge is the one followed by the pilgrims when they approach the shrine of the saint, the other and less easy path through the Ptolemaic quarry is that by which they leave it. The latter path has been smoothed of late years by steps which have been cut in the side of the crater that slopes upwards from the *qubbas* to the edge of cliff on which the quarry stands.

It would seem that one of the *qubbas* was built only shortly before the visit of Paul Lucas to the spot, while the second *qubba* must be of still more recent construction. I was told that it was the shrine of the "wife" of the sheikh, the female serpent who, as we shall see, plays an important part in the modern legends of the locality. Before the first *qubba* was erected, the saint inhabited a "grotto," which was probably the cleft in the rock by the side of his present dwelling-place which I have already spoken of.

Sheikh Heridi is held in as much honour to-day as he was in the time of Paul Lucas or Norden. His *millid* or festival takes place every year in the month which follows Ramadan, and lasts for eight days. It is attended by crowds of devout believers, largely composed of Nile sailors, who encamp for days together in the neighbourhood of the saint's shrine.

The miraculous powers still possessed by the saint were detailed to me at great length. The serpent, I was informed, is as thick as



a man's thigh ; if it is looked at or treated irreverently, it breathes a fiery breath into the spectator's face, and the wretch immediately dies. Quite recently a man was so punished. It is, too, jealous of its wife's good fame. If its "wife" is insulted it comes down to the river, or wherever else the offenders may be, and there kills all those who have been concerned in the insult.

As in the last century, so in this, it is useless to cut the serpent into pieces, as the pieces will all reunite. The serpent, however, does not seem to mind the operation, and a cunning operator can get advantage out of it. If he watches where the blood flows from each of the pieces that are cut off, he will be able to make his fortune. Gold is hidden in the ground wherever the blood has flowed.

Sheikh Heridi is thus the successor of Agathodæmon, of the healing serpent-god who occupied so large a place in the religion of the ancient Egyptians. The belief in his miraculous and divine powers is as strong to-day as it was in the age of the Ramses or the Ptolemies ; the name is changed, that is all. The modern Egyptian who attends the *mûlîd* of the saint and implores his assistance in time of sickness cannot be distinguished from the Egyptian of the past, to whom the sacred serpent was an object of worship and the source of health.

Indeed, it is probable that Sheikh Heridi is not only the representative of the old Egyptian Agathodæmon in a general sense, but also of a special and local form of the serpent-divinity. Last winter Mr. Wilbour, the eminent American Egyptologist, purchased a bronze snake with the head of Zeus Serapis, which had shortly before been discovered in the mounds of Benâweh (or Benâwit), a little to the south of Tahta. We may infer from this discovery that a serpent was worshipped in the temple which once stood on the spot. What makes this the more probable is that the district in which Tahta is situated probably belonged to the ancient nome of Du-f, "the Mountain of the Snake."

The mounds of Benâweh are visible from the entrance of the quarry through which the pilgrim passes on his way from the shrine of Sheikh Heridi. And at this entrance I have found engraved on the rock in large Greek letters the words  $\epsilon\pi' \alpha\gamma\iota\theta\omega\varsigma$ . The words imply that in the Greek period, at all events, the place was sacred, and that a divinity was worshipped either in the quarry itself or in the hollow below. It is difficult to conceive what this divinity can have been except the sacred serpent which is still worshipped there under the name of Sheikh Heridi.

We may consequently see in Sheikh Heridi the survival of a local cult as well as of a general belief in the divine character and healing powers of the sacred serpent. This general belief is to be met with all over Egypt. Even the myths which the old Egyptians associated

with the snake are still prevalent. Egyptians of all classes still believe that when "a serpent grows old, wings grow out of its body," and that there are serpents which kill by darting flames in the victim's face. How old such beliefs are in this country need not be repeated to those who have seen the pictures in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The *seraf* or "flying-serpent" and the snake from whose mouth flames issue are among the commonest of the figures painted on their walls.

It is not, however, as Kakodæmon, but as Agathodæmon, that the divine serpent of ancient Egypt still maintains his chief hold on the belief of the Egyptian people. Each house still has its *harrâs* or "guardian" snake, commonly known as the *harrâs el-bît*, "the protector of the house." The snake is fed with milk and eggs, and care is taken not to do it harm. A servant of mine, who was born at Helwân near Cairo, has often told me about the guardian snake of his father's house. It was a large one, and used to come out at night for the sake of the food that was offered it and to glide over the bodies of the sleeping family. It never did any of them any mischief, "as it was always treated well." One day a stranger snake made its appearance at the door of the house; the *harrâs* at once went against it, and after a short struggle killed the intruder.

In a neighbouring house in the same village the guardian snake once missed its female mate, and supposed that it had been killed. Thereupon, without been seen, it crept into the *zir*—the large jar of porous clay which serves as a filter in Egypt—and poisoned the water in it. Soon afterwards the female made its appearance, and the snake was then seen to glide into a basin of milk, after which it crawled along the ground so that the dust clotted by the milk might adhere to its body, and then it again entered the *zir*. The clotted dust fouled the water in the jar, and the people of the house accordingly knew that it had been poisoned and was not fit to drink. So it was poured upon the ground, and the *zir* itself was broken in pieces.

Beliefs like these prove how wide, if not impassable, is the gulf that separates the mind of the modern Egyptian from our own. For it must be remembered that they are shared by all classes alike, by the educated as well as by the uneducated. My servant who told me the two stories about the guardian snake is fairly well educated, and a long intercourse with Europeans, as well as a residence in Paris, has made him sceptical about many things in which the majority of his countrymen have implicit faith. He has but a halting belief, for example, in the *afirîl*, which correspond roughly with the ghosts of Europe, but he has no doubt at all about the *giân*, one of whom he himself saw when he was a boy, or about the *muzâjirah*, a species of *afirîl* which looks like a woman in white and is exceedingly

harmful to man. Nor has he any doubt that milk or water drunk out of a cup made of the horn of a rhinoceros is a sure antidote to poison of all kinds, including that of snakes.

An engineer, who had been educated in Europe and was a well-read man of the world, once told me that, when he was at Damanhour, a white cat used to make its appearance whenever he sat down to eat. He invariably gave it food, which it ate and then disappeared. One night, as he was travelling in the dark and alone, he was attacked by robbers. Matters would have gone hard with him, had not the white cat suddenly appeared and fallen upon his assailants so fiercely that they allowed him to escape. Then he "knew what it was." Ever afterwards he was careful to offer it food when it appeared to him at his meals.

It may be said that superstitious fully equal to any of these still exist in our own country. But they do not exist among the educated and cultured classes, and therein lies the great difference between the Egyptians and ourselves. We cannot understand the frame of mind and point of view of our forefathers which made them consider it an act of piety and justice to torture and burn a witch, and our forefathers would have had the same inability in understanding the intellectual and moral point of view of ourselves. Between the European and the Egyptian mind the distance is even greater than between our own and that of our forefathers, since the ideas and beliefs which the Egyptian inherits differ essentially from those which the past has bequeathed to us. They belong to the grey dawn of Egyptian antiquity, and, as we have seen, are as potent to-day as they were in the days of the Pharaohs.

The Egyptian is quick, clever and adaptable, and he can consequently put on the externals of European culture with such success as to seem at first wholly Europeanised. For a time we fancy that he is become as one of ourselves. But one day with something of a shock we discover our mistake. Our theories in regard to him break down, and we are forced to realise how far astray we have gone in dealing with him on the supposition that his ideas and springs of action are those of a European or an Englishman. The inheritance of a civilisation of six thousand years has necessarily produced a type of character at once permanent and resistful of foreign influences; it may be moulded, but it cannot be changed. Of Egypt and the Egyptians it is even more true than of the Orient and Orientals in general; the longer we are acquainted with them, the more we come to learn how little we know them.

A. H. SAYCE.

## THE MESSAGE OF ISRAEL.

### THE NEWER CRITICISM AND THE ANCIENT IDEALS.

THE question—What is the Old Testament?—is one that an average reader finds it more difficult to ask than to get answered. The blinding influence of familiarity takes various forms before it disappears; when the notion of a magically dictated volume has been discarded, that of a complete history of the Hebrew race presents itself with effective plausibility, and constitutes, at the present hour, an even more important barrier to impartial investigation than its predecessor. The series of writings which starts with an account of the creation of the world, and ends with a prophecy written probably in the fifth century before our era,\* unquestionably follows out the destinies of Israel as its main object, and treats it on the whole with a certain attention to chronological sequence; traditional association sometimes supplying a link even in manifestly unhistoric books such as the Song of Solomon or Proverbs. The important division containing the Prophetic books is obviously in some chronological disorder, but it is a minor detail to suppose the succession altered into a consecutive annotation on the story told elsewhere; and if no arrangement quite avoids the overlapping of the different parts and occasional inconsistencies between them, the case does not appear to differ from that of most historic origins. Those readers who in former days would have accepted the idea of a volume dictated by infallible authority, now substitute that of one created by careful accuracy, and regarding the Old Testament as a collection of Hebrew narratives, see as little scope for investigation now as then. And when such a

\* The word Malachi, which means "my messenger," seems erroneously given as a proper name, so that the prophecy is probably anonymous.

reader hears of the results of "the newer criticism," and is told that all the earlier part of this history is pronounced the invention of priests living eight or nine hundred years after the most important events which they are supposed to narrate, he is apt to feel that we have to make our choice between the value of the criticism and that of the volume criticised. It is not difficult to discard the notion that Moses himself wrote the Pentateuch, the difficulty there is rather to account for a belief which appears to have arisen without evidence; but to find the authorship of the volume suddenly shifted by the best part of a millennium—to accept the supposed work of Moses as that of some Jew who had much less facility for learning anything about the time he described than an Englishman would now have for describing the age, separated from him by about the same interval, of Edward the Confessor—this is a kind of change which may at first sight dispose a reader to believe that either the historic part of the volume we have most prized, or else the critical method which leads to such a judgment of it, must be absolutely worthless.

It might appear in view of such a state of mind, that a Hebrew prophet\* gave out the declaration, "If thou wilt take forth the precious from the vile, then thou shalt be as my mouth, saith the Lord." Those who have been brought up in a spirit of reverence for all that the Bible involves and suggests, who still hear its words in accents sharper on the ear than those of yesterday, from lips that have long been cold, are slow to admit the need of this sifting process within the sacred volume; the precious seems taken forth from the vile in virtue of its inclusion there. Yet in truth an earnest student of almost any early literature will find it impossible to avoid the belief that nothing else needs criticism quite so much as that work which is the result of inspiration. Utterance which is the expression of a man's whole nature, which results from a rational application of all his intellectual powers, and forms a homogeneous creation, does need a critical judgment certainly, for all human work needs it: but we are, at any rate, in contact with a thought that is continuous; we have to distinguish better from worse, not gold from dross. But where the utterance breaks through the stratum of individuality, where the sense of truth is allied with moods that come and go, and the speaker declares what he discerns now and not then, passing on a message that comes through him rather than from him (and some other name must be found for this state of mind if that of inspiration be discarded)—in this case criticism must "take forth the precious from the vile" before the compound whole can be even accepted as a unity. The seer does not necessarily distinguish the imperiousness of a divine message from those "devices and desires of our own heart"

\* Jeremiah xv. 19

which are the only things equally imperious; he may be less able to sift away from the message that which belongs to the mere fancy. than one who brings only literary honesty and critical sagacity to the task. Men who give their lives to studying the records of the past, on the other hand, do not necessarily enter into the divine lessons which it contains. but they know that anything built up on erroneous assumptions as to matter of fact cannot be part of a message from the Omniscient. And even one who contemplates the idea of revelation with contempt, as long as he compares its contents with what he knows to be true, and points out unquestionable discrepancies between them, may, by separating "the precious from the vile," become, for that interval, a true exponent of the word of the Lord.

The keen pathos, the vivid dramatic interest, the profound spiritual teaching of the Old Testament, are all hidden from one who tries to read the whole of it with the same kind of attention. For many persons the Bible is a volume which such an endeavour has sealed with seven seals. They recall dreary hours of childhood when the attempt to carry on into Leviticus the reverence with which the story of Joseph had at first been heard, ended by associating that also with tedium and disgust. Who that has ever experienced this vehement revulsion has not known also a certain relief when its echo was heard from the outside in the shape of even irreverent criticism bringing deliverance from the oppression of a divine claim for what could not be rated high even as a human work? The critic, in unveiling to us the Bible within the Bible, makes it possible really to read what is there. While we look upon all as equally historic we are almost as much cut off from its teaching as in that earlier stage when we looked at all as equally inspired: we must discard any uniform framework of attention before we can take in what is under our eyes. We must be ready to recognise on one page the ritual precept which masquerades as ancient history if we would discern on another the divine message for all time; nay, we must be ready to find these elements side by side, like the fertilised land of the Nile overflow and the desert, which a knife may sever. If we begin by regarding it as all equally fertile soil, we shall end by regarding it as all equally desert.

Let us make our start in the endeavour to distinguish these elements by availing ourselves of that chronological inversion which is suggested by recent criticism to all students of the Bible. It must, as it is printed, be to a certain extent read backwards if we would follow it as it was written. The first chapters of Genesis land us in a set of ideas which became familiar to the Hebrew mind only when the national career was ended, they are the fading legends of the Semitic race, gathered up in the exile at

Babylon, and issued in the form in which we possess them only on the Jewish return to the sacred soil. They contain, indeed, many fragments of the oldest literature of Israel,\* songs, proverbial sayings, half-forgotten legends, the perplexing incompleteness of which testifies to their original form; but the whole Book of Genesis as we have it now belongs to that twilight life of Israel which succeeded the return from Babylon, and which has no obvious coherence with the life of the Monarchy. A visitor to the first Temple knew nothing of a Bible, nothing of any germ of a Bible. Those who pressed for the first time into the courts which under the workmanship of Tyrian builders and the direction of Solomon had given Jerusalem a different aspect knew some parts of Genesis as we know the ballad of Chevy Chase; the story of Exodus was to them what fragments of British history before the Conquest are to us, "familiar to the most ignorant and obscure to the most learned"; † but of that photographic definiteness which would enable a well-taught Sunday-school pupil to rattle off the stations of Israel in the desert they had no conception. They had not a single prophecy; it is much doubted by those best able to judge, whether they had a single psalm. We must press downwards through the divided Monarchy and watch the fall of the northern kingdom before we can positively assert that the most learned and pious Hebrew held in his hands any portion of what a modern Jew calls his Scriptures. When we come within thirty-five years of the fall of the nation, when we reach the fathers of the generation who were to endure the siege of Jerusalem and the deportation of Babylon, then indeed we hear of the first publication of a Bible,‡ in our sense of the word - a sacred volume, invested with a character of exceptional authority and accepted as the canon of faith and practice. But this volume is but a small fragment of our Bible, containing only the final discourse of the leader of the Exodus; it is a part of the book known to us under the more than misleading name of Deuteronomy. The title of the second Law implies the very opposite of the truth. Deuteronomy is the first promulgation of the Hebrew sacred code, and if its fifth chapter took the place of the first chapter of Genesis, we should read the Hebrew literature in the true order of its publication.

The first beginning of the Hebrew Bible can thus be dated to a year, and its next stage is almost equally definite. During the enforced quiescence of the Babylonian Exile and the literary activity which was its compensation, this "book of the Law" was expanded,

\* As, for instance, Genesis iii. 24-25 which has been called the oldest fragment in the Bible), vi. 1-4, and x. 9.

† The expression is Gibbon's, with reference to the first thousand years of British history.

‡ *Discovery of the Book of the Law*, i. c. Deuteronomy, 621 B.C.; Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C.

by the incorporation of all fragments of legendary history, all shreds of lyric or proverbial tradition, into the Pentateuch as we now know it and as it was produced and probably edited by the priest Ezra in the year 444 B.C.\* In after ages, when the Pentateuch formed a small portion of the Jewish Bible, it was likened by its devout students † to that inner enclosure of the Temple (containing only the "Mercy Seat" and the Tables of the Law enclosed in the Ark) which was known as the Holy of Holies, and only entered by the priests; and the comparison is the more instructive because the divisions relegated to a lower level contain all that is dearest to Christian ears. The fivefold volume kept its place of pre-eminent sanctity after the addition, at uncertain dates, first of the whole body of prophecy, and then of a heterogeneous collection, a sort of residuary legatee to the portions already published, known simply as "the other writings," ‡ This threefold division of the Torah, the Nebiim, and the Kethubim, thus constitute a volume of traditional but unequal sanctity, the first two divisions graduated in their claim on Hebrew reverence in inverse proportion to their actual age, the last less traditionally sacred, and more avowedly recent than either. Solomon, the great king who, though he emerges into the dawning light of history a millennium before our era, is yet the latest great figure of Hebrew (as distinguished from Jewish) tradition, and who indeed may claim an even wider fame, being distinguished also in Mohammedan legend, is the supposed author of two books in this division, § and conceivably the hero of a third; but in his case this legendary fame is comparatively transparent to history, and we discern more readily here than elsewhere the way in which late utterances gather round an early hero, representing their spirit to

\* Ezra came from Babylon fourteen years earlier, in 458 B.C., but waited, apparently, for the arrival of Nehemiah as governor, in order to produce the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. These fourteen years were probably occupied in the preparation among the little colony re-settled in Jerusalem, for the publication of this complete body of the Law. See Wellhausen's "History of Israel," 1887, pp. 403 and 496.

† See the "Kanon and Text des Alten Testament" of Dr. Franz Ball (a professor of theology at Leipzig, 1891. The Book of the Prophets with its appendix—*i.e.*, those of Samuel and Kings—was in like manner compared to the outer and larger enclosure within the Temple, known as the Holy Place, which contained the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, and the shew bread. The Kethubim, or, in Greek, Hagiographa (*i.e.*, all the rest of the Old Testament), was regarded in this same scheme of comparison as typified by the Court of the Gentiles, and if we regarded it in the spirit of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we might find a deep significance in the fact that it includes the Psalms.

‡ In Greek it became "the sacred writings" (Hagiographa), but it must always be remembered that the epithet here denotes a quality in its lowest degree. The reader may regard this portion as a sort of link to the Old Testament Apocrypha.

§ Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, the first a collection beginning with Hezekiah, but mainly a post-Exilic work; the second, by general consent, one of the nearest precursors of Christianity in point of time, perhaps as late as the second century B.C.

¶ "The Song of Solomon." But the title is almost the only thing which connects Solomon with this little love poem, in which, though M. Renan has turned it into a French opera where the king takes a principal part, he seems really to figure by the mere misunderstanding of some reference to "Solomon in all his glory."



their intellectual successors. In one of the writings attributed to him,\* this is so manifestly the case that his literal authorship is not defended even in the conservative camp; this is not, it is true, in our Protestant Bible, but when we set the whole "Wisdom" literature of the Old Testament and Apocrypha together, we perceive that we must apply one measure of authorship to all. Indeed, the only one of these writings which is not ascribed to Solomon,† so manifestly belongs to the same group, that we feel the name of its actual writer affect us almost as if, in a play of Shakespeare, we came upon the name of Kean or Kemble instead of the name of Hamlet. To make Solomon our starting-point is to take up the question of authorship at its most convenient point, and to confront a difficult problem at first in its simplest form.

The portion of the Old Testament which we thus confront is attributed to Solomon by the same authority of tradition as that by which the whole Pentateuch is attributed to Moses, and quite recently this connection was as little subject to question in the one case as in the other. But its literal truth never greatly interested the ordinary reader of the Bible. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes belong to those out-works which would first be surrendered to the attacks of the critics, which perhaps the dwellers in the citadel might feel themselves stronger for losing. Wisdom is not a characteristic Hebrew word. When it replaces Holiness we feel that we have crossed—not a barrier, but a division. The truest wisdom, in the Hebrew as in every other ideal, is one with the truest holiness; but in the Hebrew more than in any other ideal of wisdom its lower aspects are refracted through an atmosphere of worldly cleverness which of all things not positively evil is furthest from the spirit of holiness. Doubtless this is the most familiar aspect of wisdom in the writings associated with the name of Solomon; yet there are passages in which it gives way to that aspect in which wisdom becomes holiness in which we feel that what hovered before the spirit of the writer was the *idealised aim of the Law*. At moments this Jewish conception, sinking so often into the idea of mere human shrewdness, approaches so closely to the source of

\* "The Wisdom of Solomon," the composition of an Alexandrian Jew of doubtful date. It contains some beautiful passages, one of which strikingly recalls St. Paul's description of charity. Opinions differ as to its date by about two centuries, the latest English editor of the Apocrypha bringing it down below our era, and supposing the writer to have learnt from Plato. The earlier date—about 150 to 200 B.C.—appears to me much more probable. Both the Epistle of James and that to the Hebrews appear to borrow from this work, which is characterised by a curious mixture of heretic Jewish fanaticism, and a pure catholic spirit breaking through it without in any way affecting its general character. It is, perhaps, most interesting to the Christian reader as containing the first unquesterful expression of a belief in immortality.

† "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," known to English readers as Ecclesiasticus, the Hebrew work of an erudite Jew, rendered in Greek by his grandson; and interesting as giving information respecting a period of Judaism of which we know little. But owing to the strange chance that there were two Ptolemies and two high priests of the same name, and that these two pairs were contemporaneous, we do not say whether the work belongs to the second or third century B.C.

divine law that the impersonation of Wisdom melts into that of the Logos as it was conceived by St. John.\* Both views are Jewish—we must “take forth the precious from the vile” before we can reach that which is a part of the message of Israel, but we may allow that all is a part of the wisdom of the Jew. It is not altogether easy to say why Solomon should be a type of either. He represents the external aspects of Judaism—the side of the national character so familiar in later ages, so rare while Palestine was a kingdom, in which it enters into relations with the world, not in its ideal character of the Messiah of the nations, but in a spirit of cosmopolitan and catholic good sense; and this, joined with the story of his prayer for wisdom and the possible fact that a few of the Proverbs may have originated with him, seems to have been enough to blend the tradition of his splendour with that of philosophic thought, and make him the typical author of all that has been well called the Humanism† of Jewish literature. It is impossible to suppose this view literally accurate, the Proverbs are manifestly not the composition of a great king; but it is explicable without any ascription of forgery. When we turn to some of the writings attributed to Solomon we perceive that the writers who made this attribution did not even attempt to pass them off as such. There is a passage in Ecclesiastes‡ where the writer actually divorces the Solomon of Jewish tradition, we might almost say carefully, from the Solomon of Hebrew history. “I have gotten me great wisdom,” he makes Solomon say, “above all that were before me in Jerusalem.” Of course no Jew could forget that only David had been before Solomon in Jerusalem. The author here merely chooses the philosophic monarch as the mouthpiece of his proverbial philosophy, with a general sense that the cosmopolitan spirit of observation and precaution which he is gathering up and expanding from his own stores found a natural symbol in the great king whose fame is reflected back from foreign nations. He uses the impersonation with the audacity shown by Shakespeare in putting a quotation from Aristotle in the mouth of Hector.§ Yet the assump-

\* As Prov. iii. 11, 12, 19; Prov. viii.

† See Professor Cheyne's interesting treatise on the Humanism of the Old Testament, a word which happily describes the spirit of this sapiential literature, as it is called; the writings ascribed to Solomon being all human rather than Jewish in their tendencies. In the Book of Proverbs, he reminds us, the word Israel does not occur, while the word man (= Adam) occurs thirty-three times. This single fact well expresses to the reader the traditional character of Solomon's authorship, if we turn on the other hand to a comparison with the Psalms.

‡ Eccles. i. 16. Yet none of the writings attributed to Solomon make quite so definite a claim for him as author. “I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem,” i. 12.

§ “Paris and Troilus, you have both said well,  
And on the cause and question now in hand  
Have gloz'd, but superficially, not much  
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought  
Unfit to hear moral philosophy.”

*Troilus and Cressida*, act ii. scene 2. ¶

tion of Solomon's authorship of the Wisdom literature, both here and in the cognate writings of the Old Testament, is far more definite than that of Moses for its early history. If we suppose that a Jew could use the one name so seriously and yet with such merely dramatic sincerity, we cannot refuse to concede that the hypothesis might be extended to the other without, at all events, anything offensive to the Jewish conception of either history or religion.

To associate the lessons of mournful experience learned in the Exile with the name of a great king who reigned at Jerusalem four centuries earlier—the Haroun al Raschid of Hebrew tradition—may have its difficulties, but it offends no sentiment of reverential association and jars on no tradition of holiness. When in our reverted progress we ascend from the son to the father, and are told that here too we must take the name of an individual as merely a type of one side of the national ideal, the case is different. How often has the perusal of a Psalm been interrupted by a pause of wonder that the heart's deepest emotions can be echoed across the interval of millenniums! Such a discovery gives a sense of intimate relation which we are ready to fill in with an individual life at the slightest hint from external information, and when we learn that "a man after God's own heart" wrote the words which express for us what we could not express for ourselves, we mistake the sense of a personal touch in the world of spirit for positive evidence. Or rather, we allow this sense to annul the strongest negative evidence. Generation after generation has read, as David's, Psalms which allude to the Temple\* not built till after his death, or to the Exile † carried out under his remote descendants; these difficulties being answered by some unconscious argument that the Hebrew scribe had these facts before him when he labelled the Psalm, and must have found some legitimate way of getting over them. Nevertheless, the moment attention is claimed for every word of a Psalm this ascription becomes impossible. Those which are not actually labelled as later in date than David by some mention of the Temple are seen, when once we read them with an impartial eye, to be utterly insuitable to any circumstance in his life; and if we can say that here and there we meet one which by its absence of positive indication allows us to fit it into his history, that is as much as we can say. The Psalms, we come to see, whenever we give them real study, are the expressions of a Jew in altogether different circumstances from any that were possible to David: or rather, they are the expressions not so much of this or that Jew as of the ideal Israel. ‡ Of course every Psalm must

\* *E.g.*, Ps. iii. "The holy hill" in the time of David would be Sinai.

† *E.g.*, Ps. xiv.

‡ Take, for instance, the following: "I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people that have set themselves against me," in the Psalm the attribution of which to

be written by an individual, none can be, like the Proverbs, the expression of the collective decisions of a people; but this individual utterance, we learn, is only that of a speaker who owes his inspiration to the fact of his being a mouthpiece of his race. He has no independent distinctness, his personality is merged in his representative character. The "I" of the Psalms is like the "I" of a Greek chorus, the unity of a mere choir leader. The true speaker is a multitude.

These decisions must be accepted, in the main, not only by students of Hebrew, and trained judges of historic evidence, but by any one who will open his eyes. Nevertheless, when devout readers of the Psalms are told that words which have expressed for them what they never could have expressed for themselves, are in fact not individual utterance but the typical expression of a race, they are conscious of a deadly chill. The feeling is almost that of the Magdalen beside the tomb of the risen Christ. The critics seem to have taken away their most intimate companion and interpreter, and they know not where he has been laid.

In truth, the mistake is as great in one case as the other. It is by no delusion that the utterances of the ideal Israel have for ages satisfied the yearnings of those to whom everything else that could be called a national utterance would, for a similar purpose, prove cold and unsatisfying. When we are told that the Psalmist speaks as the mouthpiece of his nation, we are not learning that the words precious to hundreds of generations are less, but that the historic reality underlying them is more. Those who can revive in their imagination the longing of Israel for Zion, the deep-seated thirst of every individual in that "remnant" revealed to successive prophets as the true nation, for the unity of national life, discover in this fictitious bereavement an actual gain; those to whom such realisation is impossible come nearer the fundamental truth in conceiving such utterances to be the cry of the individual spirit for God than in taking the view which is sanctioned by criticism. If in some poor cottage or stately mansion a solitary Englishman or Englishwoman can appropriate the lament of a people as an utterance of his or her secret heart, it is because the struggles of a soul battling with the powers of the unseen, arrayed as it were in besieging ranks against it, can express itself in the dialect of patriotic fervour, of national agony, more truly than in any merely individual utterance from other lips. Where it is the perennial part of humanity which speaks, an expansive influence within demands large images and long vistas, the

David flying before Absalom would empty that history of all its pathos: "And let the congregation of the nations compass thee round about," vii. 7; "The nations are sunk down in the pit that they have made," ix. 15; expressions that are meaningless unless we suppose the object of the attack to be a nation. I cite, of course, from the Revised Version.

issues are all momentous. No solitary pilgrim, but the city of Mansoul, in the later work of Bunyan, forms the protagonist of the great drama of salvation. His genius had already found its blossom, he had expressed the longings, the woes, the rapture of a spirit alone with God under the guise of a pilgrimage, and that of a siege has not, in equal measure, riveted the attention of posterity. He had himself known warfare, but it is a significant fact that no historian can add to the record of his participation in the great Civil War that of the side on which he fought.\* The difference which an attentive study of his autobiography leaves doubtful, cannot have appeared to himself important. Probably, indeed, it is not by one to whom images of actual war are familiar that the record of a struggle between imperfect human beings will be found suitable to typify the conflict of good and evil. But still the siege of the city of Mansoul remains, beside the "Pilgrim's Progress," a witness that the life of a State in some respects symbolises the inmost life of man, as no single specimen of individuality can typify it; and if it has not in like manner laid hold of the imagination of modern England and taken its place in literature, this may be in great measure because in our Old Testament we have this parable already writ large, and every other form of it is unsatisfactory in comparison.

Jerusalem is, in fact, the city of Mansoul for all generations. The expressions of emotion which find their appropriate centre in "the Holy City" embody, so far as the human race has yet gone, the loftiest aspirations and deepest yearnings of a human spirit. It is the fact that they are a national, which makes them a catholic utterance. We could not, in the same degree, accept for our own the expression of brother or spouse. The unity of the nation forms a meeting-point for human spirits unattainable in a mere interchange of individual experience. What we crave in a typical representation of our deepest emotions is never a mere echo; the truest sympathy has always an element of the ideal—an expansion of scope that, if it be taken literally, might often be represented as illusion. It is the cry of oppressed Israel, groaning under Pagan scorn and persecution and thirsting for vengeance, which becomes the true expression of meek spirits most alien to all that is fierce and vindictive, and craving only for peace with God and man. They can pass over indications of a corporate utterance† in the Psalms as they pass over those fierce imprecations which in fact only that corporate utterance made

\* Macaulay takes it for granted he fought on the Parliamentary side; Fronde seems to me to establish the much greater probability of his having been engaged on that of the King. But the mere fact of having to set the two historians against each other shows that the problem is insoluble.

† This description applies to the greater number of the Psalms of the fifth book—*i.e.*, from cvii. to the end. They all seem to point to the Maccabean struggle, and their true hero is Judas Maccabeus; they are thus much the latest writings of the Bible. The way David is mentioned in them is interesting, as showing how his name had become a symbol for all that was heroic in his nation.

endurable; and as long as this decision stops short of any historic judgment we need not question its validity. Whoever wrote what *makes us known to ourselves* was inspired by Him who made us, and where there is inspiration, there, in the imperfect condition of this mortal life, there is also intermission. The critic, as such, may be less likely to receive that which is eternal in the message than other men are, but as long as he truly interprets those portions of which he is the sole judge, he becomes a guide to the meaning of much which lies wholly beyond his ken.

The decision of criticism in our day, relegating the bulk of the Psalter to a period when the national life had become a mournful recollection and an almost despairing hope, and finding in that blended aspiration and regret an explanation of the passages which seem to utter the cravings of an individual spirit, shows us how such expressions have been connected with the hero in whom the national consciousness found its ideal type. David symbolised the unity of Israel to a fragmentary race yearning for its restored national life in its beloved home. He was the first whom the national imagination recognised as an actual king of Israel, and he was almost the last. His predecessor shows as the mere head of an army occupied in a war which, as we read it with the issue in our minds, we half fancy a rebellion against its lawful monarch. His son is an emperor familiar abroad, oppressive at home, advancing by sure though hidden steps towards apostasy to the national faith; and although this is only one side of the tradition concerning him, and another makes him the *wisest* king, still under no point of view could he symbolise the unity of the nation. And after him all monarchs ruled over a mere fragment of the soil of Palestine, and commemorated in the very limits of their kingdoms the dissension which heralded national decay and prepared foreign invasion. There is thus only David to represent the incarnate Israel, and enough in his history harmonised with the ideal of his people to fit him personally to fill the place. The way in which his aspect has been regarded "as through a cloud of incense,"\* while it cannot give the countenance of a saint, conceals, to a certain extent, the lineaments of a hero; his greatest crime, detestable as it is, is one not irreconcilable, in an Oriental despot, with magnanimous impulse and high aspiration; other instances of meanness and cruelty † suggest a possible explanation which might remove their greatest guilt. At any rate we see that he was, to a Hebrew living 3000 years ago, an ideal king, that his image remained as a type of national hope when it grew dim as a record of national memory, and that the "Son of David" became the appropriate title of him who was in some sense

\* Wellhausen, "History of Israel," p. 182.

† His supposed directions to his son to destroy Shimei may surely be supposed the invention of Solomon.

to gather up and carry on the mission of the typical David. We can thus accept him as the chosen symbol of the national monarchy, and see, in his traditional association with the Psalter, a testimony to the deep inwardness of the Hebrew race—to that close connection between its sense of a national bond, and its passionate yearning for God, which gave it its message for humanity.

When we turn to the third of the great figures looming through the mists of history which tradition has chosen as a focus to the influences of early literature, and later apprehension has confused with authorship, we have a simpler task. The glory of all heroes and patriots grows pale before that of Moses; others deliver, he creates a nation. With him, "this people" is, for the first time, recognised as a unity, the chaos of warring tribes is subdued into a cosmos, and the unity of a family expanded into the unity of a possible nation. But what has been said of the bleaching influence of Hebrew tradition is especially true of the great deliverer; Moses being distinguished almost as much from other Hebrew heroes by the extent of this bleaching process as they are from Greek heroes. When we have passed from that discovery of the infant in the bulrushes which presents itself in inseparable association with many an old-fashioned woodcut or recent photograph, and which is told of other legendary heroes,\* we meet nothing else that is picturesque in the whole biography; we meet indeed, as in the case of Abraham, a good deal that is unheroic. It seems as if, in the neighbourhood of the terrible Pharaoh, Abraham and Moses were alike cowardly. Where a Paladin of romance would shine in brilliant chivalry, we seem to detect a timid Jew, made wary by persecution and venturing to defend his oppressed brethren only as some mediæval descendant might undertake the dangerous task. The personal influence in his history is poor as compared with that in the history of the patriarchs; the adoptive mother, whose appearance seems the opening of a drama, speedily vanishes, hardly indeed keeping her place as a typical centre of Egyptian influence; and the rest of the story is impersonal. If his espousals remind us for the moment of the wooing of Isaac and Jacob, what we may call the romantic element disappears like a bubble, and we hurry on to that narrative of the origin and growth of the Law which throws everything personal into the shade. The wives and children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob stand out to us as personages in modern fiction; the wife and children of Moses fade into mere objects of historic research. We seem transported from the flowery slopes and green valleys of the Promised Land to the granite peaks of Sinai or vast sweeps of Arabian desert, not only in geographic record but also in typical significance; all the scenery of the narrative, moral as well as

\* It is given in identical terms of Sargon, the great Assyrian monarch.

physical, is austere and monotonous. We never meet any such expression as "O that Ishmael might live before thee"; such utterances of tenderness as we do find are wholly for Israel. The wife, the children of the hero, fade into the background, it is "this people" which forms the exclusive object of every yearning in his heart—which seems, if we take literally the bold language of his intercessory prayer for Israel, to surmount in intensity even his love of God.

It is a strange and yet most instructive commentary on this part of the history to remember that the part of the Bible chosen by the Jewish synagogue to commemorate the deliverance from Egypt, is the Song of Solomon.\* The language of ecstatic earthly passion seemed, to the genius of Israel, the only fitting expression for the emotions with which the Chosen People looked back on their deliverance from foreign tyranny; the giving of the Law was, to the national consciousness, the marriage-day of Israel. A most inappropriate metaphor it appears to modern intelligence, familiar with that event as it is given in the narrative of Leviticus with its wearisome and often repulsive detail, its priestly exclusiveness, its narrow and timid superstition. But turn to the earlier narrative, read it in the book which we know under a name that inverts the truth. Read Deuteronomy† for what it is, the earliest edition of the Law, and that conception of an espousal will no longer appear one unsuitable to typify its deeper meaning. The Law appears as a husk to a seed; what seems most external, and what is external, is revealed as an envelope of protection for the claim on Israel from an unseen ruler who demands a closer union than that between any earthly ruler and his people. That which should have been the mere husk and envelope of the precious seed was cherished in its place, the prescriptions which were intended to secure the national unity, and were necessary for that end, were expanded and enlarged to achieve their exclusive separateness; and the Law, given as a mere guardian and reminder of a fidelity to the Unseen blossoming into beneficent care for the visible neighbour, was turned into a prickly hedge, shutting off the neighbour from sympathy. We have the result in that part of the Bible which the latest criticism has labelled the Priestly Code, the kernel of which is the book of Leviticus. But the sifting touch of the critic permits us to turn, for the true ideal of the Law, to the book which was quoted by Christ at the most solemn moment of His history,†

\* "The deliverance from Egypt has been poetically conceived as the betrothal of Israel to God, and in the Piyut for Passover ample use has been made of this idea: it has further found expression in the habit of reading the Song of Solomon on the first Sabbath after the two days of Passover. . . . As Passover has been poetically called the day of Israel's betrothal to God, the Feast of Weeks would correspond to the wedding-day." (From M. Friedlander's "Jewish Religion" (1891), pp. 300, 393, 394. It is the work of an orthodox Jew.)

† In all the citations with which the Tempter is answered, Matt. iv. 1-11, and parallel passages.



the book in which there is nothing priestly, but which on the contrary embodies the spirit of that prophetic teaching which is itself a reaction from priestly claim. Even in that sifted section now critically accepted as the first edition of the Code we discover much that speaks not of a union with the divine, but a separation from the human; we are reminded by the Deuteronomist here and there of the hatred of the non-Jewish human race which the historian\* 700 years later attributes to the Jews; we feel from the first that the unity of Israel, as the unity of all ancient nations, but more than all others, was a hostile and aggressive unity, their peculiar closeness of relation within bought by a peculiar fierceness of antagonism without,—their special bond to their heavenly guide bought by a special recoil from all but their earthly kindred. But even against this there are in Deuteronomy no uncertain protests, the injunction to the love of the stranger† comes against this spirit as a waft from a higher sphere, forcing us to recognise with fresh distinctness the first canon for apprehension not only of our Bible, but of every Bible—that where there is inspiration there is also intermittence. And when we can seize the idea of a spiritual sifting within the critical siftings we are ready for the tribute given by Him to whose citations it owes its most hallowed associations for Christian ears, when He elicited from a student of the Law,‡ as a summary of the whole meaning of the Law, the command to love recorded in the book of Deuteronomy, as it is nowhere else so broadly and simply expressed in the Old Testament.

A human deliverer stands at the threshold of the history of Israel, because its God was a deliverer from the first. He is revealed to His people as the Saviour. We discern a new meaning in the colourlessness of all the individual history of Moses when we regard him as the mere type§ and expression of a divine influence to which he is perfectly transparent, tingeing it by no characteristics of his own. He is the mediator between the Divine Saviour and the delivered Israel, the Law is the record and pledge of the bond thus created, and in this sense he is the giver of the Law. How little any rigid sense of authorship beyond this was included in the Jewish ascription to Moses is brought home to every one who reads the New Testament attentively, by the erroneous assertion attributed to our Lord||: “Moses gave you circumcision.” Whether the correction which follows, “Not that it is of Moses, but the fathers,” be from the speaker or, as is far more probable, from the writer, in any case we have the name of Moses used, at a critical moment and in a serious argument, by a Jew addressing Jews, as a mere type of the Jewish law, the literal accuracy of the ascription being an impossible belief even to a Jewish child. Surely the text should be enough, if it were the only argument

\* Tacitus: Hist. V. 5.

† Deuteronomy x. 19.

‡ Luke x. 25.

§ Ewald (“History of Israel”) lays much stress on this.

|| John vii. 22.

a critic could produce, to vindicate the assumption which would give space to all criticism—that the Law which was the salvation of Israel found its centre in the great Prophet, as the spirit of response to the Law in the Psalms found its centre in the great Monarch—a real person embodying a real influence, but not necessarily the exclusive channel through which it passed, or the author of every word, or even any word, which we find in the book commemorating it.

We must take as a key-note to all investigations of the Old Testament the conviction that the unity of Israel was a closer thing than the unity of any modern nation is. The literature which sets forth the life of English tradition stands in some sense very near the actual life of Englishmen; but we must enormously exaggerate that sense before we can transfer it in imagination to the history contained in the Bible. When our late Laureate takes up the Arthurian cycle and makes its great names household words, he is a conscious dramatist, gathering up the faded hints of ancient legend, and weaving them into a gorgeous tapestry, where the pattern to a certain degree and the details almost entirely are his own invention. If any reader were to fancy that he were following a work of literal accuracy in perusing the "Idylls of the King," he would be grotesquely mistaken so far as he supposed Britain in the sixth century to contain the civilisation there represented. Yet even he would be following a set of conceptions that have played a real part in English history, and as far as he comes in contact with the ideal of a heroic England, would entertain an illusion forming no bad introduction to a study of its actual history. For the life of a nation is a unity, and even the fancies that have influenced many generations form in truth a part of its development, and must not be regarded as mere error, even when they are put in a totally wrong place. But the unity of national life is a fact of different intensity and significance at different periods of the world's history and different spots of earth. The tradition of Arthur and his Round Table do not belong to an Englishman as the traditions of Moses and the Exodus belonged to a Jew. Our traditions are mere literature; theirs are a part of actual life.

The Republic of Plato, says the great pupil of Plato,\* is founded on a mistaken endeavour to give to a State that kind of oneness which in its very nature is possible only to an individual. It is a weighty truth, full of instruction, even for the present hour. Yet the student of history is continually impressed with the differing degrees in which different States and races do approach this definite unity. The fact that the Hebrew comes very near it makes Israel the Messianic nation. The passages generally interpreted as referring to

\* Aristotle says this over and over again in the first and second books of the "Politics."

• Messiah are not for the most part conscious prophecies referring to any individual so much as accurate descriptions of the position of the nation in the midst of other nations. Israel is the oppressed servant of the Lord, the prophet of the nations, the victim and saviour alike of the world. But because this is true of Israel, it is true of the typical Israelite. The great personages of Hebrew history owe all their significance to the degree in which they symbolise the aims of their nation, and when a Hebrew pronounced their names he thought less of their actual history than of their prophetic shadow on the coming age.

Hence the great difference between the historic development of Israel and that of the other two great races to which Europe owes its education. The classical nations of antiquity exhibit a horror of individual pre-eminence which their destiny and their genius appear to justify. This instinct—at Athens a precaution against the temptations of moral wealth, at Rome an apparent concession to the needs of moral poverty—was in both a deep-seated national impulse, and finds its reflection in the facts of history. Athens and Rome proceed from monarchy to democracy, and, after they have cast out their despots, hold the name of king, and the influences which may lead to its becoming a reality, in a peculiar and often unjust abhorrence. But we find here, as often, that a tendency which takes one direction when it is strong takes another when it is strongest—that a complete development even inverts the aims directing its first start and increasing with its earliest growth. Israel with a much closer unity than either Athens or Rome protects it by opposite methods, proceeding from democracy to monarchy, and finding in an ideal but historic king the dearest memory in her retrospect and the most passionate hope in anticipation. The spirit justifies the letter of history. Athens and Sparta\* find their dread of personal pre-eminence ratified by the rapid intoxication of their noblest patriots when once the dizzy height of political power and fame has been secured; and if Rome does not find this, the poverty of genius and monotony of character which preclude this elevation seem in connection with the mighty result effected by the “great nation of commonplace men.”† to bring the same testimony from an opposite quarter. Israel is allied rather to Rome than to Greece in this respect. The rich variety which makes the Greek tongue a casket of varied wealth has no counterpart in Hebrew. We pass from Prophet to Prophet, under every difference of circumstance which a common soil and a common language left possible, and are not sensible of any change of key, one deep monotone is heard through all their music. The Eternal in the heavens—the claim on the fugitive dwellers on earth to keep fidelity to that alliance which binds them to Him in

\* *E.g.* Themistocles, Miltiades, Pausanias.

† The expression is Mömmsen's.

whom they may find a refuge from the chances and changes of mortality—this is the burden of every Seer of Israel, no individual genius breaks or even strongly colours the message passed on as the torch in the race; the hand only different, the light and the scene identical. When we turn back from the nation to the family, we do indeed come upon individual characters of extraordinary vividness, and what we may call dramatic power: no character in Shakespeare is more of a consistent whole than Jacob. But we never find any variety. A common type of character runs through the whole. By the side of Athens, Rome and Jerusalem might be called equally monotonous; alike in the race which is to mould the kingdoms of earth, and that which is to reveal the kingdom of heaven, we are kept mindful of a common mission, a common set of temptations. The Law is the dominant ideal of both Israel and Rome, and the uniformity which that ideal must always impress on the history of a nation characterises both races. The oneness of a common centre, the uniformity of a rigidly marked circumference—both seem monotonous when we contrast them with the play of artistic genius, and the elasticity of universal and readily reversible sympathies. Yet while the heroic figures of Palestine do not differ each from each in the same way that the heroic figures of Greece do, the impressiveness of a typical significance replaces, and more than replaces, the impressiveness of individual genius. Every prominent figure in Hebrew history represents and typifies Israel's endowments and vocations, and so expresses the national tendencies in some special direction, that biography gathers up in parable the memories or hopes of the race and a name becomes the most natural expression of a national ideal. The race stands to its typical specimens in a closeness of relation true of no other. No gifted Greek mirrors the ideal Hellas. No gifted Hebrew fails, in some sense, to mirror the ideal Israel.

Moses is the centre of the Law, embodying in a single personality the moral evolutions of many generations, and gathering up the lessons of ages in the prophetic energy of a heroic life. But we have only to read the New Testament to see that what a Jew meant\* by the Law was not a set of rules that any individual could promulgate, but a continuous growth of precept and prohibition, partly committed to writing, partly preserved in oral teaching, and never concluded. Here, as in other vegetation, the wheat and the tares grew together. The written word was, for good and for evil, associated with a tradition of equal sanctity and importance. For evil, as we may discern in any intelligent perusal of the Gospels which exhibit this growth of tradition as a main obstacle to the

\* *E.g.*, Matt. xv. 1-6. Note also especially the quotation of our Lord from Leviticus, Matt. v. 43, where the addition, "thou shalt hate thine enemy" (doubtless the legacy of Maccabean fanaticism), is nowhere in the Old Testament.

teaching of our Lord and a chief cause of His condemnation. For good, as we must realise when we consider how the recognition of *any* authority as invisible brings it into the neighbourhood of the conscience. It does not necessarily bring it into harmony with the conscience, there may be an unseen authority—in the time of the Pharisees we see that there was—which defied in some of its prescriptions every principle that an enlightened conscience could accept. But still the recognition of the Law, as of something that could not be contained in a book, was in itself a clue, as far as it went, to the true meaning of the Law. It was a protest against that external unity which has given rise to the idolatry both of Catholic Europe and of Protestant Europe, but to which probably no member of any other race that ever lived was so much tempted as was the Jew.

There is little danger that we should fall into those temptations at the present hour. An infallible book has as little attraction for most readers of our day as an infallible Church has, possibly even less. But the profound warning which a German puts in the mouth of a Jew is applicable to every time.\* When we recognise the superstition of our education we often imbibe its poison in a concentrated form. They who refuse to profit by the criticism of the Bible have companions in their moral disadvantage in those who suppose that critical power gives moral insight. It does remove some hindrances to moral insight, no doubt. It is the key which unlocks a door. But it provides no light to guide our steps, when once the door is open. For this (as far as human teachers can provide it) we must still go to those Hebrew teachers whose utterances we have been taught to sift from spurious admixture, and to link them to their background in the history of the race as a perennial expression of those cravings after the Eternal which are the exclusive characteristic of no race and no time.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

\* 'Der Aberglaub' in dem wir aufgewachsen  
Verliert, auch wenn wir ihn erkennen, darum  
Doch seine Macht nicht über uns.'  
Lessing, "Nathan der Weise"

## CHINESE ART AN INDEX TO THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

**T**HE straight line is an abomination to the Chinese. They endeavour to avoid it in their streets and buildings, and have banished it completely where country field paths are concerned. They will always substitute a curve whenever possible, or they will torture it into a zigzag.

In districts not devastated by the 'Tai Pings nor subject to the influence of the foreigner, the houses and temples are characterised by curved, often peaked roofs, ornamented with fantastic modifications of the "myriad stroke pattern." The inhabitants of such regions are soon found to have a mental world to correspond. The straight line is scouted. They think in curves and zigzags. To the Chinese mind the straight line is suggestive of death and demons. It belongs not to the heaven above nor to the earth beneath. In a true horizon line are seen the "undulations of the dragon." Therefore, argue the Chinese, the straight line pertains to Hades.

The Egyptians, related to the Chinese at least in their ancient hieroglyphic characters, some of which correspond closely with those of China, seem to have felt the terror of the straight line. It met them daily on the sandy horizon, whence bands of marauders, or noxious and hungry beasts, might be expected. They, however, while breaking that line, did so by erecting massive structures in which its awe-inspiring power was retained. Their pictorial writing, a mystery to the uninitiated, was saved from becoming trivial by its being encased in straight lines of forbidding height, mechanical and rigid. The power of the Egyptian religion lay in the straight line. This power they applied to massive hieroglyphic forms, retaining the straight line at the sides of the gigantic Sphinx face, setting that face upon the shoulders of an animal of terrible proportions, a

probable incarnation, or rather petrification, of the terrors of the desert. May not one purpose of the Sphinx have been to avert the dreaded influences from across that terribly straight horizon? Is it not related to the Chaldean "demon of the south-west wind" figure, a specimen of which may be seen in the Louvre, and in modernised form on a few roofs of China? This became in Persia ("Adventures of Hatim Tai," translated by Duncan Forbes, M.A.), and as a modern adornment of the Chinese entrance door, the mirror in which the demon of pestilence may see his terrible proportions and flee.

The awe inspired by the desert may have had its origin among the Hebrews, not so much in the forty years of wilderness wandering, as in the four hundred years of captivity in Egypt. "The wilderness and the solitary place" were regarded as the abode of noxious beasts (Is. xxxv. 9), or (xxxiv. 13-15) the more to be dreaded monster of the popular fables, to which Lenormant furnishes Assyrian parallels. The Chinese speak of gross offenders as "banished to the four corners of the earth to be a prey to evil demons."

The Egyptians, and after them the Greeks, idealised the straight line. The Chinese have idealised the curve and zigzag, notably in their national emblem, the dragon. Every straight passage in the cities and towns of China has a board at the mouth, on which is painted a powerful charm consisting of the eight diagrams surrounding the circle, intersected with curved lines, which stands for the primordial egg of the universe. Under this is written the words, "Darest thou withstand the stone from the Tai mountain?" Their field paths, as the benighted foreigner knows well, are formed of curves as intricate as those of the old fretwork puzzles. Every continuous straight line is a sort of lower-world lightning-conductor, inviting in no innocuous manner the dreaded influences of the "hell under the earth."

Demons move in straight lines. And so according to the accepted notions do corpses that have been resuscitated by the breath of some domestic animal. These, actuated by the lower soul, the *pi'ch* (the spirit of the beast, Eccles. iii. 21)—the higher (*harim*) being dissipated—are apt to rise and give chase to their former friends. Such an unpleasant occurrence may be prevented by keeping the chickens, cats, dogs, and pigs away from where the newly deceased man lies—a precaution observed in most Chinese homes, or, should it happen, the pursuer has to be dodged. In the late summer festival too, when the gates of Hades are open, haunting ghosts are disposed of by being led along mazes of streets, preferably in the small hours, guided by the sounds of gongs and cymbals, and the light of burning cash-paper or of lotus-like lamps. Or they are sent away by water, guided by the same lamps floated on the surface of the river, preferably at places where its curves bewilder them.

The straight line is an offence to the eye. In matters calligraphical, the modern print-style characters are not popular. The most approved writing is that which, while it retains the essentials of the character, is made up of bold but intricate outlines thrown upon the paper in an apparently lawless manner. Such characters are said to live.

As to the mountains in the best pictures, mountains and streams are essential to the landscape painter. The phrase "mountain and water" stands for a landscape painting. Not hills, they are not lofty enough. Should the scene in question be only undulating, these undulations must be intensified until there is not even the Egyptian breadth of base, which in Emerson's words suggests "the repose of the dead." Accordingly, the mountains are often so full of exuberant life, that to the irreverent foreigner they seem to be playing at somersaults. Where they do not overhang, they realise the Chinese ideal corresponding to that of our heaven-aspiring pointed Gothic.

Not far from the foreigner's house of mechanically straight lines and rigid arches is a motley group of Chinese houses. The first professes to be a mansion. Beside it is a mat hut—Lazarus sets Dives off: the rest are medium-sized dwellings. The doors are all open, an illustration of the classical sentence—"All within the four seas are brethren"—which we foreigners do not seem to feel, for our street-doors are mostly shut. Our halls, moreover, are mere passages. In the Chinese dwelling the hall is the house, all else being mere accessories. One of the most sacred duties of China is that of guest-receiving—a duty idealised into a fine art. The most sacred part of the guest-room is adorned by a specimen of the artist's skill, varying in character according to the education of the dweller.

The master of the mansion being friendly, we may as well pay him (and his picture) a call. We are received with all the ingenuity of compliment upon which the Chinese gentleman prides himself. We are robed and crowned with his polite phrases; mere phrases, we know, which call forth correspondingly humble disclaimers, which in their turn provoke fresh outbursts of well-simulated admiration. The chit-chat proceeds along the zigzag of give-and-take until our obsequious host states his profound conviction, with apologies for the truism, that we are the most illustrious specimens ever known to have "alighted" from the far-famed West, a servant meanwhile trying in vain to quiet the "foreign devil" of a *gamin* at the doors when we turn round and admire the picture behind us.

"Yes," replies our host, "the inscription thereon is truly artistic, such force of strokes, 'flying guns and pearly points.' The profound researches of the 'pavilion-dweller'—he never degrades us by the use of a personal pronoun; see Mencius *in re*—"in the literature and art of the insignificant country will doubtless have resulted in due



appreciation of excellence in penmanship, although these characters were drawn by an abject relative, who is a mere novice."

During this harangue we have been studying his "landscape with figures," and find it composed of touches very like those of the inscription. We guess rightly that the artist was the writer. Our host would have put it the other way.

The "writer" of the picture—to use the frequent Chinese expression—has scorned to use any colour, and claims to have given the world a specimen of high art.\* The rather insipid picture before us is really one of the best to be found in these parts. To appreciate its excellences (as those of our host's high art compliments) requires an effort. Its language is a double remove from ours. It is Chinese—it is classical Chinese.

What English lover of art would give it a place in his gallery? It is rather a curio for a museum. What English artist would attempt a characteristic Chinese scene except for an illustrated paper or book? Can any true art come out of China? Not out of the real present day. China echoes the Chinese artist. The realistic pictures of every-day life which adorn the pages of the Shanghai illustrated paper are outside the region of art proper. And Chinese artists, when called upon to paint a portrait, do so in violation of all their known canons of art, by producing a rigidly symmetrical full face in order to avoid the queue. The figures in Chinese paintings have their hair done up in a knot like that of the modern Taoist monks, unless, as in the case of hermits and recluses, it is represented as flowing loose, a custom with the Taoists on certain occasions.

Portraits, especially those of the present dynasty, are only classed as third-rate art. They are valueless except to the relatives of the subject. They are cherished as memorials of the dead. They are ordered in advance with the coffin.

Landscapes, however, may be lifted out of the ordinary world of prose. The pictures are merely suggested by what is actually seen. They are the offspring of the artistic imagination. A famous triplet declares:

"One must have mountains and valleys in the heart.  
One's hand will then draw mountains and valleys;  
On one's paper will thus appear mountains and valleys."

\* The most approved landscape pictures, "with thousand *li* distances," are devoid of colour. Colour, however skilfully applied, seems to be an irritation to the truly artistic. This may possibly be a survival of the early days when, according to a theory referred to by a writer in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Oct. 1892, the ancients were partially colour-blind. Whether this preference for black and white (which may be otherwise accounted for) points in that direction or not, this ancient deficiency in the colour-sense does seem to be supported by the names of the five elements of the Chinese spectrum. These are black, red, *ts'in*, white, yellow! The character *ts'in* is described in the ancient dictionaries as standing for the colour of life, the colour of the last, the colour of olives, the colour of bamboo-skins, the deeper colours of the rocks. It is also found where a neutral tint is evidently intended. The character *shü* of colour is also applied to a grey threatening-sky.

This necessitates a Chinese heart for their sympathetic appreciation. We can appreciate the characteristic prettiness of Japanese art. It appeals to the child within. The art of China, however, is that of an aged child looking through his enormous spectacles. Its gambols are those of the man of seventy who, in the book of filial piety, made sport to please his aged parents; or those of the dragon-minded Crad Tsy who was born with white hairs and beard—born, indeed, when eighty years old.

Chinese art is sombre, where Japanese is volatile. The latter is a necessary overflow of high child spirits; the former is a somewhat pessimist protest against the real.

The chief poets of China were great drinkers. Wine was a necessity for the production of anything exuberant and young. Its modern artists are largely assisted in their highest attempts by opium dreams.

The characteristic of Chinese art and literature may be expressed in the one word, euphemism.

The artist is nothing if not an idealist. The picture under consideration embodies his idea of paradise, perhaps of paradise lost, as we may see when its subject is elucidated. But as far as the Chinese have a conception of a "garden of delights," here it is:

"The far dreaming mountains  
That sleep in the sky"

are duly indistinct as in the best Chinese pictures (not in many sold at the ports which claim to be such). Moreover, even the foreground trees are half blotted out with conventionally scalloped clouds. We note too that, as in Hades, so in the paradise of Chinese art, there is a total absence of shadows. Shadows would make the whole too realistic. High art begins where reality ends. It is a dream inspired by celestials and demigods, from whose high standpoint every picture is drawn. In our unpoetical phrase, the whole is a bird's-eye view. Hence the proverbial strangeness of the perspective.

But happily in this case the subject of the picture is one which calls forth our appreciative sympathy. This specimen of art, doubly removed from our world of thought, enshrines an incident or fable which, with its "touch of nature," has even brought tears to other than Chinese eyes when told at length. It belongs to the time when Ezekiel penned all that could be expressed of his ruggedly sublime visions by the river Chebar.

A scholarly-looking man sits under the canopy of a boat playing upon the one sweet instrument of China, which we call the harpsichord. A wood-cutter, faggot on shoulder, peers through the foliage on yonder overhanging rocks. He is an appreciative listener, whose name has become proverbial for all sympathetic friends, especially

musical ones, ever since. He recognises the meaning of the music,\* is called on board, to be treated at first with scant courtesy, for the musician is a high mandarin. He, however, displays such a wonderful knowledge of the history and mystic meaning of the instrument that brusqueness gives place to suavity and eventually, amid the perfume of the sacred incense, he is united to the musician in a more than Jonathan-David brotherhood. The heaven-recorded vows are followed by tearful partings and promises. They will meet again. But when the months have rolled round one is laid beneath the wild flowers and the other composes his last poem and sings his last song to the accompaniment of the same instrument which amid the guffaws of a gaping crowd is broken to pieces on the younger brother's grave.

We are tempted to regard the story as allegorical, the death of music in an inappreciative land; but the very hill at the base of which the incident occurred may be seen in the dim distance as we stand upon that other hill in the horizon of the picture—in reality a long uninteresting rock, but suggesting cloud-encircled mountain-peaks to the artist. We may visit the grave, pluck a wild rose or two, noting a palpable error in the hero's name on the recent tombstone; noting also the absence of rocks, especially those which overhang, as they seem to have done in olden time. One item in the story, however, remains as in ancient days, the gaping crowd. And in the nearest village tea-shop we find, instead of the music of ancient China, a fiddler, the "serpentine beauty" of whose efforts does not claim us as appreciative listeners.

China seems to have had the start of mankind in matters musical. It ought, by this time, to have produced and interpreted something comparable to the works of "Master Hugues of Saxe Gotha." But, alas! the "sympathetic listener" died young, and its last specimen of music was a dirge, of which there but remains to us the nerve-trying "fugue" of the blind (and musically deaf) tea-shop fiddler.

The art of the painter and writer, however, has had a better fate. Of the two, it is difficult to determine which was parent and which offspring. Perhaps the case is best met by the supposition that these two immortals met each other in the prehistoric ages, and amid the "five-coloured clouds" of heaven made a vow of perpetual brotherhood, which has been kept through the centuries, and is to be

\* If indeed the Chinese together with other ancient nations were rhyme-deaf (according to the theory of the writer already referred to in a previous footnote), as the late appearance of rhyme seems to suggest, their literary records claim for a few here and there a wonderful sensitiveness to musical sounds. The scholar's ear of to-day is far more susceptible to a variation of tone than to a false rhyme. In old time an empress is reported to have executed a favourite because she detected in the harpsichord notes an extemporaneous poem which reproved her for her cruelties and prophesied insurrection. Modern harpsichord performances generally consist in an intensification of the "tones" of a given passage. Thus a musician will "play" the opening sentences of the "Great Learning." He treats it as a landscape painter does a given landscape.

kept until the dissolution of the hearing heaven and the listening earth.

Chinese pictures are made up of the eight strokes of the typical Chinese character, while those characters are very pictures to the initiated archeologist and the reverent Chinese scholar, who indeed, mindful of their origin, uses them only for purposes of art.

Of a celebrated post-artist of the Tang dynasty (one of whose compositions reminds the reader of the opening lines of Gray's "Elegy," and ends with a closer parallel still to the words of the Duke in "As You Like It," act ii. beginning of scene i.) it is well said that his pictures were poems and his poems pictures. This is to be expected in the region of poetry proper, for the poems of China are all professed landscape paintings, but, as we shall see, every literary man of China, even in his most prosaic moment, is still a post-artist. And not alone the literati.

But this may be more safely affirmed after a glance at the artistic adornments of one or two more houses. The rush-mat hut, no less than the mansion, boasts of a picture, though one of glaring colours and with no inscription. It cost but a few cash, and those small ones. The next house has an ancestral tablet in the place of honour, the next a gaudily painted wood and stucco idol. The golden and the silver age of idols having been long forgotten, and the bronze and iron age having ended with the Tai Ping rebellion, the present day is one of wood, putty, and paint.

In one other house hangs a picture of the style voted as "thoroughly Chinese." Its characteristics may be thus tabulated:

1. The various details are battered down and huddled together.
2. There is no distinction between near and far.
3. The hills have a dumified appearance.
4. The streams have neither source nor bourne.
5. The roads from nowhere go nowhere.
6. The rocks are one-faced.
7. The figures are of distorted shapes.
8. Pavilions and houses are thrown in anyhow.
9. The colour is laid on thickly where it ought to be thin, and  
*vice versa*.
10. There is a lack of method in the touches and washes.

We note all these defects at a glance, and used to think them characteristic of all Chinese pictures, just as in our early days we believed with the illustrators of some of our picture-books, that the huge circumflex-accent coolie hat was the essential adornment of the Chinese head, prince and pauper alike. "It ought to be!" interrupts a disgusted resident.

But it happens that the above sentences are literal translations

from the one surviving standard work on art (the Tai Ping rebellion again). These are defects which the true artist avoids, says the writer, who flourished a hundred and fifty years before the earliest of our old masters was born. These are undoubtedly degenerate days, but many a Chinese landscape picture is found on examination to be innocent of all these crimes, even if that innocence be of a somewhat negative character—the innocence of paradise, in fact.

The picture before us is a hybrid formed by the union of the penmanship of the scholarly writer with the colour daubs of the illiterate coolie. It is certainly Chinese, for very many among the millions of "our great empire" do exhibit both types in one inharmonious whole. Idealist dreamers and coarse coolies, *or combinations of the two in varying proportion*, make up the Chinese nation.

The words in italics will, I hope, acquit me of what, to all but the disgusted resident, or those who have only studied the Chinese character in the lurid light of riot accounts, might seem a libel, or, at best, a hasty and shallow generalisation.

From such a strange union it is only natural that there should be great variety in the resulting family. The picture just referred to but illustrates one type. It by no means exhausts the possibilities. Indeed, certain admirable combinations are found to exist. The Shanghai illustrated paper, for instance, has its ethereal landscape presentation plates. It has also grossnesses, which makes it a Chinese Police News. But there are pictures appearing from time to time, where "high art" influence has abolished the glaring "colour" of the cheap daub, but also where the evident human nature of the pictures thus decolorised has checked the tendency to idealisation in a fictitious region. There are pictures seen now and then which are worthy of a place in our best Western illustrated papers, not over strenuous ones certainly, somewhat lacking in backbone, but still admirable drawings.

And so with the Chinese character. The two elements aforesaid may exist in a sort of chemical combination; the acid and alkali combine to form a neutral body. Well it is for China that the middle classes do exhibit such a type. But the chemical compound is not a very stable one. The missionary will say that it needs Christian influence, applied at first, perhaps, with foreign hands, to preserve and purify the useful salt. He finds the middle classes most promising for his work. A tendency to coolie roughness does not appal him as a predominance of the unreal dreamer does. That element is hard to eliminate. He would refer to his Bible to illustrate the case from the calling of the twelve. His difficulties are exhibited there also in the fact of the old-time riot, to which the literati of the day stirred up the lower coolie element—the riot which meant the cross. But he can point to men who, after unlearning much, have begun to live ideal-tending lives. He can take us to low grave

mounds, beneath which rest some whose memory is entwined with luminous clouds, and whose life and death persuade him that they have reached the land of ideal reality.

There is a tendency for the salt to decompose. In children of contrasting parentage, there is always a tendency to lose the weaker and more ethereal nature for the coarser one. But the two elements are to be met with daily in an uncombined state. Even then we may note unanimity on this one point—reality is to be scouted. The scholar and the coolie alike are idealists, each in his own way. The ideal is not real, therefore the unreal is ideal, is the syllogism at the basis of Chinese art, religion, and thought generally. The idols of China look unreal by reason of paint and gilding, and are therefore all the more popular with the coolie, or the coolie part of the average Chinaman. They are tolerated by the literati, partly from the fact that the politico-moral maxims of the sages have proved insufficient checks on vice or inducements to virtue, but also from an artistic point of view as representing beings belonging (as in Buddhism) to unknowable and distant places, or (as in Taoism) to the unknowable and distant past.

The national emblem, worshipped in "dragon king temples," clearly belongs to an ideal world. It is, as will readily be seen, a good illustration of Burke's theory of the sublime. It was an object of awe, which in the West called forth the man's whole powers of resistance, and was eventually slain by the sword of St. George. It, however, brought the Eastern mind to its knees (serpents, which I presume are undeveloped dragons abounding there), and thus arrayed in all its terrors, it has become the ideal of sublimity, and the fittest type of the Son of Heaven. The dragon and the other ideal creatures of China, even if worshipped, would hardly break the letter of the second Commandment, which commandment, or the letter thereof, the higher Chinese nature has engraved on its heart, hence the higher ideal for worship is the ancestral or imperial tablet. The first belongs to men whose faults are unrecorded, and the limits of whose virtues have not been fixed. They are spiritual beings with no rigid outlines like the angels of Blake, rather resembling the lights in one of Turner's later pictures, leaving full scope for the artistic imagination. The second belongs to a being unseen and far removed from the world of every-day life, who is never to be referred to except in phrases which idealise and all but deify. Nay, he is above the national gods—he can create or destroy, make gods or degrade those already made. Is he not divine? Divine enough to have a name unwritable and unutterable. His tablet is but inscribed with the words, "Sacred Edict."

The high classical ideal in art and literature, then, is luminous mist; everything is brought into regimen with the spot where the

heavens touch the earth. The vulgar idea is loudness and glare. This may further be illustrated in the region of Chinese wit. When a scholar descends to a joke, generally a sarcasm, the result resembles the noiseless play of the summer lightning in the far horizon, and possesses as little blasting power for the common herd. By the hyper-sensitised victim the edge of the razor is neither felt nor seen until afterwards. Thus, an elderly scholar has an essay handed him for criticism. He writes his opinion at the end in the words, "The triple beat of ramskin drums," a phrase which refers to the halcyon days of a pleasure-loving Emperor (A.D. 713-756) who, with his brothers, used to eat and drink in a certain pavilion in the spring-tide to the triple beat of the imperial drums, at which sound even the flower-buds hastened to open. The delighted novice prides himself on the supposition that it has been his to embody the fragrance and delicate tints of the opening blossoms which delighted the imperial household. He may also imagine that his composition moves on in well-measured sentences and well-rounded periods. But no! Even a ramskin drum, beat by imperial musicians, can but utter the sounds *puh tu'ng, puh tu'ng, puh tu'ng*, which means— not consecutive.

The essentials of a colloquial witticism, on the other hand, are blood and thunder. The hammer of the thunder god is borrowed to drive the joke through the thick skins of coolies. Thus, in a popular farce, a native doctor propounds a method for straightening hunch-backs. A city gate is taken off its hinges and placed on the ground. The patient being laid thereon, the other gate is let down upon him. Upon this are placed five dyers' (mangling) stones, a couple of hundredweight each. These are to be left in position until forty-nine days have elapsed, when the cure will be completed.

In classical Chinese the slough is never bridged. There are but stepping-stones, between which the uninitiated pilgrim may easily fall. In vulgar colloquial, the slough becomes a highway, along which the traveller is pulled in front and pushed behind.

Every scholar, however, has his times of forgetfulness. He is not quite innocent of coolie blood. He has become what he is by a process of evolution, and is subject to a sad reversion to the coolie type. Few Chinese gentlemen, when provoked, can refrain from language which outvies all that is commonly included under the word Billingsgate. The man who, the other day, seemed to regard his friend as a cloud-encircled deity now seems to regard him as a malignant demon. His ancestry is described with much minuteness of detail. His mother is a near relative of Cerberus! Every mandarin exhibits "the strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." In some of the Chinese Blue-books relating to foreigners there is no lack of what answers to coolie curses. We are a set of eye-scoopers, baby-boilers, and the like. A certain term of scorn being objected to in earlier

years, it is paraphrased now, and has lost nothing in the process. It was a classical hint whose force lay in certain passages which foreigners were not supposed to have studied. It portrayed the foreigner to the Chinese literary mind. But the foreigner trampled upon Chinese delicacy of feeling, and rejected a term which the Chinese seem to have thought rather a condescension than otherwise. He did not take the hint that his presence was not desired, hence the later Hunan placards. Sweets to the sweet! Glaring denunciations to those who heed not the subtleties of classical hints. The gnat being strained out, the camel appears.

These later hints remind one of those proposed by the landlord of "The Maypole" to awake the sleeping Hugh—"firing-off cannon-balls in his ears." Every foreigner is supposed to be deaf. But Hugh and his patron Sir John Chester surely belong to the Middle Kingdom. Were "Barnaby Rudge" to have been published for the first time this year, all reviewers who know China would affirm that the author's Sir John Chester and Hugh were but the higher and lower classes of this land personified in English style. Nothing could be more thoroughly Chinese than Chester's soliloquy at the end of chapter xl. Chester is just the Chinese mandarin in English garb; Hugh the low animalism through which the mandarin works his spite, though the spite in this case is not accounted for from the fact of varying creeds. The mandarin does not profess to have anything like a creed. Creeds are as inartistic as prison bars. Confucius, when asked about the spirit world, gave no definite reply. "The subjects on which the philosopher did not speak were extraordinary things . . . and spiritual beings." For which his followers have been ever grateful. Definitions are limitations. He allowed succeeding generations to dream to their hearts' content, and being of Sadducean persuasion, to meet a felt need by making those they admire persons of extraordinary ability, and those it pays them to flatter very spiritual beings.

They are grateful for the assistance rendered by the idols first imported from the West to awe the people into a virtuous horror of anything like insurrection; on a certain morning after attending the reading of the idol-ridiculing Sacred Edict, they straightway order their chair-bearers to conduct them to the temple of the patron idol of the city. They are rather grateful than otherwise for certain religious ideas imported by the foreigners, whether in the Han or Ja Chin dynasty, especially those of the existence of malignant demons. These, if anything, will scare the populace into virtue, and furnish them with epithets wherewith to curse the foreigner when he emerges beyond the treaty ports.

As to the foreigner, he is a relative of Dr. Fell, not addicted to art; his houses and hospitals offend the artistic eye, which he seems to be bent on scooping out, as it is affirmed he does those of foundlings



—which may have been cast away to be eaten by half-savage dogs [a fact!] outside the city walls. The foreigner may live in a hired native house, but he evidently intends to erect the hospital (where he may go and be cured previous to its demolition) before long. The riot occurs, and the mandarin is “unusually gay; his smile more placid and agreeable than usual,” and, “with the air of one who has resigned himself to a train of charming recollections,” he proceeds to draw up an idealised account of the doings of the rioters, and of their provocation thereto. Mr. Haredale may be less placid. Dr. Fell, well versed in anatomy, and a lover of exact definition, may exclaim at his leisure, “All Chinamen are liars.” But we, for once euphemistic, do but affirm them to be a nation of artists, the principles of which art may not be tabulated too rigidly, nor arranged in cruelly straight columns. “A nation of liars” is a phrase which repels the better phrase, “a nation of artists,” disposes us to seek a change of thought by entering their National Gallery, and studying, if not fully admiring, its pictures.

In one of the appalling number of volumes which contain the Chinese historical records, it is stated that the Empress Wu (A.D. 684–710) had a bird with three legs presented to her. Here is an “extraordinary thing,” on which “the Philosopher” would have preserved a wise silence. It stands written, however. As also does an explanatory note in a volume of miscellaneous jottings compiled about A.D. 975, which throws some light upon this rare bird. It adds: “But one of the bystanders hinted that one of the legs was a false one. The Empress laughed, saying, ‘So long as the historians put it in their books, what is the use of asking whether it is genuine or not?’” But this same Empress was not liked; accordingly the popular histories (prepared for tea-shop audiences) deal in glaring tints in portraying her character. She dressed as a man, it is said, in itself the mark of the utmost depravity. Moreover, she had as many favourites as the Emperor had wives. They were dressed in women’s clothes, and cultivated their complexions. The cheeks of one suggested the pink blush of the sacred lotus, or rather, as his flatterers said, the lotus suggested him.

In the imperial records, the colours, though not so grossly applied, have been found to be too glaring. Accordingly, in a book of marvels entitled “What the Philosopher did not Speak of,” we have an account of a certain history reviser who, with true artistic taste, expunged the greater half of the narrative of her enormities and who was rewarded that night with a vision, of which a most graphic account is appended. The dreamer entered a palace whose lofty roof, some hundreds of feet high, was supported by golden pillars. He was met at the portals by a maiden with cloud-like locks, whose clothing was the vaporous red of sunset. She conducted him to the audience chamber,

where, half revealed and half concealed behind the brocaded curtains, sat the said Empress upon a lofty throne. Her presence was redolent of the lotus, which as a reference to the saying noted above, might suggest the unreality of the vision, or which on the other hand might prove the purity of a much-maligned Empress. Before her, upon a seat draped with the tiger skin, sat a silver-haired sage, who read from his open book—the now emended history—a few thousand characters. Whereat the Empress laughed heartily, displaying a shining row of lovely teeth, whose purity was comparable with that of the whitest jade. Her face was otherwise hidden, nor did she vouchsafe to thank the history emender in person, but sent a message by the celestial maiden that, as it was getting late, she could not entertain him longer, but had condescended to present him with a jade balance with which she had been wont in days gone by, when she reigned in the city of Perpetual Peace, to weigh the scholarship of “all under heaven.” The scholar awoke to find himself appointed chief mandarin of that very city, a fitting reward for his superior artistic instincts.

And as with the recorders of past events, so with present-day memorialists of all classes.

To a Westerner this is bewildering when he wants to get at the exact truth of something which concerns him. Given a picture of a certain landscape, find the actual contour of the hills there represented as heaven-aspiring mountains; given a highly coloured daub, find out the real scene thus idealised. A problem this, which baffles the foreigner as completely as his mathematical puzzles baffle both the Chinese student and the examiner appointed by the Emperor to give degrees to the candidates, who with “keys” up their sleeves [a fact!] are able to write out the problem and its answer in the highest literary style. To this problem, however, the foreigner may have no key in any of his many pockets.

How highly artistic is the *Pekin Gazette*! How well is poetic retribution administered to the heroes and villains of artistic memorials!

One instance, by no means out of date, will suffice. The foreigner has the key, in this case, and may yet perhaps use it. It is well known that Chow Han of Hunan printed and circulated filthy and riot-stirring libels against missionaries and foreigners in general, the effects of which are also known. After repeated remonstrances, an Imperial Commissioner was sent to arrest him. Before arriving, however, at the capital of Hunan, perhaps before the guns which rattled, the foreigner's windows proclaimed his departure from the capital of Hupeh, the Imperial Commissioner draws his picture. “Excellent! Ideal!” exclaim the authorities. “Even the barbarian cannot but admire the symmetry and true artistic taste therein

displayed! It were most absurd to regard a mandarin as a criminal—a defiance of all good taste. Chow Han did not print these. How could he, seeing that he is absorbed in planchette consultations and other occult studies? He is a dreamer. For such æsthetic recreations carried to an excess, however, he must be suitably reprimanded, regarded as half mad—too mad to arrest, that is the point. Who printed them? Not the highly respectable printer who works for Chow Han. That necessarily follows from the premises already stated. Some of his employés (unknown) may have done so. Let us offer a reward for the blocks.”

It is offered and given. “Now all parties are pleased”—the greatest happiness of the greatest number secured—for Chow Han will not mind being banished to his native home, where he has generally resided; the printers will, under our blind eye, get the rewards offered for their productions, glaring and realistic, but then pictures of those who love the glaring and realistic; the populace are satisfied, they can re-cut the blocks when they choose; the Viceroy is satisfied, the Emperor also, and the foreign barbarians.

“Bravo! Bravissimo!” Whereat feastings and congratulations.

The lion (with apologies to the emblems of other countries) makes a spring—in a straight line, of course. The dragon is caught! Not so. With many an intricate curve it soars on high, far above the lion's head. Emboldened by this magnificent success, the anti-foreign schemers lay their trap, carefully concealed by imperial proclamations on tissue paper, torn in some places, but easily patched up with more tissue paper, on which is written an artistically softened account of the late riots. Meanwhile as the idealist dreamers and memorialists are actively averse to neutralising the blood-red colour of the situation, except in their own sweet way; and as, not the dragon Emperor with his smooth promises, but a certain old dragon—of the existence of which it is now the turn of China to reassure the West—seems to be the master of mobs of ten thousand barbarians, yelling for the death of two peaceable men, there is a pressing need for the speedy importation of a little real, straight moving justice into this land of curves and zigzags.

W. A. CORNABY.

## THE HOLY CITY OF PHRYGIA.

THE valley through which the little river Lycos flows down to meet the Mæander was one of the great centres of ancient history. It was the ever-open gate of Phrygia, and that high-lying country reaches down through the sloping glen to meet the coast valley of the Mæander. The commerce and the religion of Phrygia passed out to affect Greece through this gate; and the civilisation and armies of Greece and Rome entered Phrygia by it. Every influence that acted on Phrygia can be traced in this little valley; and many of them can be better traced here than anywhere else, for when the country was ruled by a western race, its administrative centre was on the banks of the Lycos. Three cities especially attract the historian's attention. Laodiceia, founded as a stronghold of Seleucid power and a centre of Greek influence in an alien country, stood on the south bank of the Lycos; six miles north, facing Laodiceia on the outer slope of the northern hills, was the "Holy City," Hiera-Polis; and twelve miles north-west of Hierapolis, on the west bank of the Mæander, just above its junction with the Lycos, was Tripolis, founded by the Pergamenian kings to counter-balance the Seleucid proclivities of Laodiceia. Hierapolis, in contrast to these two Greek cities, which lay one on each side of it, was the centre of native feeling and Phrygian nationality in the valley; and the character of the three cities, each representing a different influence, makes them a representation in miniature of the development of Phrygia throughout the many centuries during which European influence struggled to conquer and hold Phrygia. But, of the three, Hierapolis is best calculated to show us what the Phrygian spirit became under the influence of Greek literature and Roman organisation.

Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria, met in the Lycos valley. Strabo and Herodotus considered that the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia lay east of Hierapolis, so that this city was Lydian. But Xenophon puts the boundary west of Hierapolis, at the crossing of the Mæander, including the city in Phrygia; and this was the generally adopted view, which we shall follow. For our purposes, it is a mere question of words whether we call Hierapolis a Phrygian or a Lydian city. The customs and the religion of Lydia and of Phrygia were originally very similar to each other; and it is the points of similarity which we shall try to set forth, taking Hierapolis as a home of the Anatolian type of society and religion.

Hierapolis is a Greek name applied to an Anatolian city, called originally Kydrara. Xerxes, marching from Colossai (higher up in the Lycos valley) by the direct road to Sardis, came to Kydrara. At Kydrara (*i. e.*, in its territory), an inscribed pillar marked the bounds of Lydia and Phrygia. Here the road towards Caria went off to the left (crossing the Lycos, and passing by the temple of Men Karou near Serai Keui, and the hot springs of Karoura, six or seven miles further west), while that towards Sardis crossed the Mæander and passed by Tripolis and Kallatebos.

The history of Hiera-Polis-Kydrara was determined by the natural features of its situation. In no place known to the ancients was the power of Nature more strikingly revealed. The waters of almost all the streams in the Lycos valley deposit limestone; but the splendid hot springs at Hierapolis surpass all the rest in this quality. If a tiny jet of water is made to flow in any direction, it soon constructs for itself a channel of stone.\* The precipices immediately south of the city, about 100 feet or more in height, over which the water tumbles in numerous little streams, have become "an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water in its headlong course suddenly petrified" (Chandler, p. 287). The gleaming white rocks, still called Pambuk-Kalessi,† arrest the attention of the traveller from the west at the first glance which is opened to him over the valley. Even more remarkable than this was the Ploutonion or Charonion (Strabo, 580, 629), a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour, the breath of the realm of death. In the fourth century the hole had disappeared,‡ and the poisonous character of the exhalations was a tradition of the past. But Strabo had seen the place, and had

\* Vitruvius, viii., 3, 10, describes the process, and he is corroborated by Strabo, p. 629, and by the eyes of any traveller.

† *I. e.*, Cotton-Castle. The name is often corrupted in the peasants' language into meaningless forms like Tambuk; and this has led some recent travellers, who show a praiseworthy accuracy, but are not familiar with the extraordinary tendency of the peasants in Turkey to distort names, to doubt the reality of the name Pambuk.

‡ "Foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiæ antehac, ut adserunt aliqui, videbatur: unde emergens . . . noxius spiritus perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, absque spadonibus solis."—AMMIAN. xxiii. 16, 18.

experimented on sparrows, and he assures us that the vapour killed living things exposed to it. There is other evidence to the effect that not merely in Hierapolis, but also in many places in Phrygia, the mephitic vapour from holes in the earth drew down birds flying over them; \* this is perhaps only a slightly exaggerated statement of the facts as mentioned by Strabo.

Between A.D. 19 and 380 the Charonion had disappeared.† What was the reason? I think we must attribute it to the action of the Christians, who had deliberately filled up and covered over the place, the very dwelling-place of Satan. Christian tradition has preserved a rather distorted memory of the facts. The Apostle Philip was described as the evangelist of Tripolis, and as closely connected also with Hierapolis. There his chief enemy was the Echidna, in which form Satan deluded the inhabitants of Hierapolis. John, who had already expelled the abominable Artemis from Ephesos, visited Philip in Hierapolis, and the united efforts of the two Apostles drove away the Echidna ‡. It lay in the character and nature of tradition to attribute the expulsion of the Echidna to the Apostles; but history, if materials for writing it survived, would show the Echidna surviving as the chief enemy of Christianity throughout the second and third centuries. It is probable that the Christians took advantage of the victory of Constantine over Licinius to destroy the Charonion: that would imply that the new religion possessed the ruling power within the city in 323 A.D., which is probable from other reasons.

Now let us consider the character of the Anatolian religion. Its essence lies in the adoration of the life of Nature—that life subject apparently to death, yet never dying but reproducing itself in new forms, different and yet the same. This perpetual self-identity under varying forms, this annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction, was the object of an enthusiastic worship, characterised by remarkable self-abandonment and immersion in the divine, by a mixture of obscene symbolism and sublime truths, by negation of the moral distinctions and family ties that exist in a more developed society, but do not exist in the free life of Nature. The mystery of self-reproduction, of eternal unity amid temporary diversity, is the key to explain all the repulsive legends and ceremonies that cluster round that worship, and all the manifold manifestations or diverse embodiments of the ultimate single divine life that are carved on the rocks of Asia Minor, especially at Pteria (Boghaz-Keui).

Kydrara was marked as a seat of such a religion, and a place of

\* ῥήγμα . . . τους υπερπετομένους τῶν οὐρίων επισπιμένον, ὡς Ἀθήνηαι τὸ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδύμῳ τοῦ Ἱερραίου καὶ πολλοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς Philostr., ἡ Apoll., ii 10

† Some scholars quote Ammianus as saying merely that the Charonion had lost its poisonous properties, but he says clearly that it was no longer visible

‡ *Mirac. Chonis patr* 1 This document, as we have it, was written in the eighth or ninth century. If we possessed the *Acta Philippi* complete, we should probably find an older tradition, which had taken shape before the Charonion disappeared. See my "Church in the Roman Empire," ch. xix.

approach to God; and a great religious establishment (*hieron*) existed there. As Greek manners and language spread, a Greek name for the city came into use. At first it was called Hiero-polis, the city of the *huron*; and on a few coins of Augustus this name appears. But as the Greek spirit became stronger in the Lycos valley, the strict Greek form, Hiera-Polis, established itself.\* Under the Roman Empire, Hierapolis was penetrated with the Græco-Roman civilisation, as is natural from its geographical position, and as is proved by the personal names in the inscriptions, few of which are Anatolian, while Greek and even Latin names abound.† Greek became the sole language of the city, and a veneer of Greek civilisation spread over it; but the veneer was much thinner than at Laodiceia or Apameia. Hierapolis maintained its importance through its religious position; and its remains and history bear witness to the strength of the religious feeling in it. The religion continued to be Phrygian, and even Greek names for the gods were used less in Hierapolis than in many other cities.

There is a deep gorge in the mountains, two or three miles north of Mandama, a village about four miles N.W. of Hierapolis. In this gorge there is a large rude cave with no trace of artificial cutting, on the roof and sides of which many *graffiti* are rudely inscribed. Only one of these could be deciphered: "I, Flavianus Menogenes, thank the Goddess."‡ We may compare the account given by Pausanias (X. 32) of the cave Steunos at Aizanoi, sacred to Cybele. The deity to whom Flavianus addressed himself was "The Goddess" of the district, the tutelary deity of the mountains, whose sanctuary was this rude cave. She is the great goddess of Hierapolis, Leto or Mother Leto, who was worshipped also beyond the mountains at Dionysopolis, just as the "Mother of Sipylos" was the tutelary deity both of Smyrna on the south and of Magnesia on the north of Mount Sipylos.

The Mother-goddess had her chosen home in the mountains, amid the undisturbed life of Nature, among the wild animals who continue free from the artificial and unnatural rules constructed by men. Her chosen companions are the lions, strongest of animals, or the stags, the fleetest inhabitants of the woods. As Professor E. Curtius says,

\* Throughout the Hellenised East the same rule holds. Such cities are originally called Hiero-polis, the city round the *huron*, when the city becomes more thoroughly Grecised, the name becomes Hiera-Polis. Often we find that literary men used the correct term Hiera-Polis, when the city officials and the vulgar used Hieropolis.

† The following are of the native type: Akylas, Apphios, Attadianos (a hybrid formation, Hogarth alters to Attadianos), Molivas, Motahs, Myllos or Monlos (both on one sarcophagus), Iatios. Passillas is perhaps a diminutive from *ἱεροφύλακος*, a priest who bore an image of a deity in a *pastos*; the same person is also called *Καροφύλακος*, which is a title of Demeter, names connected with the cultus were therefore usual in the family (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW 1880, p. 427).

‡ Ak Tcheshme is another name for this village. Mandama is perhaps an ancient name. The village is on the old road from Dionysopolis, &c., to the Lycos valley. With time and appliances other *graffiti* might be read.

"the spirit of this naturalistic cultus leads the servants of the goddess, while engaged in her worship, to transform themselves into the semblance of her holy animals, stag, cow, or bear, or of plants which stand in relation to her worship." Hence we find that "the baskets danced" before Artemis Koloéne beside the Gygean Lake, near Sardis (Strabo, p. 626), and women wearing crowns of reeds danced before the Spartan Artemis. Lakes, like mountains, were often chosen by the goddess as her home. But her life was seen everywhere in Nature, in the trees, in the crops, in all vegetation, in all animal life, and in many beings intermediate between men and animals, Seilenoi, &c., who were closer to her because they retained the free life of Nature.

Naturally we turn to the graves and monuments of the dead to find there evidence of the deepest-lying feelings and religious ideas which come out in the presence of death. Among primitive peoples, the monuments are almost exclusively sepulchral; and this is to a great extent the case at Hierapolis, where the road that leads to Tripolis and the west is still lined with hundreds of inscribed monuments, some of large size and imposing appearance. The care which was taken of the graves was remarkable. There was a guardian of the graves along the road (ὁ κατὰ τόπον τηρητής τοῦ ἔργου, Wadd., 1680), who shared sometimes in the Stephanotikon.\* But the most remarkable feature here and in every part of Phrygia is the anxiety to prevent the interment of unprivileged persons in the grave. It is not simply desire to prevent the monument being destroyed; that feeling sometimes appears, but the danger was not so pressing, and in most cases the only offence provided against is the intrusion of a corpse. The offence is made punishable by fines of varying amount, payable to the city, the imperial treasury, the deity of the city, the senate, or more frequently the Gerousia, the chief city of the *conventus*,† some official, &c. (the hope being that the reward would ensure the prosecution of offenders); in other cases, the offender is merely cursed in more or less strong terms, or consigned to the divine judgment or wrath. In Greece we find little trace of this feeling; the few examples of such epitaphs in Greece are probably of foreigners. But in Asia Minor it is so widespread and deep-seated that it must have a religious foundation. Intrusion of an illegal participator must have involved some loss to the rightful dwellers in the grave. This implies that belief in a future existence was part of the Phrygian religion, and also that the actual monument and tomb was connected with the future lot of the deceased. What meaning, then, had the tomb to the native mind?

Under the Roman Empire two kinds of sepulchral monument were

\* Money left for distribution annually among those who went, on the anniversary of death, to place a garland of flowers on the tomb.

† So at Aigai (Pergamos), Lagbe (Kibyra).



commonly used in Phrygia, where the primitive customs were far more thoroughly preserved than in Lydia.\* One is a slab of marble or other stone cut to imitate a doorway; the door-posts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated; one or two knockers usually appear on the door, and symbols are often carved on the panels or in the pediment. On such a tombstone there is no suitable place for an inscription; but an epitaph is usually engraved on some part of the stone. The door as an accompaniment of the grave is found in Phrygia from the earliest period to which our knowledge extends; in the tomb of Midas and many others the door is part of the elaborately carved front. Now many graves in Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, &c., have the form of small temples. Even the sarcophagi are frequently made like miniature temples. The door-tombstone we may take to be an indication of the temple, the part being put for the whole.

The second kind of tombstone has the form of an altar—a square pillar (very rarely a circular one) with pedestal and capital, usually of very simple type, but sometimes elaborately decorated. In the inscriptions the name “altar” is commonly applied to the monuments of this form; but in several cases the word “door,” and in one case “the altar and the door,” is engraved on a different side of the altar-stone. These inscriptions show how important an idea in the tomb the door was reckoned.

These classes of monuments constitute 90 per cent. of the existing gravestones in Phrygia; and, of the remaining 10 per cent., five can be explained as developments of the idea of a temple.† The dead man is therefore conceived as living on as a god, and as receiving worship; and the door is intended as the passage for communication between the world of life and the world of death, giving him freedom to issue forth to help his worshippers. On the altar the living placed the offerings due to the dead. Further, many inscriptions, which will be given in due course, show that the dead person was conceived to be identified with the divine nature. The life of man has come from God, and returns to Him. One single monument in Phrygia shows the door of the grave opened, and we are admitted to contemplate τὰ ἑρὰ μυστήρια; inside we find no place or room for a dead body, only the statue of the Mother-Goddess accompanied by her lions.‡ So in Lydia before the time of Homer, the Mæonian chiefs, sons of the Gygean lake (Il. II. 865), or of the Naiad Nymph who bore them by the lake (Il. XX. 382), are buried in the mounds, which we still see in numbers on its shores: for these heroes death is simply the return to live with the Goddess-Mother that bore them. Hence

\* The Lydian language was forgotten in Lydia, and only Greek was spoken in A. D. 19, Strabo, p. 631.

† The phallos, a rude emblem of immortality, is found occasionally as a gravestone. ‡ Described and drawn, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, 1884, p. 244 f.

a very common form of epitaph represents the making of the grave as a vow or a dedication to the local deity.

The tomb, then, is the temple of the god, and he who gains admission, even by fraud or violence, to the tomb gets all the advantages which the rightful owner intended for himself.

Many inscriptions might be quoted in illustration of the character of the great goddess, throned in the mountains behind Hierapolis, and worshipped by the dwellers on both sides. "I, Gneius Aphias, thank Mother Leto because she makes impossibilities possible; and, having been punished by her (I discharged the) vow to Mother Leto." This may serve as a single example of a large class, in which the dedicator records his (or her) fault, chastisement, and penitence.

The epithet "Mother" marks the Leto of Hierapolis as a form of the usual Mother-goddess of Asia Minor, worshipped under many names, but with practical identity of character, in all parts of the country. It is not impossible that the name Leto or Lato is a form of the old Semitic Al-Lat, "the Goddess," a mark of Semitic influence coming over Cyprus and Pamphylia. The name Leto, indeed, was understood to be connected with *λανθάνω* and *λήθη*, but such Grecising of non-Greek names was very common.

The formula given above is peculiarly connected with the worship of Mother Leto. The worship of the goddess under this name can be traced:

1. In the Lydian Katakekaumene: "I, Apollonios Dralas, thank the mighty Goddess Leto," may be taken as a characteristic example of its class. But in this district she was more frequently named by the Greek name Artemis, or by the Persian name Anaitis; the latter was introduced by the colonists whom the Persian kings settled in eastern Lydia.\*

2. Along the whole line of Mount Messogis to the sea. Strabo (p. 629) considers Messogis as the same range with the mountains behind Hierapolis, and this is so in the sense that Messogis is a prolongation of the plateau of which the Hierapolitan range is the rim. A festival at Hierapolis was called *ΛΗΤΩΕΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ*, uniting the two great deities, Leto and Apollo. At Dionysopolis and Motella examples are very numerous. A coin of Tripolis, with the legend *ΛΗΤΩ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ*, shows the goddess sitting, sceptre in hand. The type of Leto fleeing before Pytho with the infants, Apollo and Artemis, occurs on coins of Tripolis, Attouda, Mastaura, and Magnesia; also at Ephesos with the legend *ΛΗΤΩ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ* (Imhoof Blumer, M.G., p. 285). At Magnesia

\* Their aim, doubtless, was to plant these Asiatics along the Royal Road, leading from Sardis to the governing centre of the Empire at Susa, to keep it secure under their faithful guardianship.

the river Lethæos, which flows out of Messogis, was doubtless the river of Leto. Grecised in accordance with the false derivation from  $\lambda\eta\theta\eta$ . In Ephesos we find the formula, "I give thanks to Artemis I, Stephanos," or "I give thanks to thee, Lady Artemis, I, Gaius Scaptius."

3. Further south we find Leto-before-the-city at Oinoanda on the Lycian frontier. In Lycia, generally, Leto was worshipped as a national and family deity and as the guardian of the tomb (Benndorf, *Lykia*, i. p. 118; Treuber, *Gesch. d. Lykier*, p. 69 f.).

4. In Western Pisidia we find Leto as the guardian of the tomb, and a dedication "to Apollo and Apollo's Mother," &c.

5. In Pamphylia we find a priest of Pergæan Leto who seems to be the same as the Queen of Perga (*Ἀνασσα Περγαια*), usually known by the Greek name Artemis. So a Messapian inscription has the expression Artomis-Leto; Deecke errs in separating the names by a comma (*Rh. Mus.* 1887, p. 232).

In this enumeration we observe that Leto is identified with Artemis; the mother and the daughter are only two slightly differentiated forms of the ultimate divine personality in its feminine aspect. The daughter is the mother reappearing in the continuity of life; the child replaces the parent, different and yet the same. Leto, the Lady, and Kora, the Maiden, are the divine prototypes of earthly life; the divine nature is as complex as humanity, and contains in itself all the elements which appear in our earthly life. But how does Kora originate? There must be in the ultimate divine nature the male element as well as the female,  $\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  as well as  $\eta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . From the union of the two originates the daughter-goddess. But even this is not sufficient: the son also is needed, and the son is the offspring of the daughter-goddess and her father.

The story of the life of these divine personages formed the ritual of the Phrygian religion. In the mysteries, the story was acted before the worshippers by the officials, who played the parts of the various characters in the divine drama. The details of the mystic play are very fully described by Clement of Alexandria. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the description which he has given, for many of its details, repulsive as some and trivial as others are, are proved from independent evidence. Clement describes them as Eleusinian, for they had spread to Eleusis as the rites of Demeter and Kora, crossing from Asia to Crete, and from Crete to the European peninsula.\* Fundamentally the same, this ritual was developed with

\* See especially Foucart, "Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs," p. 72 f. Many authorities consider that Clement is wrong in describing the ritual as Eleusinian, and that it is only Phrygian and Orphic. See Lenormant, in his important series of articles in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (1886). I may also be permitted to refer to my article on "Mysteries," in the *Encyclop. Britan.*, ed. ix.

slight differences in detail in the different homes to which it spread in Asia Minor and Greece. The different peoples who adopted it imparted to it some of their national character, Syrian, or Persian, or Greek; but its general type remained unaltered.

The male deity seems to be considered as a companion of the Mother-goddess of inferior rank to her. In this cultus there was no holy marriage to form the central crowning rite, the prototype to human marriage, and the guarantee of family life on earth. The impregnation of the Mother-goddess formed part of the sacred ritual enacted in the mysteries; but it seems everywhere to have been an act of violence, or stealth, or deception. This first act, the birth of the daughter, is followed by the second act; the generation of the son, which again is an act of deception and violence, enacted by the god in the form of a serpent (the Echidna of Hierapolis). The religion originated among a people whose social system was not founded on marriage, and among whom the mother was head of the family, and relationship was counted only through her. Long after a higher type of society had come into existence in Phrygia, the religion preserved the facts of the primitive society; but it became esoteric, and the facts were only set forth in the mysteries.

The question naturally occurs, when had the change from the old social system to the new occurred? On this we possess no evidence, merely general presumptions, which will be stated in a more suitable place. But it is clear that in the Roman period the old system had not entirely disappeared; it still existed as a religious institution, permitted by popular opinion, and recognised by law. The inscriptions reveal to us cases in which women of good position felt themselves called upon to live the divine life, under the influence of divine inspiration. The typical case is recorded in an inscription of Tralleis. "Good Fortune. Lucia Aurelia Milia, sprung of ancestors who had with unwashed feet performed the divine service of prostitution, daughter of L. Aurelius Secundus Seius, after she had herself complied with the same divine rule of service in accordance with an oracle, made this dedication to Zeus."

The commentary on this inscription is contained in Strabo's account, p. 532, of the social customs which existed in Akilisene in his own time, and which, as he says, formerly existed in Lydia. "They dedicate (to Anaitis) male and female slaves, and this, in itself, is not strange; but even the highest nobles consecrate their daughters while virgins, and among them the rule is that they live as courtesans before the goddess for a long time before they are given in marriage, while no one thinks it unworthy to dwell with a woman of this class." The inscription shows that the custom survived in Lydia as late as the second century: the person here concerned is of

good rank, as is proved by the Latin name of her family.\* She comes of ancestors who have served before the god with asceticism (unwashed feet) and prostitution; she has served in the same way in accordance with the express orders of the god; and she records her service in a public dedication.† This is not likely to have been an isolated case, for it appears, from the publicity given to it, to have involved no infamy. Strabo seems to imply that at Komana Pontica this kind of service was confined, as a rule, but not absolutely, to the class of persons called *Hierai*.‡ Other persons, however, besides the *Hierai* occasionally performed the service; and the Trallian inscription gives a typical case of such voluntary service.

This example enables us to understand many other inscriptions. Suppose L. Aurelia Æmilia had had a child during her service, what would have been its legal status? Were such children reckoned legitimate or illegitimate? The answer to this question is important, as determining the attitude of the country law towards the custom. I think that at least in the cities where Greek civilisation had not thoroughly established itself, they were reckoned legitimate and took the rank of their mother. They are mentioned in inscriptions with the mother's name in place of the father's, and even with the formula "of unknown father."§ The ancient social system had, therefore, never been abolished, but simply decayed slowly before the advance of Græco-Roman civilisation. It lingered longer in remote districts than in the cities of the west.||

Incidentally we note that the discrepancy between the religious ritual and the recognised principles of society contributed to the extraordinarily rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor. The religion was not in keeping with the facts of life; and in the general change of circumstances and education that accompanied the growth of Roman organisation in the country, the minds of men were stimulated to thought and ready for new ideas. In the country generally a higher type of society was maintained; whereas at the great temples the primitive social system was kept up as a religious duty incumbent on the class called *Hierai* during their regular periods of service at the temple, as is proved by the inscriptions found at Dionysopolis. The chasm that divided the religion from the educated life of the

\* She is not of an Italian but of a Lydian family; an Italian woman would not be named L. Aurelia Æmilia, for the name offends against Latin rules of nomenclature.

† The marble column on which it was inscribed supported some offering.

‡ *Ἡεραὶ* at *πῆλιος εἰς τὴν ἱεράν*, Strabo, p. 559. The *Hierai* were bound by birth to the divine service.

§ A person thus designated is mentioned in the list of the Gerousia at Sidyma. It is true that the scrutiny of citizens was not very strict, for freedmen were admitted to the Gerousia at Sidyma as *δημοβροί*; but we find that Neiketēs, son of Parthena, was a senator there, and the scrutiny with regard to senators was strict.

|| See the large proportion of cases in the little Isaurian city of Dalisandos (Headlam, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1892, p. 1).

country became steadily wider and deeper. In this state of things St. Paul entered the country, and; wherever education had already been diffused, he found converts ready and eager. Those who believe that the tale of St. Thekla\* is founded on a real incident will recognise in it a vivid picture of the life of the time, helping us to appreciate the reason for the marvellous and electrical effect that is attributed in *Acts* to the preaching of the Apostle.

In studying the antiquities of the various cities and bishoprics of Phrygia, and in a less degree of other districts of Asia Minor, we find numberless traces which enable us to fill out in detail this brief sketch of the religion of Hierapolis and of the old social system to which it bears witness. Hierapolis was so much under Greek influence that the Phrygian ritual was more strictly esoteric and private there than in some other places. In particular, not a trace survives there of the old system of government on the village-system which struggled all over Asia Minor against the Greek city-system. The Anatolian village-system was almost a pure theocracy. The god of the central *hieron*, revealing his will through his priests and prophets, guided with absolute power the action of the population which dwelt in villages scattered over the country round the *hieron*. The chief priesthoods seem to have been to a great extent hereditary in one family or in a small number of families; but no evidence remains as to the rules of succession. The highest priests and priestesses played the parts of the great gods in the mystic ritual, wore their dress, and bore their names; they, as a body, or perhaps the chief priest alone, controlled the prophetic utterances which guided the action of the community. Alongside of this theocratic government of the various districts, there was originally an imperial government of the whole country; but the nature of this central government is still a matter for investigation. Nothing positive can be stated about it, though its existence seems certain.

One other point of importance remains to be noticed in the Hierapolitan evidence. The eunuch priests of the *hieron* were able to defy the poisonous influence of the Charonion and live in its divine atmosphere unharmed. These priests, having separated themselves from the world, already possessed some of the divine nature, and could support unharmed the terrors of the world of death. What light does this throw on the nature of the religion? It implies that the annihilation of the distinction of sex brings the man closer to the divine life. The distinction of sex, therefore, is not an ultimate and fundamental fact of the divine life: the god and the goddess, the son and the maiden are all mere appearances of the real and single divine life that underlies them. That life is self-complete, self-sufficient, continually existent; the idea of change, of diversity, of passage from

\* See "Church in the Roman Empire," ch. xvi.

form to form—*i.e.*, of death—comes in with the idea of sex-distinction. Hence it is part of the religion to confuse in various ways the distinction—*e.g.*, to make the priest neither male nor female, and to make mutilation the test of willingness to enter the divine service.

It is remarkable that, though prophets and physicians formed part of every priestly establishment in Asia Minor, yet we have no proof that the prophets developed their religion in the way that the early prophets of Apollo developed the Greek religion, introducing moralised ideas and adapting the old religion to be the divine guide of a higher system of society. But it lies far beyond the limits of the Hierapolitan *hieron* to enter on this wider subject. Only after collecting all the scattered evidence bearing on each centre of Anatolian religion can we face such a large question.

The Greek political institutions seem not to have taken deep root in Hierapolis. The inscriptions mention the Senate, but only as a receiver of sepulchral fines; they mention the Record-office as containing copies of sepulchral inscriptions; they mention the Gerousia as guardian of graves; and they mention an annual gymnasiarch, and an agoranomos. On the coins, which are a thoroughly political institution, we find Senate, Demos, Gerousia, Archons, Strategoi, Grammateus, and Prytanis; \* also Euposia and Eubosia, the former an impersonation of the public banquets, and the latter of the fertility of the soil, both being forms of the Mother-goddess of the city in her civic aspect.†

Even on coins many traces of a religious character appear, the gods ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟC, ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗC, ΖΕΥC·ΒΟΖΙΟC, ΖΕΥC·ΤΡΩΙΟC, ΧΡΥCΟΠΟΑC (river-god) and the heroes ΜΟΨΟC and ΤΟΡΡΗCΟC (the former probably symbolising the prophetic power, and the latter the priestly office; Mopsos is widely known as a prophet from Colophon to Cilicia; Torresos, clad in a long cloak, holds a statuette of the goddess, and leans on a lyre).‡ Such types as Hades-Serapis with Kerberos, Men, Rape of Proserpina, Men standing or on horseback (called generally an Amazon), head of the Sun-god radiated, Apollo bearing the lyre, Dionysos, Asklepios, Nemesis, and Selene in *biga*, illustrate the character of the cultus; and the type of a bull's head, surmounted by a crescent and two stars, is also connected. Even that typical Greek institution, the games, are more than usually religious in title, ΑΗΤΩΙΕΙΑ·ΗΥΘΙΑ, ΧΡΥCΑΝΤΙΝΑ § (though ΑΚΤΙΑ·ΗΥΘΙΑ are more political in character).

\* The *Epimeteles*, Claudius Pollio, Asiarch, belongs to Hieropolis in Phrygia Salutaris.

† M. Imhoof (*M.G.*, p. 402), considers the two forms to be mere variants in spelling, but they are distinct terms. At Smyrna the public banquets were directed by a Euposiarach (IG 3385), Eubosia was a goddess at Akmonia.

‡ Torresos is unknown. Zeus Bozios was the owner of the temple-estates, which were called Bozios in Phrygia, and Bazis at Tyana in Cappadocia.

§ Mr. Head compares ΧΡΥCΑΝΘΕΙΝΑ at Sardis, and explains the name from the flowers in the victor's wreath. While agreeing that the crown was probably composed of the flower *χρυσανθος* (corn-marigold, L. and S.), I should look for a connection between the flower and the goddess Leto-Cybele.

On these coins a bewildering variety of Greek gods are mentioned. In what relation do they stand to the native Phrygian gods? Votive inscriptions on marble, also, as a rule, do honour to Greek, not to native, gods; and they show us the explanation. The worshipper appealed to the god on the side of his manifold and all-powerful character that suited his special needs; and, as all educated persons spoke and wrote in Greek, each designated the god by the Greek name that seemed to suit his case and to express his reason for seeking divine aid. The identification with Asklepios is particularly interesting. The god was the Physician and the Saviour (*σωτήρ, σώζων*) of his people. He punished their transgressions\* by inflicting diseases on them, and when they were penitent, he taught them how to treat and to cure their diseases, so that medical schools often grew up beside the leading temples.

There is, in the history of Hierapolis and of Anatolia generally, only one unity, which lies in the continuity of its religious history. It was probably the old-standing religious importance of Hierapolis that led Justinian, some time before A.D. 533 (perhaps in 536), to make it a metropolis for ecclesiastical purposes, if not also for civil purposes. A district of Phrygia Pacatiana was separated from the rest of the province and placed under it.† In this, as in numberless other cases, we observe the influence of earlier religious facts on the ecclesiastical organisation of the country under the Christian emperors. No religious fact died: no religious centre was destroyed: a Christian character was given to the old institutions.

W. M. RAMSAY.

\* So far as evidence contained in the inscriptions of Phrygia goes, the transgressions that entail punishment are sins against the law of ritual, not the moral law. The only case that is doubtful is the breaking of an oath, which occurs in several instances without detail sufficient to show whether the sin belonged to the former or the latter category.

† At the Council of 680 Sisinnios of Hierapolis signed *ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐκκλησίας*; and the division is doubtless older than the Council of 553, where Hierapolis ranked as a metropolis.



## OSÉ ECHEGARAY.

**T**HE Spanish theatre has for so long been out of fashion that a revived interest in it would carry us into a sort of renaissance. It is not virgin soil, like the drama of the north which has so lately caught the ear of Europe. This, perhaps, accounts for its lack of distinctive originality. For even in Echegaray's notable plays, strong and original as they are, there is an unmistakable ring of the past. We feel it is more a revival than a youthful outburst, with all the promise of novelty. True, it is dominated by the modern need and its restless searching note; it must prove its mission as something more than the mere desire to divert. Not even a sermon could be more remote than this theatre from the old comedy of manners, of loose morals and diverting intrigue, all weighing as lightly on the dramatist's conscience as on the audience's. And it may be questioned if Echegaray, a Professor of Mathematics as well as a dramatist and poet, could be induced to accept Mr. Stevenson's well-known and not inappropriate classification of the artist as of the family of Daughters of Joy. His is no neutral voice between vice and virtue, concerned solely for the pleasure or interest of the hour, suing approbation through laughter or wit, or sympathy through dramatic tears. Lest his audience should fail to carry their musings on the problems of life to the theatre in the proper modern spirit, he starts by pricking their conscience and exciting thought that as little relieves them from the pressure of reality as one of Ibsen's plays—though, with the latter his have nothing else in common but this determined purpose.

In this hour, when foreign Shakespeares are springing up around with incredible profusion, it would be an agreeable task to come forward with a Spanish Shakespeare. But Don José Echegaray is no such thing. He bears no resemblance to the new geniuses hailed

with such delight. He has none of the subtlety of Maeterlinck, and certainly offers entertainment by means of tricks less reminiscent of our start in modern languages. His literary baggage reveals neither the depth nor the flashes of luminous thought with which Ibsen startles us through an obscurity of atmosphere, a childish baldness, and an unconventional disregard of all the old-fashioned theories upon which the laws of dramatic criticism have been formed. But if EcheGARAY is less original, he is creditably more sane. The lack of depth carries with it a corresponding absence of crudeness, and an artlessness often so bewildering as to leave us imperfectly capable of distinguishing the extreme fineness of the line between genius and insanity. The lucid air of the South clarifies thought, and produces nothing less sober than Latin bombast and the high-phrased moods of the Don.

What is more to be deplored in EcheGARAY's plays is the absence of French art. An artist in the polished, complete sense he cannot be described. He has none of the French dramatist's incision, none of his delicate irony, his playfulness and humorous depravity, none of his beautiful clarity of expression, still less of his polish, his wit and consummate dexterity. Poetry is his favourite form of dramatic expression, but it is not the suave measured poetry of M. Richepin, and while he often takes his inspiration from the Middle Ages, he offers us nothing like the ethereal and fanciful verse of M. Armand Silvestre, when that author condescends to forget that he is *fin de siècle*, and seeks to please through the sweetness and delicacy of some mediæval legend. EcheGARAY is poet enough to delight in these thrilling ages. But his treatment of them leaves us cold. It lacks fancy and buoyancy. The women are puppets and the men little better than belted ranters. Sombre passion does not adequately fill the place of absent humour. It is thin and false, and glaringly artificial, like the mediæval romance of an inefficient author. It is a remarkable fact that such a play as "Mar sin Orillas" (Shoreless Sea) should have achieved popularity in a town so imitatively, not intellectually, modern as Madrid. It has no originality whatever, and offers nothing as compensation for dulness. It is pure Middle Ages, but without the captivating atmosphere of those plumed and belted centuries. It runs complacently along the old dusty highroad; swords clash, knights march off to glory and the Turkish wars, and beauty at home struggles with parental enmity, is sore distraught and belied, and while we are reminded, in the high tone of the ancient singers, that

"Amor que á la guerra fué  
Sabe Dios si volverá,"

we are confused by the stupidity of everybody.

What touches us more closely is EcheGARAY's manipulation of the

modern conscience, and its illimitable scope for reflection, for conflict, and the many-sided drama of temptation. This is familiar ground, and we are ever pleased to welcome a new combatant. That the Spanish dramatist brings a novel note may be accepted after reading the curious prologue to his "Gran Galeoto." It is the best and most popular of Echegaray's plays. In its printed form it is dedicated to *Everybody*, which is the crowning insistence on the *motif* of the prologue. This is in two scenes, in the form of a dialogue between Ernest, the hero, and his friend and benefactor, Don Julian, a middle-aged and wealthy banker, with a young wife, Teodora. Don Julian interrupts Ernest in a laborious effort of composition, and the irritated author explains his troubles; he thought he had hit on an excellent idea, but the attempt to give it form, clothed in appropriate terms and scenery, revealed it strange, impossible, anti-dramatic, and beset with difficulties. Don Julian—who is the pleasantest imaginable representative of *everybody*, boundlessly good-natured, of a clear mercantile spirit, without a mental twist or crank, and very much enamoured of his young wife—beseeches his friend to explain away these difficulties:

ERNEST: Imagine the principal personage one who creates the drama and develops it, who gives it life and provokes the catastrophe, who, broadly, fills and possesses it, and yet who cannot make his way to the stage.

DON JULIAN: Is he so ugly, then? So repugnant or bad?

ERNEST: Not so. Ugly as you or I may be—not worse. Neither good nor bad, and truly not repugnant. I am not such a cynic—neither a misanthrope nor one so out of love with life as to fall into an error of that sort.

DON JULIAN: Then what is the reason?

ERNEST: The reason, Don Julian, is that there is no material room in the scenario for this personage.

DON JULIAN: Holy Virgin! What do you mean? Is it by chance a mythological drama with Titans in it?

ERNEST: Not at all. It is modern.

DON JULIAN: Well, then?

ERNEST: Briefly—it is a question of *everybody*.

DON JULIAN: *Everybody!* You are right. There is no room for everybody on the stage. It is an incontrovertible truth that has more than once been demonstrated.

ERNEST: Then you agree with me?

DON JULIAN: Not entirely. *Everybody* may be condensed in a few types and characters. This is matter beyond my depth, but such, I understand, has been the practice of the masters.

ERNEST: Yes; but in my case it is to condemn me not to write my drama.

DON JULIAN: Why?

ERNEST: For many reasons it would be difficult to explain; above all, at this hour.

DON JULIAN: Never mind. Give me a few.

ERNEST: Look! Each individual of this entire mass, each head of this monster of a thousand heads, of this Titan of the century, whom I call

*Everybody*, takes part in my play. It may be for a flying moment, to utter but one word, fling a single glance. Perhaps his action in the tale consists of a smile, seen but to vanish. Listless and absent-minded, he acts without passion, without anger, without guile, often for mere distraction's sake.

DON JULIAN: What then?

ERNEST: These light words, these fugitive glances, these indifferent smiles, all these passing murmurs and this petty evil, which may be called the insignificant rays of the dramatic light, condensed to one focus, to one family, result in conflagration and explosion, in strife and in victims. If I represent the whole by a few types or symbolical personages, I bestow upon each one that which is really dispensed among many, and such a result distorts my idea. Suppose a few types on the stage, whose guile repels and is the less natural because evil in them has no object; this exposes me to a worse consequence, to the accusation of meaning to paint a cruel, corrupted, and debased society, when my sole pretension is to prove that not even the most insignificant actions are in themselves insignificant or lost for good or evil. For, added to the mysterious influences of modern life, they may reach to immense effects.

DON JULIAN: Say no more, my friend. All this is metaphysics. A glimmer of light, perhaps, but an infinitude of cloud. However, you understand these things better than I do. Letters of exchange, shares, stock and discount, now—that's another matter.

ERNEST: You've common sense, and that's the chief thing.

DON JULIAN: Thanks, Ernest, you flatter me.

ERNEST: But you follow me?

DON JULIAN: Not in the least. There ought to be a way out of the difficulty.

ERNEST: If that were all!

DON JULIAN: What! More?

ERNEST: Tell me what is the great dramatic spring?

DON JULIAN: My dear fellow, how am I to know what you mean by a dramatic spring? All I can tell you is that I have not the slightest interest in plays where love does not preponderate—above all, unfortunate love, for I have enough of happy love at home.

ERNEST: Ah, I thought so. Then in my play there can be little or no love.

DON JULIAN: So much the worse say I. Though I know nothing of your play, I suspect it will interest nobody.

ERNEST: So I have been telling you. Nevertheless, there will be a sort of love—and jealousy too.

DON JULIAN: Ah, then with an interesting intrigue, skilfully developed, and some effective situations—

ERNEST: No, nothing of the sort. It will be all simple, flowing, almost vulgar . . . so that the drama cannot be shown upon the surface. Drama runs between the lines, advances slowly; to-day takes hold of the mind, to-morrow of a heart-beat, undermines the will by infinitesimal degrees.

DON JULIAN: But who understands all this? How are these interior ravages manifested? Who recounts to the audience? In what way are they evident? Must we spend a whole evening hunting for a glance, a sigh, a gesture, a single word? My dear boy, this is not amusement. To cast us into such depths, is to hurl us upon philosophy.

ERNEST: You but echo my own thought.

DON JULIAN: I have no wish to discourage you. You best know what you are about—there! Though the play seems rather colourless, heavy and uninteresting, perhaps with the catastrophe, life—explosion—eh?

ERNEST: Catastrophe! Explosion! Hardly, and that just upon the fall of the curtain.

DON JULIAN: Which means that the play begins when the curtain falls?

ERNEST: Just so. But I will endeavour to give it a little warmth.

DON JULIAN: My dear lad, what you have to do is to write the *second* play, the one that begins when the first ends. For the other, according to your description, is not worth the trouble of writing.

ERNEST: 'Tis the conclusion I have come to myself.

DON JULIAN: Then we agree—for all your skill and logic. And what is the name?

ERNEST: That's another difficulty. I can find none.

DON JULIAN: What! No name either?

ERNEST: No, unless, as Don Hermogenes says, we could put it into Greek for greater clarity.

DON JULIAN: Of a surety, Ernest, you were dozing when I came in. You have been dreaming nonsense.

ERNEST: Dreaming! yes. Nonsense! perhaps. I talk both dreams and nonsense. But you are sensible and always right.

DON JULIAN: In this case it does not require much penetration. A drama in which the chief personage cannot appear; in which there is hardly any love; in which nothing happens but what happens every day; that begins with the fall of the curtain upon the last act and which has no name: I don't know how it is to be written, still less how it is to be acted, how you are to find an audience, nor in what the drama consists.

ERNEST: Nevertheless, it is a drama, if I could only give it proper form.

This may be accepted as the author's analysis of his own play, for it is his hero who names it, at the end of an impassioned address to inspiration, in which he calls upon the shades of Francesca de Rimini and Paolo—Dante open at this canto upon his desk being afterwards regarded by Don Julian's nephew as damning evidence against him. In this monologue he tells us that "as the scattered rays of light are gathered to a wide focus by transparent crystal, and the crossed bars of shadows are forged by the dark, mountains made from grains of earth and seas from drops of water," so will he use our lost words, our vague smiles, our glances of curiosity, and all those thousand trivialities dispersed in cafés, theatres, reunions and all spectacles, that float round and about us. Such, he adds, will prove the modest crystal of his intelligence, the lens which will bring light and shade to a focus, and lead up to dramatic conflagration and the tragic catastrophe. So inspired; after a glance at Dante, he takes a pen, and feverishly writes the title: "El Gran Galeoto."

To this extraordinary and self-conscious prelude, which lifts a play quite out of the region of diversion, and, as the sensible Don Julian remarks, plunges us into philosophy, the written, not acted, prologue to "El Hijo de Don Juan" (Don Juan's Son) may be added as an excellent interpretation of Echegaray's personality, revealed already with passable clearness in the dramatic prologue quoted. He enumerates the conclusions of the critics. That the play was inspired by Ibsen's celebrated "Ghosts." That the passions it deals with are more appropriate to Northern climes than to the South. That it treats of the problem of hereditary madness. That it discusses the

law of heredity. That it is gloomy and lugubrious, with no other object than that of inspiring horror. That it is a purely pathological drama. That it contains nothing but the process of madness. That from the moment it is understood that Lázaro will go mad, all interest in the work ceases, and there remains nothing but to follow step by step the shipwreck of enfeebled intelligence. And so on. Echegaray regards all this as the lamentable exercise of dramatic criticism. The underlying thought of his work is different, but he declines to enter into further explanation of it, each scene and each phrase sufficiently explaining it already. To touch more closely upon the matter would be perilous. Besides, he adds, it is not his habit to defend his plays. Once written, he casts them to their fate, without material or moral defence, and the critics are free to tear themselves to pieces over them. There is one phrase alone that he defends energetically, because it is borrowed from Ibsen, and appears to him of singular beauty: "Mother, give me the sun." This he describes in his prologue as "simple, infantile, half comical, but enfolding a world of ideas, an ocean of feeling, a hell of sorrows, a cruel lesson, the supreme watchword of society—of the family." He continues, quite in the modern spirit:

"A generation consumed by vice, which carries in its marrow the veins of impure love, in whose corrupted blood the red globules are mixed with putrid matter, must ever fall by degrees into the abyss of idiocy. Lázaro's cry is the last glimmer of a reason dropping into the eternal darkness of imbecility. At that very hour Nature awakes, and the sun rises; it is another twilight that will soon be all light.

"Both twilights meet, cross, salute in recognition of eternal farewell, at the end of the drama. Reason, departing, is held in the grip of corrupting pleasure. The sun, rising, with its immortal call, is pushed forward by the sublime force of Nature.

"Down with human reason, at the point of extinction: hail to the sun that starts another day! 'Give me the sun,' Lázaro cries to his mother. Don Juan also begs it through the tresses of the girl of Tarifa.

"On this subject there is much to be said; it provokes much reflection. If indeed our society—but what the deuce am I doing with philosophy? Let each one solve the problem as best he can, and ask for the sun, the horns of the moon, or whatever takes his fancy. And if nobody is interested in the matter, it only proves that the modern Don Juan has engendered many children without Lázaro's talent.

"Respectful salutations to the children of Don Juan."

From all this it will be understood that Echegaray presses into the service of pleasure the desperate problems of our natural history, and instead of laughter confronts us with mournful gravity; asks us to stand aghast at inherited injustice, and to doubt with him the wisdom of Providence at sight of such undiminished and idle wickedness in man, and such an accumulation of unmerited suffering. Nowadays we are inordinately engrossed by such issues, and life weighs more heavily upon our shoulders than it did upon our fathers. The good

old spirit of fun is fast being trodden out of us by the pervading sense of a mission, and the laborious duty of converting somebody to something. We no longer go to the theatre to weep over fictitious wrongs and smile at imaginary joys. We go to study what we are pleased to call life; to sip at the fountains of philosophy, to hear a sermon. It is not exhilarating, but we thankfully take the draught of wisdom offered us, and go our ways without a murmur that we have been depressed rather than entertained. Cervantes, with old-fashioned sanity of judgment, condemned the practice of preaching sermons through the veil of fiction. What sort of reflection would the pathological novel and drama inspire in so wise and witty an author? He might be led to create a type of character even more mad than the Knight Errant.

"El Hijo de Don Juan" (Don Juan's Son) is an infinitely crueller and more disagreeable play than "Ghosts," because it is more lucid, more direct. The characters themselves are more carefully drawn, and we have a closer actual acquaintance with them. Here there is not one victim only, but two. Don Juan, the middle-aged *roué*, has a friend, also a middle-aged *roué*. The daughter of his friend, Carmen, is consumptive, and is betrothed to his son, Lázaro, who is subject to vertigo. The play opens with three elderly *roués*, all ill-preserved after a life of scandal, holding converse the reverse of edifying over tobacco and alcohol. Here Echegaray shows how little he means to mince matters by the remarks he puts into the mouth of one of them in reply to Don Juan's boast that the genius of his son is inherited from him. Paternal inheritance would be nothing but rheum or neurosis—"the sediment of pleasure and the residuum of alcohol." Upon this Don Juan launches into poetry and describes the single moment in which his soul soared above material enjoyments and sighed for the glorious and impossible. It was after an orgy, and as his half-closed eyes saw the sun rise over the Guadalquivir through the silky waves of a girl's hair, he understood the beauty of poetry and Nature, and stretched out a hand to clutch the splendid orb. This desire is afterwards recalled to him in a moment of surprising horror, when his brilliant and beloved son, sinking into imbecility, sees the rising sun, and cries: "How lovely! Mother, give me the sun." "And I also wanted it once," Don Juan exclaims: "My God! my son! Lázaro!"

Don Juan, as might be inferred from his name, carries on intrigues with ballet-girls and servant-maids under the nose of his wife and son. Lázaro seems blind enough to parental delinquencies. Not, as he explains himself when complaining of broken health, that he has been a saint because he has eschewed excesses. The scene where he first appears ailing and stupid is singularly painful, above all, towards the end, when, after an outburst of lucid eloquence, he falls drowsily

upon the sofa, and feeling sleep upon him, begs that Carmen, his betrothed, should not be permitted to see him in a ridiculous attitude.

XAVIER: Unless you are as beautiful as Endymion she will not enter.  
(*Pause. XAVIER walks about; LAZARO begins to sleep.*)

LAZARO: Xavier, Xavier!

XAVIER: What?

LAZARO: Now I am—half asleep—how do I look?

XAVIER: Very poetical.

LAZARO: Good. Thanks—very poetical (*dreamily*).

The second act is somewhat livelier, and contains more spirited contrasts. That EcheGARAY could excel in lighter comedy may be seen in an amusing scene between the serious son and the dissipated good-natured father.

Don Juan is alone with his son, who is walking restlessly about. The father asks his son what he is thinking of, and then apologises for disturbing weighty thought. Lázaro listlessly replies that his imagination was wandering and he wandering after it. When he has received many assurances of not being in the poet's way, Don Juan calls for sherry, the Parisian newspapers, and "Nana." Caught laughing over "Nana," he asserts his horror of immoral books, and his conviction that literature is going to the dogs.

LAZARO: Zola is a great writer. Ah, I've caught the idea I was seeking (*sits down to write*).

There is here a little humorous by-play between the servant and Don Juan, and afterwards a reference to the lugubrious theme in converse between her and Lázaro, whose listlessness, courtesy and musing, make an admirable relief against the alert and fussy affection and frivolity of his father.

DON JUAN: Ha, ha! witty, exceedingly witty. Full of salt; hot as red pepper. "Gil Blas" is the only paper worth reading.

LAZARO: An interesting article? What is it about? Let me see.

DON JUAN (*hastily ramming the paper into his pocket*): A dull and shocking article. I must take it away, for the mischief would be in it if it fell into Carmen's hands.

LAZARO: You are quite right (*beginning to walk again*).

DON JUAN: I hadn't finished it. I must only finish it later. (*Takes up "Nana."*) Stupendous! Monumental, enough to make one die of laughing. Lord! why do we read but for amusement's sake? Then give us diverting books (*laughing*).

LAZARO: Is it a witty book?

DON JUAN (*in altered voice*): Perhaps. But this light literature soon wearies. (*Seeing LAZARO approach, he hides "Nana" in another pocket.*) Have you anything substantial to read—but really substantial?

LAZARO (*looking through his books*): Do you like Kant?

DON JUAN: Kant? Do you say Kant? The very thing. He was always my favourite author. When I was young I fell asleep every night over Kant. (*Aside*) Who the deuce is it?

LAZARO: If you like I will—(*looking for a passage*).



DON JUAN: No, my son. Any part will do, if this can be read in divisions. Let me see. Don't trouble about me. Write, my son, write. (LÁZARO begins to write and DON JUAN reads.) "Beneath the aspect of relation, third moment of taste, the beautiful appears to us the final form of an object, without semblance to finality." The devil! (*holding book away and contemplating it in terror.*) The devil! "Or as a finality without end." 'There are people who understand this! "Since it is called the final form to the causality of any conception with relation to the object." Let me see (*holding book still further off*); "final form to the causality." 'Pon my word, I'm perspiring (*wipes his forehead*). "Conscience is this finality without end, is the play of the cognitive forces." What! "The play of cognitive . . . the play" . . . If it were play I should understand it. "Conscience of this internal causality is what constitutes æsthetic pleasure." If I continue I shall have congestion. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph! Only think that Lázaro understands the finality without end, the causality, and the play of the cognitive forces. Heavens! what a fellow! (*Reads again.*) "The principle of the methodical conformity of Nature is the transcendental principle of the strength of judgment." (*Strikes the table.*) I should lose myself if I read more. But what a fellow, who can read such stuff and keep sane!

LÁZARO: Does it interest you?

DON JUAN: Immensely. What depth! (*aside.*) I am five minutes falling into it and haven't yet reached the bottom. I should think indeed it interested me. But, frankly, I prefer—

LÁZARO: Hegel?

DON JUAN: Just so ("Nana").

After talk of Lázaro's health and engagement, Don Juan, learning that the young man is pensive or preoccupied, solely because he is projecting a drama, says he will leave him to thought. Glancing into Kant, he mutters, "The—the—the cognitive forces—the—the—finality—yes, the finality." "Work, my son, work. Above all, write nothing immoral." He drinks off a glass of sherry, and regretfully remarks that this finality has an end; then marches away with the bottle, "Gil Blas," or "Nana" to study in solitude.

This is the sole touch of comedy in a play of ever-increasing gloom, pervaded by the stupor of the hero and the cough of the heroine. "My father loves me dearly," Carmen remarks to Dolores, Don Juan's embittered wife. "Then he ought to have given you stronger lungs," the elder woman retorts, with shocking directness. It is indeed, as Echegaray complains the critics assert, a pathological drama. When his friends are not discussing the symptoms of Lázaro's strange malady, he himself is enumerating them in merciless monologues. He talks of his greatness, of his fame, of the popularity of his works, and then falls into childish drivel, or longs for playthings. "His head is not firm," says Don Nemesis to Carmen's father, in dubiety before the prospect of the marriage; "that is why he is so stupendous at times, and all the world calls him a genius. Put no trust in geniuses, Timotheus. A genius may walk down one street, and hear the people cry, 'The genius!' Let him round the corner into another street, and he will hear the street arab shout after

him, 'The lunatic!' Much talent is decidedly a dangerous thing." "God defend us from it!" piously exclaims the elderly *roué*. "I have always been very careful not to cultivate it."

It would be difficult to conceive a more needlessly disagreeable scene than the interview between the celebrated brain doctor and Lázaro, who, the night before, has been consulted by Dolores on behalf of a nephew, and innocently, but with terrible frankness, discusses the case with the unfortunate victim himself. "We cannot with impunity corrupt the sources of life," says Doctor Bermudez, in the high scientific manner, without noticing the increasing emotion of his companion; "the son of such a father must soon fall into madness or idiotcy." "Ah! No! What? My father! •I—It is a lie!" Lázaro bursts out, in frantic horror. When the poor mother enters the scene and brings her maternal note of despair to the son's distracted terror, we feel that the modern drama has reached a pitch of tragedy unapprehended in healthier and more barbaric ages. "Lose one's brains as one might lose a hat!" exclaims Don Juan when enlightened. "Bah! idiots are born so . . . but a man of genius! . . . Lázaro, who understands *the finality without end* as he knows the *Paternoster!*"

DOLORES (*despairingly*): But if it were true? If it were true? And then? Oh! why was I born? (*approaching DON JUAN, who retreats*). Through you have I lost my illusions, stained my youth, debased my life, forfeited my dignity—through you! And after twenty years of sacrifices, to be worthy of Lázaro! . . . good for his sake, loyal for him, resigned for him, honourable for him, and to-day! . . . No, you have always been a scoundrel; but for once you must be right. Impossible! impossible! God could not will it.

DON JUAN: Good, I have always been a scoundrel. What more? But don't remember it now; above all, don't say it. Say that you forgive me. Forgive me, Dolores.

DOLORES: What does it matter?

DON JUAN: It matters to us both. If you should not forgive me, and if God should remember to punish me, and punish me through my Lázaro!

Pitiful is the poor mother's wavering between softness and bitterness. At one moment she pardons him with all her heart, or only bargains that he shall help her to save their boy. And then when he vows to do so with his whole soul and the remainder of his life, she retorts cruelly, "With what life you have left; what Heaven, in its mercy, still grants you." "Dolores!" the poor wretch exclaims, and again she softens: "It is true; I had forgiven you." Upon this the elderly scapegoat brightens and mentions Paris, Germany, England—"the English know so much. Bah! there is a good deal of science scattered over the world." "Then let us gather it all for Lázaro."

This desperate situation is relieved by the entrance of Carmen's father in the black of etiquette, strictly solemn as befits a Spanish father offering his daughter in marriage to his old chum. He says

reprovingly ; " Do not embrace me. Don't you see that I am all in black—in the garb of etiquette ? It is a very solemn occasion. Call everybody, except Lázaro—he later. Solemnity above all." The afflicted parents have decided to conceal Lázaro's calamity from the world, and make a heart-broken effort to welcome the betrothal with delight, and the gloom of the situation is deepened by the young man's miserable behaviour when called to his beloved.

LÁZARO : Carmen ! Mine, mine ! I may take her, clasp her in my arms ! inflame her with my breath ! drink her with my eyes ! I may if I like !

DON JUAN : Yes, yes, but enough.

LÁZARO : What infamy ! What treason ! Carmen !

CARMEN (*running to him*) : Lázaro !

LÁZARO : No, away ! Why do you come to me ? You cannot be mine. Never, never, never.

CARMEN : Do you give me up ? Ah, I have already felt it. Mother ! (*takes refuge in his mother's arms*).

Nobody understands. Carmen's father is indignant. Lázaro's confidential friend asks if he has gone mad, and Lázaro, bewildered, turns despairingly to Don Juan : " Father, father. You are my father. Save me." " With my life my son." " You gave me life, but it is not enough. Give me life to live, to love, to be happy. Give me life for Carmen's sake. Give me more life, or cursed be that which you have given me."

The third act is rendered more sombre if possible from the shabby chatter and airs of aged rake on the part of Carmen's father, with which it starts. We are introduced to the Tarifa girl, Don Juan's old mistress, now pensioned and respectably established on his estate on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Deeper and deeper are we forced to wade through unrelenting shadow. Now it is the frivolous Don Timotéo, sipping his manzanilla, and sneering at the young generation as personated by his daughter Carmen, Lázaro, and Lázaro's friend, the girl with her affected lungs, Lázaro with his *dementia*, and his friend formal and headachy. " Ah, in my day we were other," he sighs. " Perhaps," retorts the friend, " it is because you were—other than that we are so now." Then it is Lázaro, rough, distrustful, and sly, completely altered, afraid to sleep because he does not know how it might be upon his awakening or if he should ever awake, with swift leaps from childish drivel into the Don's plumed phrases, forgetful of modern raiment, and swaggering through imagery and sonorous syllables as if a sword clanked by his side and he carried the spurs of chivalry. And then the poor victim falls to drinking with his father's old mistress, and when half-drunk and wholly mad, plots with her to carry off Carmen. When she cries out that " farewell" means tears, he exclaims inconsequently : " Then you, too, will cry. We will all cry . . . Laughing fatigues, crying rests."

Quite gay and reckless, he faces Carmen to propose elopement to her. He laments the former coldness of his words and moods, the insufficiency of the vulgar tongue to express passion so burning and impetuous as his, and terrifies her by his wild and flowery volubility. There is night all around him except for the ray of intense light that encircles her face. On that he concentrates all that remains to him of life, of manhood, of feeling, thought and love. He descends from this into weak complaining. Her happiness is threatened by inimical conspiracies, and yet how is he to defend her? He fancies he is in a desert full of sand, plagued with unquenchable thirst and menaced by a falling heaven. He mixes up in the dreariest way the sands of the desert and the old applause that greeted his genius, wonders if either will have an end, then doubts the end of anything, and implores Carmen to save him. "Help me. Look at me, speak, laugh, cry, do something, Carmen, to keep me from wandering into the desert." But already his look is vague, and he has ceased to see her. In vain she cries to him that she is near, weeps over him, holds him to her. "I am Carmen, look at me. The little head you were wont to love so is close to your lip. I am smiling at you. Laugh, Lazaro, answer me. Wake up! Surely you hear me, you see me!" When his mother comes in response to the girl's agonised cry, a glimmer of intelligence gives a sort of dignity to his incoherent words. He wants his mother to console him, for he has to say "a long, a sad and solemn farewell to Carmen." The girl protests she will not leave him, when he irritably orders her away—a great way off. He loved her much, but now it is adieu eternally. He only wishes now to be alone with his parents, until memory suddenly carries him back into the time of quarrel, reproaches, and jealousies of those two in his childhood. "Don't contradict me, father, you used to quarrel and make me afraid." He passionately orders him away, too, with Carmen, and turns for comfort to his mother. Then he remembers his school troubles, how his mother coldly parted with him, and to guard against complete loneliness, calls for Paca, his father's old mistress. "Come, I am young, and wish to live," he cries, and when we find Don Juan aroused to indignation and threatening to fling the Tarifa girl over the balcony into the river if she does not instantly retire, we are ready to hail the mercifulness of Ibsen. This is to carry a sermon to an intolerable length, and drive us so out of love with both philosophy and science as to paint unreason with a double allurements. A father kneeling to his mad son to let an old mistress go, and the son, struggling out of the gathering torpor of intelligence to stare at the rising sun:

"Mother, how lovely!"

"Lazaro!"

"So lovely! Mother, so lovely! Give me the sun."

"My God! I also wanted it once," sobs Don Juan.

"For ever!" is the last lugubrious note of Dr. Bermudez.

It is a relief to turn from this ghastly tragedy to the brighter movement of "El Gran Galeoto." My printed copy of this play shows it to have run to the twentieth edition, which, for an unreading land like Spain, is an enormous sale. Bright is perhaps a misleading term, for the whole is tinged with the profound melancholy that strikes us in the Spanish gaze, in its character and in the tristful note of its popular songs and dances. The English are supposed to take their pleasures sadly. The saying were more appropriate to the rather dreary race beyond the Pyrenees. Whatever may be their preoccupation (generally speaking it is dulness or an empty mind they are afflicted with rather than sadness) they give the foreigner the impression of being the wholesale victims of a shattered organ which we have the habit of associating with the affections.

The "Gran Galeoto" starts comfortably with the domestic happiness of the good-natured banker and his young wife. The dialogue is easy and spirited, though we miss the French sparkle and incisive brevity. As befits their nationality, everybody is addicted to long speeches, with just a suspicion of hidalgic bombast. But we are interested and pleased. Don Julian is felt to be an estimable fellow, who can shower benefits with delicacy, and veil patronage so artfully as to convince both himself and the poet Ernest (he of the famous dialogue) that he is but accomplishing a duty, and that the son of his dead friend has full claim upon him. If Teodora is not an original or striking personality, she is exceedingly natural. There is not one false note about her. She is in love with her elderly husband after the fashion of childish young wives—affection composed of one part fondness, and three parts admiration and respect, but of passion not a particle. She is impulsive, enthusiastic, sits dreaming of Ernest's greatness, his stupidity in all practical matters, his future marriage, and the delightful time she and her husband will have looking after the young pair. Ernest himself is a more pensive, high-phrased type of poet than Don Juan's brilliant son, "a handsome fellow, with a soul on fire and given to romanticism." That his talk is anything but *fin de siècle* will be gathered from his first announcement that he is bent upon throwing off the benevolent oppression of Don Julian's kindness, and subsisting by his own work.

"True, I know little of life, and am not well fitted to make my way through it. But I divine it, and tremble, I know not why. Shall I founder upon the world's pool as on the high sea? I may not deny that it terrifies me more than the deep ocean. The sea only reaches the limit set by the loose sand; over all space travel the emanations of the pool. A strong man's arms can struggle with the waves of the sea; but no one can struggle against subtle miasma. But if I fall, I must not feel it humiliation to be conquered. I only wish, I only ask at the last moment to see the approach

of the sea that will carry me whither it will, the sword that will pierce me, or the rock that will crush me. To feel my adversary's strength, and despise it falling, despise it dying! and not tamely breathe the venom scattered through the ambient air."

To this plumed and mediæval sentence, the sensible Don Julian remarks to his wife:

"Didn't I tell you he was going out of his mind?" and then to the youth: "What has all this to do with the matter?"

As food for the travailing spirit of independence, he proposes to Ernest the work of secretary in his house, and to this Ernest joyfully accedes. The good-natured banker goes away, leaving the poet to do a little raving for the benefit of Teodora. It is dusk, and the young people forget to call lights—their solitude, innocent of design or thought, is invaded by Julian's brother and sister-in-law, Don Severo and Doña Mercedes. Not only are they a suspected pair from that moment, but the undried tears of gratitude in Ernest's eyes are accepted as such evident symptoms of frailty that, after some sarcastic and probing dialogue, whose sense is quite unapprehended by the convicted culprits, Don Severo marches off to the good work of arousing his brother's suspicions. Don Severo is no Iago, though bent upon Iago's work. He is a well-meaning honest relative, who, like many another, objects to his brother's exercise of good-nature towards others. His suspicions receive a natural prick from his dislike to Ernest, and his wish to see him cast forth from a hospitable roof. Hard-natured he is, but not evilly intentioned. His wife is a very typical woman: impulsive stirs of kindness disturb her mundane hard sense, and she stops every now and then in the exercise of the knife to bemoan the youthfulness and innocence of her victim. "Poor child," she murmurs over the terrified Teodora, and honestly seeks to exonerate her at the expense of the other victim—the man, the interloper. As the double authors, Echegaray and Ernest, announce in the prologue, nobody acts with guile or conscious evil. Neither Mercedes nor Don Severo starts with the deliberate purpose of injuring Ernest or Teodora. They have an honest conviction that Ernest repays his protector's favours by making love to his young wife, and, although Julian turns furiously upon his brother, and threatens to cast out of his house the first who shall again stain his wife's cheeks with tears, yet when Ernest comes in, and in surprise asks why Teodora had been crying, the irritated husband exclaims, "Don't busy yourself about my wife." Light has been let in upon the darkness for the poor poet, who makes up his mind to leave at once. This offer awakens the old kindness and confidence in Julian, and during the rest of the act, he is torn between the sting of jealous instinct and friendship. One minute he almost throws Ernest into his wife's arms, and whether they talk or are silent, look away or at

each other, every gesture, glance, and word is submitted to cruel and searching analysis.

SEVERO: You see you are becoming reasonable.

JULIAN: I have caught your madness. Ah, how sure a thing is calumny! It pierces direct to the heart.

These varying moods of Don Julian are worked with great skill to the inevitable climax. After Ernest leaves his house with the intention to sail for Buenos Ayres, Julian fluctuates between every shade of confidence, remorse, and resentment:

“Coward, mean and jealous, I let that poor fellow go . . . . in my heart I wished what my lips denied; ‘Come back Ernest,’ aloud; and to myself, ‘Do not come back.’ . . . . No, Severo, this is not to act like an honest man. . . . Is by chance impure love, in this world of clay, the sole supreme bond between man and woman? . . . . My wife now sees me always sad, always distant. . . . A shadow lies between us, ever deepening, and slowly, step by step, we move more apart. . . . I wounded in my love, and she, by my hand, wounded in her woman’s dignity and affection! . . . . Who will say that, I losing little by little, and he gaining as steadily, the lie of to-day will not to-morrow be truth? I jealous, sombre, unjust and hard, and he noble and generous, resigned and always sweet-natured, with that halo of martyrdom which, in the eyes of women, sits so becomingly on the brow of a brave and handsome youth.”

And further on:

“Do you want me to show myself so miserably ungrateful and jealous before Teodora? Don’t you know that a woman may despise a lover and love him still, but not so a husband? Contempt is his dishonour. . . . And should I see on her cheek the trace of a tear, the mere thought that it might be for Ernest would drive me to strangle her in my arms.”

As gradually as a man of good nature so comfortable and unfathomable as Don Julian’s may be undermined by unworthy suspicion, and transformed to a hard, unjust tyrant, so Echegaray shows us two clear-eyed and friendly young people unconsciously driven by the world that has already judged them when they still walked as far away from perilous sentiment as brother and sister, to the edge that threatens reason. Hearing disrespectful mention of Teodora’s name from the lips of a viscount, Ernest must needs challenge him, and to prevent this duel, Teodora comes secretly to his rooms. She is too proud to accept Ernest’s championship, and protests that if any one must defend her name it should be her husband:

ERNEST: Nobody loses by my death, and I lose still less.

TEODORA: For God’s sake do not say that.

ERNEST: But what do I leave in this world? What friendship? What strong love? Is there a woman who will follow my corpse shedding a lover’s tears?

TEODORA: All last night I prayed for you . . . . and you say that nobody . . . . I could not bear you to die! (*vehemently*).

ERNEST: Ah, we pray for anybody; we only weep for one (*with passion*).

TEODORA : Ernest !

ERNEST (*terrified by his own words*) : What ?

TEODORA (*moving further off*) : Nothing !

ERNEST (*also moving away, and lowering his eyes timidly*) : I told you a little while ago I was half mad. Take no heed of me.

This rash visit of Teodora brings about the first half of the climax. Don Julian, hearing of the projected duel, hurries off and fights the viscount on the spot. Wounded, on his way home he stops to leave a message with Ernest. The servant's announcement that Ernest is engaged with a lady whets the wounded man's suspicions anew, and with his seconds he insists on going upstairs. This scene appears to me both clumsy and unnatural. Why was it necessary to bring Don Julian here *wounded*, when he ought to be on his way home to bed ? But since he has come, surely it would have been more dramatic and more in keeping with the dignity and innocence of the two victims to have surprised them together in the outer room, instead of hiding Teodora away, and then, in order to produce the great effect, make Don Julian faint, so that Don Severo shall exclaim :

“ Let us carry him inside, and put him on your bed.”

It is very well for Ernest afterwards, in his interview with Pepito, Don Severo's son, to give the true facts, but we have to admit that there is a good deal of sound sense in Pepito's reply :

“ The explanation is easy and simple; the difficult thing, Ernest, is to get us to believe it, for there is another still more easy and simple.”

ERNEST : Which dishonours more and that's the best of it.

PEPITO : Well, at least admit that Teodora was light if not really bad.

ERNEST : Guilt is prudent and cautious. On the other hand, how imprudent is innocence !

In her hour of desperate trouble—husband dying in belief of her guilt, her family turned from her—the only voice raised to anything like a note of compassion for Teodora is that of Doña Mercedes. If Echegaray followed the old lines, it is Mercedes, the only other woman in the drama, who would be Teodora's bitterest enemy. Yet contrast her tone with that of Pepito, her son, whose youth, one would imagine, ought to prompt him to some sympathy with a beautiful young woman in grief :

PEPITO : And Teodora ?

MERCEDES : She stays upstairs. She wanted to come down—and cried !—like a Magdalen.

PEPITO : Already ! Repentant or erring ?

MERCEDES : Don't speak so. Unhappy girl, she is but a child.

PEPITO : Who, innocent and candid, sweet, pure and meek, kills Don Julian. So that, if I am to accept your word and regard her as a child, and such is her work on the edge of infancy, we may pray God in His mercy to guard us from her when she shall have put on years.

MERCEDES : She is hardly to be blamed. The infamy lies with your fine



friend, he of the dramas, the poet and dreamer. He it is who is the culprit.

And, later, when she alone is convinced of Teodora's innocence, she cries to her in unmistakable sincerity :

" Pardon me—now I fully believe you ! "

" And before—no ? "

" Hush ! "

In the scene between her and Ernest (who enters after he has killed the viscount) is the same fine struggle between social inexorableness and womanly kindness. It is only when Ernest casts himself into a seat sobbing, and Pepito remarks : " These nervous creatures are terrible. They kill and sob in the same breath," that her rigidity relaxes. She does not conceal that he has more to fear from her husband's severity than from hers, and begs him to retire that Don Severo may not see him. The dialogue that follows between her and Teodora is skilfully handled, and shows the character of both women in admirable relief. True, a French dramatist would have enlivened it by a little satire, but Echegaray is faithful in portraiture, for there are no women less capable of satire than Spanish women. Anger in them is a vehement explosion of temper ; sorrow a gust of tears. Mercedes interrogates and probes very cleverly ; but her victim could not be more candid or more submissive.

TEODORA : The world can think such things. I hear such strange stories, I see such sad events happen, and calumny has so embittered me, that I find myself wondering if what the world says can be true.

There is not much honour in pinning this poor wretch, and taking the measure of her bleeding heart. Of this the elder woman is so soon convinced that she embraces her, and makes way for Ernest outside, and imploring to see Teodora. This scene is not so strong and dramatic as it might be. Teodora is too indignant and aloof, Ernest is hardly equal to the occasion. Once only does he reach a true note.

TEODORA : Quickly, for mercy's sake. Julian suffers.

ERNEST : I know it.

TEODORA : Then we should not forget it.

ERNEST : No, but I also suffer.

TEODORA : You, Ernest ? Why ?

ERNEST : Through your disdain.

TEODORA : I feel none.

ERNEST : You have said so . . . he suffers as those on earth suffer. I as those in hell.

The false note here is Teodora's question, Why ? Of all people, she ought to be the last to doubt her fellow-victim's suffering. And her " You, Ernest ! Why ? " is trivial and irritating. Indeed, it is in this scene that Teodora is less sympathetic and natural. We are not moved by her high protesting innocence. We prefer her earlier in

the dignified reticence and confession of her pathetic "nothing" in reply to his perilous "what." She would be none the less a victim for a little tenderness in this scene, and it would heighten the dramatic effect of Don Severo's discovery of them. An actress might, of course, interpret this apparent insensibility of Teodora as the result of mental and moral stupor from excess of emotion, and this would be a fine evasion of the author's meaning, which is to prepare us for the surprises of the climax.

This has been already foreshadowed in the second act, in the dialogue between Pepito and Ernest, where the former finds the open Dante on the poet's desk. "Galeoto was the book they were reading, and they read no more. . . . Galeoto was the medium between the Queen and Launcelot, and in all loves the *third* may be truthfully nicknamed *Galeoto*. . . . Sometimes it is the entire social mass that is *Galeoto*." Here we understand that it is the world, her husband, everybody, who work with one seeming will to drive Teodora into Ernest's arms. Don Julian, dying, musters strength to call Teodora, and holding her in a tyrannical embrace, glares vengefully across at the unfortunate young man, who has never meditated anything less respectful than the Don's salutation upon a lady's hand. "I loved her. Silence and approach (ERNEST approaches). You see I am still her owner."

ERNEST: She is innocent.

DON JULIAN: No, since I do not believe it. . . No oaths, or deceitful words, or protests.

ERNEST: Then what?

DON JULIAN: Deeds.

ERNEST: What does he wish, Teodora? What does he ask of us?

TEODORA: I don't know. What are we to do, Ernest?

The dying man solves their doubts by grasping Ernest and forcing him upon his knees in front of Teodora.

DON JULIAN: You love each other. I have seen it clearly. Your life, Ernest.

ERNEST: Yes.

DON JULIAN: Your blood.

ERNEST: All.

TEODORA: Julian!

DON JULIAN: See, you defend him; you defend him.

TEODORA: Not for his sake.

SEVERO: For Heaven's sake.

DON JULIAN: Silence (to ERNEST) bad friend! bad son!

ERNEST: My father!

JULIAN: Disloyal—traitor!

With a supreme effort of fever he strikes him on the cheek, and when he is being carried off the stage, looks back from the doors, and cries bitterly to his brother: "She is weeping for him, and does not follow me. Not even a look! She does not see that I am dying,

yes, dying." And then again, after a pause, "Dishonour for dishonour! Farewell, Ernest." Left alone, Teodora and Ernest speak to themselves rather than to each other.

ERNEST: What is the use of loyalty?

TEODORA: And what is the use of innocence?

ERNEST: My conscience begins to darken.

TEODORA: Pity, my God, pity!

ERNEST: Pitiless fate!

Remembering her, he adds, "Poor child!" They are interrupted by the return of Severo and Mercedes with the news of Don Julian's death. Severo turns to his son, and orders him to cast Teodora instantly out of the house. Even the unsympathetic Pepito protests against such a brutal sentence; and Ernest flings himself in front of her, and whilst averring her innocence, lets it be seen that the tigerish instinct is awakened in him. "Her lips are silent, but I will speak." And then when Don Severo advances to thrust him aside, he bursts out: "Let nobody approach this woman. She is mine. The world has so desired it, and its decision I accept. It has driven her to my arms. Come, Teodora. You cast her forth from here. We obey you."

SEVERO: At last, you blackguard!

ERNEST: Yes. Now you are right. I will confess now. Do you want passion? Then passion and delirium. Do you want love? Then boundless love. Do you want more? Then more and more. Nothing daunts me. Yours the invention: I shelter it. So you may tell the tale. It echoes through all this heroic town. But should any one ask you who was the infamous intermediary in this infamy, you will reply, "Ourselves, without being aware of it; and with us the stupid chatter of the idle." Come, Teodora; my mother's spirit kisses your pure brow. Adieu, all. She belongs to me, and let Heaven choose its day to judge between you and me.

I have written at such length of the least and most popular of Echegaray's plays that I have left myself no space to touch upon the others. But in these two dramas—"Don Juan's Son" and "The Great Galeoto"—enough will be understood of the passion of gravity, with which the Spanish dramatist enters into the obscurer and less picturesque tragedies of life. Love with him is not the sentimental sighing of maids and boys, as he again shows in "Lo Sublime en lo Vulgar," but the great perplexed question of married infelicity and misunderstanding. Don Julian dies broken-hearted and wilfully deceived, and his deception it is that forges the tempered happiness of his rival. In "Lo Sublime en lo Vulgar" we have two diverse husbands: Richard, an airy social success, full of elegant phrases, befittingly tailored, and of manners the best—the sort of man destined to float to the surface in all circumstances, and minuet with grace round the ugliest corner. Bernard, whom he betrays and laughs at, is the commonplace, scarce presentable husband, married by a refined and poetical creature for his money, and blushed for by her at every

moment while she is solacing herself with the elegant improprieties of her friend's husband, Richard. Here we have another picture of marital jealousy, justifiable in this case, and perhaps for that reason more merciful. Instead of turning from his faithless wife, the insignificant and vulgar Bernard wins her to him and to atonement by an unpretentious magnanimity, and the play ends hopefully with Richard's cry to his wife: "Louisa, pardon!—and forget!" And Bernard, turning to Inez, his wife, explains his generosity in sonorous verse: "Honour goes from the soul into the depth, and in the world I put no trust. Since my honour is my own, I understand it infinitely better than the world."

Not even Tolstoi, with all that delicacy and keenness of the Russian conscience, that profound seriousness which move us so variously in his great books, has a nobler consciousness of the dignity of suffering and virtue than this Spanish dramatist. And not less capable is he of a jesting survey of life. Echegaray writes in no fever of passion, and wastes no talent on the niceties of art. The morality and discontent that float from the meditative North, have reached him in his home of sunshine and easy emotions, and his work is pervaded nobly by its spirit. And unlike Ibsen, he illuminates thought with sane and connected action. Discontent never leads him to the verge of extravagance. Extravagance he conceives to be a part of youth, addicted to bombast and wild words. Man trades in other material than romantic language and rhodomontade. Hence he brings emphasis and plain speech to bear upon him when youth has had its fill through the long-winded, high-coloured phrases of his scribbling heroes. Thought, perhaps, travels too persistently along the shadowed paths, and we would be thankful to find our world reflected through his strong glass, dappled with a little of the uncertain but lovely sunshine that plays not the least part in the April weather of our life here.

The note of unwavering sadness depresses. But, at least, it is not ignoble, and he conceives it borne with so much resignation and dignity that if the picture carries with it the colours of frailty, it brings a counterbalancing conception of the inherent greatness of man.

HANNAH LYNCH.

## THE ALL-SUFFICIENCY OF NATURAL SELECTION.

### II.

IN a second essay or "postscript," Herbert Spencer attacks some other of my "fundamental theories," the wide acceptance of which surprises him even more than the acceptance of the intransmissibility of acquired characters. These are my views on the distinction in the Metazoa between somatic and reproductive cells and on the immortality of the latter and of unicellular organisms. I will consider these objections, too; though I should have wished an opponent who had made himself more familiar with the opinions he criticises than Mr. Spencer has done. His assault is not always directed against the main point in my views; and above all, he has but a partial knowledge of the evidence for them. I regret this, especially because it compels me to repeat to some extent what will already be known to the reader; and also because, as far as science is concerned, such a contest almost seems to me to be a useless waste of energy on the part of both assailant and defender.

Mr. Spencer refers almost exclusively to the first two of my essays; once he quotes the fifth; but he appears to be ignorant of the later ones, and, in particular, the last in the book, the twelfth, which summarises my argument, and gives my conclusions on the very points discussed by Mr. Spencer. As is explained in the preface, the essays were written at intervals during a space of ten years, and published separately; but were subsequently collected, and issued *unchanged* in book form. So they represent, to some extent, the different stages of a continuous research; and the critic who confines his attention to the oldest essays, which belong to the years 1881 and 1883, is contesting only the first and naturally the least satisfactory evidence for my views. My opponent would probably have had fewer objections to state, if he had read the later essays.

Even the form of the criticism would have disposed me to refrain from answering it, had not Herbert Spencer been the author; for it contains more of personalities than in my opinion is proper. The expression, "it is easy to imagine," which, as I have shown, has been quite unwarrantably put into my mouth, is again and again brought up against me, as if this phrase, which is, perhaps, an inexpedient one, justified an inference that my work had been loose.

But let me come to the subject-matter. Mr. Spencer's scientific objections are directed in the first place against my view that the metazoan body is composed of cells of two sorts, somatic and reproductive, which have been differentiated on the principle of a physiological division of labour, for the preservation of the species—the somatic undertaking the providing of sustenance, in the widest sense of the term; and the reproductive cells being concerned with propagation. He begins by designating as fallacious the interpretation that recognises a division of labour in the relations existing between the cells. Division of labour, according to Mr. Spencer, implies an *exchange of services*, but here there is no exchange. In my opinion the expression means that the functions that were formerly performed by every individual of a community are now distributed among the various members; and in this sense the differentiation of a cell-colony, formerly composed of members that were all alike, into somatic and reproductive cells is unquestionably brought about according to the principle of the division of labour, altogether irrespective of whether the somatic cells have any benefit from the reproductive cells. The benefit accrues to the whole colony, or in the case of the distinction in the metazoan body, to the species; and in this sense the expression has been understood by biologists for the last forty years, ever since Rudolph Leuckart taught that the *Siphonophoræ* were to be regarded as colonies of "persons" differentiated "on the principle of the division of labour." Assuredly the expression was borrowed from the relations subsisting in human society, where it can be said to include an exchange of services; but when it is applied to the organism, this part of the conception is given up in favour of the idea of differentiation of parts for the higher general efficiency of the whole. It is a mistake to suppose that there is always an exchange of services, or that "the essential nature of this division of labour" involves exchange. Mr. Spencer asks: "Where is the exchange of services between somatic cells and reproductive cells?" And answers: "There is none." Quite true; the reproductive cells, so far as we know, render no service to the somatic cells; and therefore, as it seems to Mr. Spencer, a cell-colony which consists only of these two elements cannot be differentiated according to the principle of the division of labour. But does not Mr. Spencer himself approve of "students of biology" recognising a "division of labour" in the differentiation of

the cell-mass of an organism, by the separation of the cells into those of the skin, of "digestion, respiration, circulation, excretion, &c." ? And why has he omitted the reproductive cells, which equally belong to the organism, but to have added which would have been to have contradicted with his own words the idea that exchange of services is of the essence of division of labour ? Or to take one of the oldest illustrations of the division of labour : what services do the male or female "persons" of a colony of *Siphonophora* render to the "snaring-persons" or the "swimming-bell persons," or the polypes of the colony ? Where is the exchange of services ? "There is none." So, at least as used by biologists, division of labour does not essentially involve exchange of services ; but it implies the distribution of the functions of the community among the different members, and the consequent better development of these functions for the higher efficiency of the community. The distribution of labour is the means employed by "Nature" to bring about the increased efficiency of organisms ; without differentiation according to the principle of distribution of labour there would be no higher organisms.

But let us pass from this dispute as to words to consider weightier matters. My opponent thinks I am wrong in believing that the primary division of labour is that between somatic and reproductive cells ; and bases his conclusion on my own statement that the differentiation is not always absolute, and that it is only late in the ontogeny of vertebrates that the reproductive cells appear, while among hydroids they may be formed only in later generations. He calls these facts a "crack," even a "chasm," in my theory ; and regards them as so destructive of my view that he compares me to the Frenchman who set aside facts that contradicted his opinions with the words, "*Tant pis pour les faits.*"

I must say that I am somewhat amazed at the extraordinary readiness with which Mr. Spencer disposes of the views of others. Is it possible that the author of the "Principles of Biology" does not know that thousandfold derangements, both as regards time and place, occur in the course of development ; that, indeed, there is hardly any ontogeny in which derangements do not play their part ? If he did not know that, he would have learned it by reading my fourth essay, where it is considered at length in connection with the very subject in question, the *genesis of germ-cells*. (*English edition*, p. 205.)

Are we to look for primary conditions in the group of animals that was the last of all to appear, the vertebrates ; or among the hydroids, whose mode of reproduction is by alternation of generations, which is likewise a secondary and late-acquired form ? Does not the art of discovering the phylogenetic connection of species largely consist

tracing the primary relations? How then does the late appearance of the germ-cells in these two groups, and many others besides, prove that the *primary* differentiation was not that of somatic and reproductive cells?

Of course the late differentiation of the germ-cells in the vertebrates and other animals is no evidence that originally they were differentiated at the beginning of the ontogeny; but proof of this is given in my fourth essay (p. 243 Germ. edit.; Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 205), inasmuch as it is shown that to this day in certain lower organisms this condition of the first differentiation of a multicellular form has been maintained; and to make this clearer I have given illustrations of the *Algæ Pandorina* and *Volvox*. In the first of these, division of labour has not yet appeared, and all the cells of the colony attend to both feeding and reproduction. In the nearly related *Volvox*, on the other hand, the cells are divided into somatic cells, for feeding, movement, &c., and reproductive cells. Thus we have preserved to the present day the two consecutive stages in the phyletic development, that are required by the theory. But truly these facts are not evidence to him who is ignorant of them; and I confess that Herbert Spencer's criticism reminds me a little of the man who said: "*I don't know your reasons but I condemn them.*"

Mr. Spencer ignores not only the greater part of my essays, but also the arguments contained in Essay II., which he has read. Immediately after the sentence (p. 74, Eng. trans.) which he quotes, reference is made to my earlier researches on the origin of the reproductive cells among the *Hydromedusæ*, in which it is shown that extensive derangement in the time of their appearance actually occurs. In the fourth essay the same was urged with greater detail, as well as the convincing value of the facts for the proof of the continuity of the germ-plasm. But Mr. Spencer seems to know nothing of the essay on this hypothesis.

The next attack is directed against the immortality ascribed by me to unicellular organisms and germ-cells, in contrast to the mortality of metazoan forms. First it is alleged that I have overlooked a universal law of evolution, which implies the necessity of death. "The changes of every aggregate, no matter of what kind, inevitably end in a state of equilibrium. Suns and planets die, as well as organisms. The process of integration, which constitutes the fundamental trait of all evolution, continues until it has brought about a state which negatives further alterations, molar or molecular." Perhaps I shall be credited when I say that I knew this; but I do not think that it has anything to do with the difference that there is between unicellular and multicellular organisms, in regard to death and continued existence, which alone is discussed in my biological treatises. Moreover I see that at the end of the first essay—which Mr. Spencer has read



—I was careful enough to seek to preclude such a misinterpretation as Mr. Spencer's (Germ. edit., p. 40; Eng. ed., p. 34); for I expressly say: "I have repeatedly spoken of immortality, first of the unicellular organism, and secondly of the reproductive cell. By this word I have merely intended to imply a duration of time which appears to be endless to our human faculties."

But now as to the real question involved: According to my view the protozoa and germ-cells are immortal in the sense just explained—*i.e.*, as my opponent rightly observes, they can divide again and again, so long as the necessary external conditions are favourable. Mr. Spencer disputes the correctness of this, first, on the ground that for many unicellular organisms conjugation is apparently necessary, a process which, as is well known, my opponents regard as "rejuvenescence." My critic thinks—

"If the immortality of a series is shown if its members divide and subdivide perpetually, then the opposite of immortality is shown when, instead of division, there is union. Each series ends, and there is initiated a new series, differing more or less from both. Thus the assertion that the reproductive cells are immortal can be defended only by changing the conception of immortality otherwise implied."

Mr. Spencer did not need to remind me that a mingling of two individuals is involved in conjugation and fertilisation, as that is precisely *my* view. I hold that the two processes have no other signification, and that is why I applied the name Amphimixis to them. But does that prove that they involve a rejuvenescence? I have frequently disputed this view, and if Mr. Spencer would read my twelfth essay, he would find my reasons for doing so. I should willingly repeat them here, but they require to be treated at length, and the space I can venture to take up here would not suffice. It seems to me that the capacity for unlimited reproduction—*i.e.*, for immortality in the biological sense of the term—is affected as little by the act of amphimixis as by any other act, as, for instance, that of taking food. The latter, too, is necessary for the continuance of the process of division, and in the case of many unicellular organisms must precede division. Though we cannot say that amphimixis is never a necessary condition of immortality, we do know that for the reproductive cells it is not always necessary. Mr. Spencer himself fully explains how the aphides, when in favourable circumstances, can multiply indefinitely by parthenogenesis; but even if amphimixis were an indispensable condition of immortality, *this immortality would still exist: the cells that have conjugated are not dead, but still live and can go on propagating.* My critic seems to be conscious of the weakness of his sophism, for he makes two other efforts to explain away the fact of unlimited fission among the Infusoria. First he doubts the fact, for he asks: "What observer has watched for forty years to see whether the fissiparous multiplication of Protozoa does not cease? What observer has

watched for one year, or one month, or one week?" By reading the essay on amphimixis he might have learned that, as a matter of fact, a French naturalist, Maupas, had with amazing assiduity followed for months the reproduction of the Infusoria. But even if this had not been done, we know that many of our species of Infusoria were in existence in the time of Ehrenberg and O. F. Müller; and this proves, unless the absurd supposition of the spontaneous generation of such highly differentiated forms is assumed, that they have multiplied by constant division through nearly a century. And there are foraminifera extant that existed as early as the tertiary period, and so their fissions have been continued through entire geological periods.

The second attempt to contradict immortality depends on the statement that the two infusoria that coalesce in conjugation *lose their individuality*, and a new individual arises as a result. This is true so far as in fact there is a coalescence of two individuals, as I have shown (Essay XII.); but how does it negative my contention that there is no natural death among the Protozoa? Is conjugation the same as death? Does not the same conjugation or amphimixis occur in the fertilisation of the metazoa; and is this their natural death? If not, then the Metazoa have such a natural death over and above this, and by it they are distinguished from the Protozoa: *Q. e. d.*—for that is all that I have contended for. I have called attention to the fact that here there is an essential difference between Protozoa and Metazoa; that among the Metazoa the differentiation of body-cells and germ-cells appears; and that the "body" is *alone* subject to natural death. Such, too, is the truth; and no sophisms on the part of Mr. Spencer will do away with it. What does he mean by setting forth that in a healthy woman the body-cells continue to multiply by division for long after the germ-cells have died out? When did I say that germ-cells could not die? On the contrary, I have tried to make abundantly clear to my earlier opponents the difference between accidental and natural death, as, for instance, in Essay III. in reply to Götte. Death of such egg-cells as are not fertilised must be regarded as of the same nature as accidental death, or as the death of a wolf from starvation: the conditions of further life are not present.

Mr. Spencer, however, takes a totally different view of the matter; for he denies the mortality of the body, or rather not of the body as a whole, but he asserts that the body-cells are capable of unlimited division. While I refer natural death and the natural endurance of life to a definite adjustment of the power of reproduction of the somatic cells, Mr. Spencer takes the view that their death is brought about by external conditions, and that consequently, in favourable circumstances, they are quite as capable as the reproductive cells of multiplying indefinitely. He takes a great deal of trouble to set forth

instances in which species have propagated for an indefinite period by budding, as is well known in the case of numerous plants. Had he read through my essays, or even my recent book on the "Germ-Plasm," he would have spared himself such a tilt against a windmill; for I have explicitly recognised that many somatic cells have the capacity to reproduce indefinitely—namely, such as lead to germ-cells or bud-cells—cells of the "germinal tracks"—and also those cells which give rise to new "persons" by budding. In the first essay, to which Mr. Spencer has referred, there is no mention of this, because at the time it was written it was necessary above everything to set forth, well-defined and clear, the new discovery—I mean the contrast between beings *without* and those *with* a natural death. So I considered only the simpler cases, and tried to explain why the somatic cells have lost the power of indefinite multiplication, without going on to ask whether, among the higher Metazoa, where the germ-cells have undergone re-arrangement, or among colonial forms (*Stücke*), there do not occur somatic cells which possess this power.

Several years ago, De Vries, in opposition to my view, urged that among plants the difference between somatic-cells and germ-cells was not so great as among the Metazoa, and this I freely granted to him, and added that the same might be said of many colonial Metazoa. In both these instances budding occurs, and implies the presence of cells which have retained the capacity for unlimited multiplication. According to my view, cells from which budding has to proceed must contain the elements that are necessary for the building up of a new individual—*i.e.*, germ-plasm—or, in the cases where several cells cooperate to form a bud, a definite combination of determinants. Those cells that contain germ-plasm in an unalterable condition (*in gebundenem Zustand*) I have expressly called somatic cells, as well as those that represent "germ-tracks"—that is, those that are formed in the course of development from an egg, and are destined to become germ-cells. These cells likewise contain germ-plasm in an inactive condition; and so it is chiefly such somatic cells as have inactive germ-plasm that have retained, or perhaps it would be better to say, have re-acquired, the capacity for indefinite multiplication. I have often urged that these cells do not by any means require to be young cells, but that, on the contrary, they may be histologically differentiated, as, for instance, in the case of the epidermal cells of the leaf of *Begonia*, from which new plants spring. So there are "immortal" somatic cells, even according to my view [*Cf.* "Germ-Plasm," pp. 186–197]; and in my recent book Mr. Spencer might have found an entire chapter devoted to budding, and, among other things, an attempt to discover the reasons why such cells occur in great numbers among the plants.

There is, however, a difference of opinion between Mr. Spencer and

myself as regards the *causes* which condition the mortality of most of the somatic cells of the Metazoa that do not exhibit budding. Mr. Spencer regards external causes as responsible; I look to internal causes. My opponent enumerates nine different factors which cooperate in aiding or restraining cell-multiplication; and which, according to his representation, are sufficient to account for the observed differences in the duration of cell-division. There is, first, the "vital capital" given by the parents; then there is the character of the food; the grade of "visceral development"; the expenditure of energy necessary for the procuring of food; the cost of maintaining the bodily heat; and finally the relations of the mass of the body to the surface, which are of significance from various points of view. It is quite true that all of these factors exercise an influence on the multiplication of cells; but when Mr. Spencer declares that before other causes for the limitation of cell-multiplication are assumed, there must be proof of the inadequacy of those adduced by him, it seems to me that his reasoning is fallacious. It would only have been justified, if an *unknown* force had been assumed to explain the phenomena, as when Mr. Spencer assumes a transmission of acquired characters to explain "co-adaptation." But here the matter is very different: I assume, in explanation of the varying duration of the life of cells, not an unknown force, but a factor that Mr. Spencer has forgotten to adduce, and which is yet the most important of all—namely, the very constitution of living cells. Or is it possible that my critic would deny that the character of the living substance of the cell exercises an influence on its capacity for multiplication? Do all cells multiply equally vigorously and equally long when they are subject to the same external influences? Is not the constitution of the cell the first and weightiest of all the conditions? It can hardly be disputed that this must be added as the tenth cause to the others stated by Mr. Spencer; and, in my opinion, it is the chief one. *The function of the cell depends, first of all, on its constitution; and all else is of secondary importance.* In my twelfth essay it is shown at length that both male and female germ-cells of a nematode multiply quite regularly by a definite number of divisions, and then become incapable of dividing farther. First there are a few divisions of the primary germ-cells; then there is a long interruption of the process of multiplication, and the primary germ-cells grow, and become mother-cells. At this stage another period of multiplication ensues, for each cell rapidly divides twice in succession, and then the capacity for further division ceases, as well in the ripe sperm-cells as in the egg-cells. Which of Mr. Spencer's nine causes can get credit for this regular rhythm? The character of the nourishment, perhaps? But this remains constant throughout. The ovary floats in blood, and while the first-formed germ-cells have already attained to ripeness, others are only

giving rise to the formation of mother-cells, and so on. Or is the proportion of the mass of the cell to its surface responsible? But though the ripe egg-cell cannot of itself multiply, yet, as soon as the minute sperm-cell has reached it, it commences to divide more and more, and in a quite different and new sense, which can have its cause nowhere but in the constitution of the living substance of the cell. Need I recall the fact that there are eggs in which this long period of ontogenetic divisions is inaugurated without amphimixis—the parthenogenetic eggs? That in some butterflies (*Bombyx mori*, &c.) the majority of the eggs only enter on this stage after fertilisation, but some few without it. And are we to suppose that this difference does not essentially and above all else depend on the “constitution” of the egg—that is, on the character and quantity of its vital parts? And is the period of activity, beginning with fertilisation and ending with death, to be limited, not only as to its character, but also in its duration, by something external?

Mr. Spencer finds a contradiction in my saying, on the one hand, that the regulation of the duration of life in different species is dependent on things external, while, on the other hand, I refer it to internal characters of cells. But when a king commands a fleet to go to sea, is it *he* who provides the ships with coal, with crews, with provisions; who seeks out the right people, and fixes on the right place; who chooses the ships, determines the course, or makes the machinery, and puts it together, &c.? Of course not; and the king corresponds to the external life-conditions; it is *they* that give the command: this species shall have an existence of two, of ten, of a hundred years; but the means by which this order is executed consist, in my opinion, above all in the regulation of the life of the cell. It is easy to misunderstand, when one wishes to do so (*Cf.* “Spencer’s Appendix,” p. 748.)

The division of labour in the metazoan body has brought it to pass that many gland-cells and epithelial cells destroy themselves by their own function, and so they must be continually replaced. We do not yet know with certainty to what extent other highly differentiated cells, such as muscle and nerve-cells, are liable to the same fate, but that they are worn out through exercising their functions is very probable. Now, my hypothesis consists in this: I assume that the restitution of the somatic cells that perish through their activity is arranged for among all species, and depends on modifications in their constitution. As reproduction is a function, just as much as the providing of food, it too will require to be controlled by the constitution of the cell—*i.e.*, with similar nourishment, &c., one kind of cell will reproduce itself more rapidly than another, and the process of reproduction will come to an end earlier in the one, later in the other.

The somatic cells in general, through being specially adapted for a definite function, have lost the power of unlimited reproduction. It was because unlimited power of reproduction was no longer required in them for the maintenance of the species that they were able to assume a high degree of differentiation. In Essay XI.\* I say:

"I believe that I have shown that organs which have ceased to be useful become rudimentary, and ultimately disappear, owing to the principles of Panmixia alone—not because of the direct effect of disuse, but because natural selection no longer maintains them at their former level. What is true of organs is also true of their functions; for function is but the expression of certain peculiarities of structure, whether we can directly perceive the connection or not. If, then, the immortality of unicellular beings rests on the fact that the structural arrangement of their substance is so accurately adjusted that the metabolic cycle always comes back to the same point—*why should, or, rather, how could, this property of the protoplasm, which is the cause of immortality, be retained when it ceased to be necessary?* And, clearly, it is no longer of use in the somatic cells of Heteroplastids."

I would now add this: But, wherever it was required, as in the cells that give rise to buds, it had to be retained, and was retained.

I would further add that there has been loss of unlimited division of cells, not only through their higher histological differentiation, but wherever it was not necessary or advantageous, which corresponds to the principle of Panmixia. Thus, for instance, we can explain the observations of Klein, the botanist, which are mentioned in Essay XI.† It appears that in one of the lowest Heteroplastids—namely *Volvox*—the body-cells die when the reproductive cells are discharged, even though the somatic cells are quite independent as regards nutrition, and the external conditions are the same before and after the discharge of the reproductive cells. Yet the somatic cells perish, and multiply no further. My opponent may well find it difficult to make one of his nine causes of cell-restriction responsible for this; while my view that the somatic cells are conditioned by their own constitution can hardly meet with any well-grounded opposition.

Mr. Spencer comes to the conclusion, and, in a sense, it is as if the crowning proof of all that he returns to the transmission of acquired characters, and produces, as evidence for its occurrence, those doubtful instances in which the offspring is said to resemble not the father, but an early mate of the mother. If my critic had been better acquainted with my recent book, he would have found that I had not overlooked these instances, and that I had dealt with them in a special chapter, describing them as cases of *telegony*,‡ as no useful term had up to that time been applied to them. They had

\* English Translation, vol. ii. p. 76.

† "Aufsätze," p. 646; English Translation, vol. ii. p. 77.

‡ "Das Keimplasma," p. 506; English Translation, p. 383.

previously been referred to as instances of "infection of the germ," or "superfoetation."

I, too, have heard of many such "cases"; for instance, many years ago a doctor from New Orleans gave me the same assurance as to the mingling of negroes and whites that Mr. Spencer has had from a "distinguished correspondent" in the United States. But as long as we have no better data than such as "*on dit*" supplies, we cannot regard telegony as a fact. There are so many possibilities of deception slipping in that we cannot hold it as certain and a basis for scientific conclusions without convincing experiments. Therefore in my book I have called for such experimental work, and specially in zoological gardens, where the requisite care and supervision can be given for long periods, more readily than in small zoological institutes such as my own.

Mr. Spencer assumes telegony to be already demonstrated, and considers it "an absolute disproof of Professor Weismann's doctrine that the reproductive cells are independent of, and uninfluenced by, the somatic cells." He thinks that by this fact every obstacle that is in the way of the acceptance of the transmission of acquired characters is set aside.

But let us see how Mr. Spencer comes to claim telegony as evidence for the transmission of acquired characters. According to his opinion these cases show "that while the reproductive cells multiply and arrange themselves during the evolution of the embryo, some of their germ-plasm passes into the mass of somatic cells constituting the parental body, and becomes a permanent component of it. Further they necessitate the inference that this introduced germ-plasm, everywhere diffused, is some of it included in the reproductive cells subsequently formed." I do not understand what facts Mr. Spencer could rely on when he represented the germ-plasm as passing from the cells of the embryo to those of the mother. The mammalian embryo is only brought into close contact with the maternal tissues by the placenta. Are we to suppose that the cells of the placenta contain germ-plasm? But I am forgetting that Mr. Spencer takes his stand on the assumption of perfectly identical "physiological units"; which, however, have not yet been shown to be capable of furnishing an explanation of the differentiations in the structure of the body. A simpler suggestion would have been that some of the sperm cells had penetrated into the tissues of the mother. This would at least account for the presence of the paternal germ-plasm; but even this supposition is not in accordance with facts, as we know that sperm-cells are strongly attracted to egg-cells, but not to any other kind. Mr. Spencer's idea that the paternal germ-plasm enters from the embryo into the cells of the mother—we may suppose through the maternal placenta and distributes itself through the entire mass of the somatic cells of

the mother's body is so fantastic that I may well say to Mr. Spencer, "Let us not be content with words but look at the facts, the facts, however, on which he relies are without evidence." I am not dealing with this question. It is true that Sedgwick has observed that the cells of *Peripatus* embryos form a so-called syncytium, but that the cells are not apparently distinct from one another; and it is well known that both among plants and animals the cells of many of the tissues are connected by protoplasmic threads, but these facts do not prove that germ-plasm is transported from cell to cell. If it is shown that a highway leads from London to Oxford, this is not sufficient to prove that Peter has taken it.

If Mr. Spencer had even glanced at my Essays V., VI., and VII, it would have been inexplicable how he could so completely have ignored in his hypothesis the researches of the last ten years on the microscopic relations of the cell-nucleus. We have now abundant facts to enable us to conclude with certainty that the hereditary substance is contained in the nucleus of the germ-cell, that it is in a manner shut up there, and carefully preserved, and that it never as a whole leaves the nuclear capsule. When it is to be shared with another cell, this is effected by the method of nuclear and cell division. The cell contains for the purpose a special apparatus of marvellous delicacy and precision, whose wonderful mechanism is still the subject of eager study by our best microscopists, both in the sphere of botany and zoology. *Of what use would all this dividing apparatus be, if the hereditary substance could not as well be transmitted from cell to cell through the cell-bodies?* Investigation has also established that the mingling of the hereditary substance of two cells produced by different parents is brought about by a specially developed process, which I have designated amphimixis, and which, so far as we know, occurs regularly only as conjugation among the unicellular organisms and as fertilisation among multicellular forms. But among the higher plants it occurs also as a regular phenomenon in other cells, namely, in a certain pair of nuclei of the so-called embryo-sac. It is not at all impossible that amphimixis occurs elsewhere, though perhaps only exceptionally, that is, in quite unusually favourable circumstances; and I have made the attempt to explain in this way the origin of the "graft-hybrids" of the celebrated *Cytisus Adamsi*. From the fact that hereditary substance (idioplasm) is found only in the nuclear rods, and "is a solid substance, and can only undergo combination by the fusion of two cells and their nuclei,"\* I concluded that amphimixis of two cambium cells of two species must be the cause of the graft-hybrids; but I added that here "an unusual and accidental occurrence" must have regulated the formation of such a mongrel-bud "for all efforts to produce the hybrid a second time have so far been in vain."

\* "Kernplasma," p. 447 Eng. Ed. p. 341



But though we may suppose that in specially favourable circumstances, amphimixis may occur between two cells other than germ-cells, it would nevertheless not be permissible to assume that this is frequent, and is found in all kinds of somatic cells, or even in all the cells of the body, and continually; as must be believed if Spencer's theory of the transmission of germ-plasm from the embryo all through the body of the mother is really correct. Such a distribution as he imagines, which is independent of amphimixis, and proceeds only by transmission through the protoplasmic threads from cell to cell, is in hopeless contradiction to the facts just stated. Nature has carefully enclosed the germ-plasm of all germ-cells in a capsule, and it is only yielded up for the formation of daughter-cells, under most complicated precautionary conditions, or in unions with other cells, under the form of amphimixis. This gives us no right to suppose that germ-plasm can, like a flock of birds, spread out over the whole body from cell to cell, so long as there is no other reason for the supposition than that the hypothesis of the transmission of acquired characters can thereby be made plausible.

So when Mr. Spencer produces "as a sample of his (*i.e.*, my) reasoning" the fact that, on the one hand, I grant that the micro-organisms of syphilis or those which I assumed to be the cause of traumatic epilepsy may pass from a body infected by one of these diseases into the germ-cells of the body, while, on the other hand, I do not admit the "parental protoplasm" there, he forgets that the infection of the germ by syphilis is a demonstrated fact, while vagrant germ-plasm has never been found permeating the mother's body; and to assume it is to scorn all research on the transmission of the germ-plasm from cell to cell. There is no doubt that a murderer may travel from London to Paris, just like any other man; but when he has been shut up in prison, it is not so easy; he must first break loose from confinement. Even so the germ-plasm seems to be able to wander only under quite definite conditions, while the free microbe passes unimpeded along the streams of blood and sap, and; it may be, from cell to cell, through the whole body.

Mr. Spencer's explanation of telegony is thus altogether inadmissible, and the fact itself, far short of being "an absolute disproof" of my views, can at least much more easily be brought into harmony with them in the event of its being proved to actually occur. In my "Germ-Plasm" I have already attempted to explain it; and my explanation follows so simply and naturally from my views on germ-plasm, amphimixis, &c., that Prof. Romanes, without having seen my book, was able, when replying to Mr. Spencer in this REVIEW, to suggest as my probable response to Spencer's argument an answer that, in the main, quite conforms with what I had actually written. I also gave the same explanation of telegony in 1887, when I was asked in the Biological Section of the British Association Meeting at Manchester,

how I could reconcile such cases with my theory. There is no simpler supposition than that spermatozoa occasionally reach the ovary, and there enter into some of the immature eggs. Amphimixis cannot proceed, as the germ-plasm of the egg is not ripe, but the nucleus of the sperm-cell continues to live in certain circumstances, and so remains till the time of a subsequent *coitus* with another mate. "If this occurred some time after the first of the offspring was born, it might easily have coincided approximately with the second *coitus*, to which the fertilisation would then apparently be due."

With this indication of an explanation I thought to be content and went on as follows:

"If the 'infection' were proved beyond a doubt, a supplementary fertilisation of an egg-cell in this manner must be considered possible; we certainly might then reasonably ask why mares, cows, or sheep, should not occasionally become pregnant without being covered a second time. *But this has never yet been known* to occur, and I incline to Settegast's view that *there is no such thing* as an 'infection' of this kind, and that all the instances which have been recorded and discussed critically by him are based upon a misconception." \*

I must say that to this day, and in spite of the additional cases brought forward by Spencer and Romanes, I do not consider that telegony has been proved—even though I thus lay myself open to Mr. Spencer's suspicion that I am not only ready "to base conclusions on things it is easy to imagine" but "reluctant to accept testimony which it is difficult to doubt." I do not dispute the possibility of telegony; I grant that the wide general acceptance of the belief in the past has so impressed me that I have always said that possibly it might be justifiable and founded on fact. In like manner the "rust" of corn (*Puccinia graminis*) was regarded by peasants as being somehow caused by the barberry, long before De Bary succeeded in raising the tradition to the rank of a scientific fact, by showing that the fungus on the corn and the *Aecidium berberidis* on the leaves of the barberry are the alternate generations of one plant. So I consider it inexpedient to reject such popular traditions without consideration; and I should accept a case like that of Lord Morton's mare as satisfactory evidence, if it were quite certainly beyond doubt. But that is by no means the case as Settegast † has abundantly proved. He does not doubt that "after the mare had borne a hybrid to a quagga, she subsequently had colts by a horse, and that these were marked with stripes on the neck, withers, and legs"; but he contends that there were no other characteristics of the quagga discernible in the colts: in the drawings by Agasse in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, "the liveliest imagination would not avail to find any semblance to the form of the quagga." The stripes do not in them-

\* "Keimplasma," p. 507; Eng. Ed., p. 386.

† H. Settegast: "Die Thierzucht": Breslau, 1878. Vol. i. p. 225.

selves, Settegast thinks, amount to proof, "for every experienced horsebreeder knows" that "cases are not very rare in which colts are born with stripes that recall those of the quagga or zebra. They regularly disappear as the colts increase in age." Such an experienced breeder as Nathusius remarks as to this :

"A spotless light brown mare that I had, whose sire was Dan Dawson, produced first, one after another, five spotless colts by the thoroughbred stallion Belzoni, and subsequently two spotless colts by the trotting-horse Schultz; the eighth colt, whose sire was a white horse, Chiradam, was at its birth of a dusky dun colour, with dark stripes on the back; and on the knee and hock it showed dark zebra-like bands which were much more distinct than those that occurred on Lord Morton's colt; but in a year these marks had disappeared, and the horse was white like its father."

Moreover, experiments have been made with a view to proving the occurrence of telegony, as I see from a note in Settegast's book (p. 226). A Herr Lang of Stuttgart has for twenty years experimented with dogs, without, however, ascertaining "a single fact that could be made use of for the advancement of the infection theory." Of course, in such a case negative results prove nothing; and the attempt must be made to determine the truth by new experiments. But as hitherto there have been no positive results from the observations that have been made; and as the most competent judges, namely, breeders who have a scientific knowledge, such as Settegast and Nathusius, and the late head of the Prussian Agricultural Station at Halle, Professor Kühn, spite of their extensive experience in breeding and crossing, have never known a case of telegony, and therefore have great doubt as to its reality; it seems to me that *according to scientific principles, only the confirmation of the tradition by methodical investigation, in this case by experiment, could raise telegony to the rank of a fact.*

With this I may close my reply to Herbert Spencer, though he has stated several other objections, which it would not be uninteresting to discuss. But the space at my disposal is limited, and the questions at issue involve many considerations, and cannot be disposed of in a few words. I hope to return to them in a subsequent treatise. If I have not the good fortune to convince my opponent—the usual event of controversial encounters—perhaps, at any rate, the unbiased reader will grant that my opinions are not without foundation; and I am content to leave the future to decide whether, and how far, they will become an indisputable and sure possession of science. They have already borne good fruit, for they have opened up new fields for research; and it is my hope that they will continue to stimulate progress.

AUGUST WEISMANN.

## A NOTE ON PANMIXIA.

**D**OUBTLESS Mr. Herbert Spencer will now be satisfied touching both the points wherein he has hitherto maintained that I was in error. For in last month's issue of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* we have it from Professor Weismann himself—(a) that by the term "Panmixia" he means the same cause of degeneration as I have always meant by the term "Cessation of Selection"; and (b) that he agrees with me in regarding this cause as distinct from "Economy of Nutrition," or any other and possibly co-operating cause of the dwindling of useless parts.

But Mr. Spencer will presumably continue to doubt whether Panmixia is a *vera causa* of degeneration, seeing that Professor Weismann has not supplied any further explanation of the *modus operandi* of this principle than I had endeavoured to give in my last note. Therefore I will now answer the question which, in his last note, Mr. Spencer has put to me. He there says:

"I did not suppose the hypothesis of Panmixia to be that which Dr. Romanes describes, because I assumed that, as a matter of course, the *plus* and *minus* variations of an organ on each side the average, when natural selection ceases to operate upon it, will be equal, and will mutually cancel. But the hypothesis, as explained by Dr. Romanes, implies that there will be 'excessive *minus* variations,' not counterbalanced by excessive *plus* variations. Why so? If there are not excessive *plus* variations, the hypothesis of Panmixia is valid; but where is the proof that there are not?"

Well, the "proof" is two-fold.

1. When selection is withdrawn there will be no excessive *plus* variations, because so long as selection was present the efficiency of the organ was maintained at its highest level: it was only the *minus* variations which were then eliminated. But as soon as selection was withdrawn as regards that organ these *minus* variations were

allowed to survive. Now the tendency to reversion, or atavism, ensures that such *minus* variations shall be always considerable in number and occasionally considerable in amount. It is only when considerable in amount that they become conspicuous; but the larger number in each generation are smaller in amount, so as not to be observable without actual measurement. Hence, on considering the matter, Mr. Spencer will probably allow that this degenerating influence of reversion in the absence of selection must of itself reduce the original size (or efficiency) of the organ through at least some ten or twelve per cent.—*i.e.*, sufficient to account for the degrees of degeneration which Mr. Darwin found the disused organs of our domesticated animals to have undergone, as I showed long ago in my *Nature* publications.

2. But quite apart from atavism, as soon as selection is withdrawn and heredity is simply left to itself, any failures either in the force or in the precision of heredity will be allowed to survive and perpetuate themselves. In the course of many generations these failures will become more and more cumulative. The useless organ will therefore more and more degenerate in size or in structure as the case may be, and this through the mere cessation of the previously sustaining influence of selection.

Such is the principle of the Cessation of Selection as I have always presented it; and doubtless this representation will be taken as a sufficient answer to Mr. Herbert Spencer's question. But I should like to add that Professor Weismann is not quite correct in saying that I adhere to the doctrine of the transmission of acquired characters (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, p. 335). My position with regard to this question is one of suspended judgment.

Ever since the time when I published the articles on the Cessation of Selection to which he refers, I have seen serious reasons for doubting the doctrine of use-inheritance. This doubt was increased when, in the following year, Mr. Galton so ably challenged that doctrine in these pages ("A Theory of Heredity," CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1875); and also as a result of five years' almost exclusive devotion to an experimental inquiry upon the subject in 1874-9. So that if, as Professor Weismann says, I was then "very near the truth," I must confess to not having gained much additional evidence of it by the more recent and world-wide discussion of the question which it is his great merit to have raised. In particular, the important bearing of neuter insects upon this question—a point which he adduces as if it were novel—was prominently considered in this same connection by Darwin himself through all the editions of "The Origin of Species."

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE.

THE elections are over, but the new Chamber does not differ so widely from its predecessor as was imagined by those who have been making capital out of the Panama scandals in the press. They forget that the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, whilst giving extreme importance to the personal qualification of candidates, does not admit of any rapid change in the relative strength of parties, and that under universal suffrage votes are but slightly affected by financial questions except when they threaten the imposition of fresh burdens on the taxpayers. Still, these elections offer many points of interest. One of the most striking of them, in public opinion, has been M. Clémenceau's defeat in the Var. He was beaten by an Aix lawyer, M. Jourdan, in spite of the pressure put on the voters by the prefect and by nearly all the officials in the *arrondissement*, who were for the most part his tools.

This defeat closes one of the most curious political careers of our time. M. Clémenceau has never rendered any noteworthy service to the Republican party, he has never shown himself the defender or the apostle of any original political conception or important reform. Nor has he ever aspired, as do the more responsible and industrious members of the Chamber, to the post of president or reporter of any of the more important Parliamentary commissions, or taken up in earnest the position of leader of a party. In a word, he has never seemed to feel anything but a sort of sporting or gambling interest in political struggles. But as the director of a paper—*La Justice*—which did not sell, and indeed only continued to exist through the support of such financiers as wished to secure M. Clémenceau's political influence in the Chamber as the leader of a Parliamentary group which only num-

bered eight or ten persons, and with the habits of a man of the world and of a true Parisian rather than those of a scholar and a statesman, he has exercised for years the strangest and in many respects the most disastrous influence on politics. No one could boast of having upset so many Ministries. He contributed in no small degree to the fall both of Gambetta and of Jules Ferry; he it was who prevented the latter from becoming President of the Republic and who made Boulanger's fortune; and although it is absurd to accuse him of having been the agent of England, yet it is true that on him rests the heaviest responsibility for the abandonment of the French claims upon Egypt. No one possessed so much influence with Ministers as he did to secure favours and preferment for his followers, for the Ministers all feared and flattered him. His assent was asked in the choice of ambassadors, and when an important question was to be decided, his support or his neutrality was eagerly sought. Whence came this extraordinary influence? It was derived solely from his great eloquence, from his gentle manners, from his fiery temperament, and from the purely negative character of his policy.

He cared but little for the triumph of any political principle, and, coveting only oratorical successes in Parliament, he adopted an attitude of suspicious ill-will or of open opposition towards each Ministry in succession. As long as the Cabinet were firmly established and sure of their majority, M. Clémenceau kept quiet, biding his time for appearing in the tribune until they had been shaken and were threatened with the loss of their supporters. Then, when some burning question arose in the Chamber, M. Clémenceau came forward as leader of the opposition, and his speeches, with their cold vehemence, their freedom from all straining after rhetorical effect, and their marvellous dialectical skill, keen as the knife of the guillotine, carried away his audience and sealed the fate of the Ministry. He was indifferent to the consequences of their defeat, he cared not what Ministry was to replace the one he had overthrown. In fact, he loved opposition for opposition's sake, and carried it to the point of a fine art. One Cabinet after another lived in terror of seeing this stormy petrel of debate, this bird of ill-omen, rise before them, and endeavoured to prolong as much as possible the period of his hostile silence by showering on him their flattery, favours, and concessions. Thus he obtained for the notorious Cornelius Herz, whose political and financial career will probably always remain a mystery, one of the highest grades in the Legion of Honour simply and solely because he had subsidised *La Justice*. It is quite possible that M. Clémenceau may at some future time find a seat in the Chamber, but the charm is broken; he will no longer be a bear, and the Ministry will no longer tremble at his shadow. In

him Parliament loses a purely disturbing element. A few of the other leading men in the last Chamber have also been unsuccessful—M. Floquet, M. de La Marzelle, M. de Mun, and M. Piou—but their absence will not lead to any consequences of general interest.

The remarkable changes in the numerical force of the various parties may, however, prove to be of great importance. In the old Chamber, the Conservatives, united with the Radicals and the Extreme Left, were in a majority—so much so, indeed, that the Moderate Republicans, who formed by far the most important group in the Chamber, and who were therefore entrusted with the management of affairs, were constantly at the mercy of a coalition. Thus it came about that they were compelled to adopt the so-called policy of concentration. This policy consisted in admitting two or three Radicals into a Cabinet otherwise composed of a majority of Moderates, of appointing Radicals to offices in the Administration, and of accepting measures of which the Cabinet disapproved, in order to satisfy the Radical party. But as the Government could not always yield to unreasonable claims, there invariably came a time when the coalition vote proved fatal. It is true that it was then necessary to form another Ministry exactly like its predecessor. Thus with Cabinets as heterogeneous as the majority itself, there was a constant recurrence of a state of unstable equilibrium, and it was impossible to follow any well-marked policy, or to draw up any definite programme.

All this is now changed. The Moderate Republicans number 311 in a house of 575, and if they were to coalesce with the old Conservatives, who have accepted the Republic, they would count between 340 and 345 votes. The Monarchical Conservatives, reduced to about 50 or 60, will now have no interest in forming an alliance with the 122 Radicals and the 50 Socialists of the Extreme Left, for they will be powerless to turn out a Moderate Republican Ministry even with their help. They will be more inclined to offer their support to the Moderates.

The enemies of the Republic had imagined that the Panama affair would bring about, in the constituencies, a reaction in their favour. Now, the most pronounced characteristic of the recent elections was the determination of the electors to insist upon a cordial recognition of the present form of government on the part of their candidates. The Boulangists, a scratch team of brainless or unprincipled adventurers, disappeared almost entirely. The five or six who managed to survive stood simply as Republicans. The Monarchists have been reduced by two-thirds; and the policy, recommended by the Vatican, of forming a Catholic party while accepting the Republic, has completely failed. The Republican Clericals (*Clericaux ralliés*) are only represented by thirty members, universal suffrage having no taste for Clericalism. The courage and boldness with



which Pope Leo XIII. has encouraged the French clergy and Catholics to accept the Republican form of government without reservation, will in the future, we think, bear good fruit for the Church, especially when the Monarchist opposition has entirely disappeared. There may then be a great Conservative-Republican party in sympathy with the Church, which could compel the Government to come to terms with her. But for the present Leo XIII.'s intervention has only disorganised the Conservative ranks, and has contributed to their defeat. It is easy to understand the ill-disguised wrath of the Monarchists, who, after proclaiming the Papal Infallibility from the house-tops, are disgusted at being thrown over by the Pope. They call attention with ironical bitterness to the fact that M. de Mun and M. Pion, who specially represented the views of Leo XIII., have neither of them been re-elected.

The Radicals have fared scarcely better than the Conservatives. They have suffered fewer losses; but the reduction of the Conservative ranks takes away their chief power—the possibility of threatening the Moderates with coalition votes. The Moderates can get on without them, and it will now be for the Conservatives to accept the conditions they impose. Many of the Radicals, again, will inevitably be thrown with the Moderates by the formation of a very important Socialist group. This will be one of the most original features of the new Chamber, and is already exciting much curiosity and even anxiety. The group will consist of about fifty members. There are also, no doubt, a much larger number of deputies who have called themselves Socialists in their election addresses, for Socialism is the fashion. Men hardly venture to declare, like M. Yves Guyot, in his book “*La Tyrannie Socialiste*,” that they are not Socialists. Every one who desires the improvement of the position of the working classes by means of legislation calls himself a Socialist. If, however, we do not wish to fall into inextricable confusion, we must limit this designation to those who desire to substitute collective for individual property. Now, there are about fifty deputies who are more or less definitely pledged to this doctrine. Among them, no doubt, are some men whom it is difficult to take quite seriously, such as the hairdresser of the Théâtre Français, M. Chauvin; the retired acrobat, M. Vuillod, nicknamed “*L’Homme-canon*”; the Anarchist mayor of St. Denis, M. Walter; and others, again, such as the Marseilles poet, Clovis Hugues, or Professor Jaurès, whose Socialism seems to be principally composed of sentimental rhetoric. On the other hand, they have among them some formidable agitators, like M. Basly, M. Lamendin, and M. T. Guesde, who possess real knowledge of the working classes, and whose whole aim is radically to modify the existing social régime. Their action is no longer confined to the great industrial centres, for they are beginning also to exercise a certain influence in the country districts, where the agricultural

crisis enables them to stir up feelings of jealousy of the upper classes. This Socialist group will be a power in the next Chamber. In the first place, they will attract to themselves such Radicals as M. Pelletan and M. Millerand, whose ambition will see in Socialism a means of increasing their popularity, and in the near future they will compel the Republican majority to go in more and more for State Socialism, so as not to lay themselves open to the reproach of being indifferent to the labour cause. In itself the party in France is not very formidable. It is far from possessing the discipline and organisation of the German Socialists. Paris, which is necessarily the centre of French Socialism, has no large manufactures, and has in consequence no real proletariat. The Parisian Socialists consist generally of shopkeepers, with whom it has been traditional to support "advanced" opinions; or of workmen, who are much better paid than clerks, and to whom Socialism simply means an opportunity of perorating in a café, or of declaiming at a meeting. As it is not so much a real conviction as an amusement, each man has his own theories, and Parisian Socialism is divided into a number of rival sects who are always quarrelling. These divisions, and also the fundamental ignorance of nearly all the Socialist leaders, minimise their strength. They have recently made a grave mistake in urging the miners of the Pas-de-Calais to strike when they were by no means disposed to do so. This strike, which was not taken up by the miners of the Nord, will no doubt soon come to an end, and the position of the Socialist "deputies who urged on the miners without procuring any advantages for them, will suffer considerably. It is undoubtedly a good quality in any party to have the courage of its opinions, but, at the same time, if they make a business of "travelling," so to speak, in strikes and riots, they will find that their whole influence in Parliament is gone, and that they have alienated even the peasants by their conduct.

It is nevertheless clear that, if they wish it, the Moderate Republicans may be masters of the situation, and may remain in power and govern the country. But to do this they must fulfil several conditions. In the first place, they must know what they want, and they must have a definite programme; in the second, they must sink all personal rivalry and ambition, in order to give their steady support to the Ministry of their choice; finally, there must be found in Parliament some man possessing sufficient weight and ability to lead a majority. In fact, this last requirement is the most important of all. In no country, and perhaps least of all in France, can 300 men come to an agreement as to a political programme by means of theoretic discussion, and M. Burdeau's suggestion, that the Chamber should commence operations by working out a programme before appointing a Cabinet, was hardly a practical one. If, however,

the members of the majority are agreed as to the general lines of their policy, and if they find a man who inspires sufficient confidence to induce them to follow him, it may be expected that Parliament will do some good work. Where, however, is such a man to be found? Since Gambetta and Thiers there has been but one man in France who has shown really statesmanlike qualities, and that was M. Jules Ferry. After the defeat of Langson, which had brought about his political ruin in a moment of panic, the rancour and fears of the Radicals kept him out of power. For more than six years popular feeling was blindly against him, but at last his hour seemed to have come. The Senate elected him as its President on the retirement of M. Leroyer on the 24th of February. This triumphant return to high public office was also a guarantee that he would shortly re-enter the Cabinet. Indeed, he would have been the fittest Prime Minister at this moment if a sudden attack of heart disease had not carried him off on the 15th of March, even before he could take possession of his rooms at the Senate. M. de Freycinet and M. Rouvier, though not so able as M. Jules Ferry, have yet shown that they are competent to be at the head of a Cabinet, but neither of them inspires complete confidence. M. de Freycinet has made too many concessions to the Radicals; it was he who bestowed the highest honours on Cornelius Herz; and, although his personal honesty is above all suspicion, yet his attitude during the Panama debates was so vacillating and unsatisfactory as to oblige him to quit the Ministry which he had held for four years. M. Rouvier was openly accused of having had a hand in the fraudulent transactions connected with Panama. He triumphantly proved that he had derived no profit whatever from these transactions, but, on the other hand, his intimate association with financiers of doubtful honesty increased the suspicious feeling which his private character had aroused.

For a time M. Ribot occupied a high position in the Chamber by reason of his eloquence and his high moral character. He had the good fortune to be at the head of affairs at the time of the official *rapprochement* between France and Russia, of which the reception given to the French fleet at Cronstadt was the outward and visible sign, and also at the time of the conquest of Dahomey by General Dodds. For three years he managed foreign affairs with indisputable zeal and ability. As President of the Council, on the other hand, he did not appear to possess the requisite authority, and in the Panama affair he showed great want of nerve, a regrettable hastiness in accusing certain of his colleagues, and an unfortunate eagerness to prevent a complete revelation of the truth. M. Bourgeois, who would have been M. Ribot's natural successor as President of the Council, and who, on his appointment as Minister of the Interior

in the place of M. Constans, adopted an almost identical policy, shares in the blame which fell on M. Ribot, because of his conduct with regard to the Panama debates. He is considered responsible for the ill-advised proceedings taken by M. Soinoury, the director of Public Safety at the Home Office, with a view to extract information from Madame Cottu, the wife of one of the principal defendants in the Panama affair. He has been reproached with persistent want of openness, and it has been urged against him that he has left no stone unturned to save his old chief and friend, M. Floquet, who in 1889 had compromised himself as a Minister by putting pressure on the Panama company to make them subsidise some Republican newspapers on a large scale.

M. Jules Ferry being dead, and MM. de Freycinet, Rouvier, Ribot, and Bourgeois discredited, who is there to take in hand the leadership of the majority? One man alone occupies an exceptional position in Parliament at the present moment by virtue of his lucid and supple intellect, his skill in debate, and by the value of the services he has already rendered, and that man is M. Constans. He it was who in 1889 led the whole campaign against Boulangism, who drove General Boulanger to the flight which afterwards proved to be his political suicide; who secured his condemnation by the Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice, and who directed the elections of 1889 when Boulanger was finally crushed. No orator has the gift of persuasion in the same degree; no Minister inspires so much confidence in his subordinates, or so salutary a fear in the turbulent masses. Unfortunately, he is wanting in one qualification for leading the Republican majority—he is not universally respected. No doubt there is much that is purely legendary in some of the accusations made against his honesty, and it would be difficult to bring home to him any serious and well-proven fact. However, it is true that he has always affected great moral indifference and scepticism, and that before he was in the Ministry he was mixed up in affairs in which his reputation suffered. When he became a Minister, the rapidity with which he made his fortune appeared suspicious. He unscrupulously corrupted the press, not only in the interest of the Government, but in that of his own popularity. Finally, since his fall he has not hesitated to appear as the inspiring influence of one of the least respectable of the Paris journals. He did not simply lose office in 1892; he was turned out by his colleagues, who felt their position secretly undermined and attacked by him. M. Carnot also has clearly showed that he felt a certain moral repugnance to allowing him to take part in the Government. This personal hostility on the part of a man of such inflexible honesty has done M. Constans more harm than all the justifiable or unjustifiable charges made against him put together, and yet it is certain that many Republicans, including some

of the most honest, are so impressed with his exceptional abilities that they regret his fall, and wish for his return to power.

It was M. Carnot's firm determination not to have M. Constans as Prime Minister which induced him to make M. Dupuy President of the Council when M. Ribot retired. M. Dupuy's rapid political rise is one of the most striking political phenomena of the times. He occupied very useful but modest posts in the Education Department, first as teacher in a public school, and then as inspector at Caen, and he did not seem destined to ascend much higher in the academic hierarchy till he was elected deputy in 1885. The Budget Committee employed him several times as reporter of the Education Estimates on account of his special qualifications, and this work marked him out as successor to M. Bourgeois in the Ministry of Education, just at the time when M. Constans' fall caused M. Bourgeois' removal to the Home Office. Few believed that M. Dupuy would be able to retain the post in which he had been placed by the President of the Republic. He is a fluent and vigorous speaker, his loyalty and sincerity are beyond question, his judgment is clear and sound. But such qualities hardly seemed sufficient to outweigh the rather naïve inexperience of a professor, thus suddenly called on to manage the whole affairs of France both at home and abroad, especially as he had appointed to the Foreign Office, M. Develle, formerly Minister of Agriculture, a man as little versed as himself in diplomatic questions. M. Dupuy, however, remained in power, and conducted the elections of 1893, in spite of some gross blunders both in his speeches and in his conduct, in spite of his pedagogic tone, of which he has not yet been able to rid himself, and which affords good opportunity for the flouts and jeers of his adversaries, and in spite also of an excess of self-confidence which tends to make him incautious. He has been beset with difficulties, but has overcome them, thanks to his determination of character, and to a steady energy with which he had not been credited. Having to repress the absurd and disgraceful riots fomented by some roystering students in the Latin Quarter, he took advantage of this display of military force to expel the illegally-formed syndicates of working-men at the Bourse du Travail, who had installed themselves there as masters, and had publicly announced that they were prepared to resist any attempt to turn them out. In the strikes of the Pas-de-Calais miners, he maintained order and vindicated the freedom of labour; whereas in 1892, in the Carmaux strike, which was on a much smaller scale, M. Ribot and M. de Freycinet had shown the most deplorable weakness, and had allowed the strikers to terrorise the whole working population.

It was asserted that if M. Dupuy conducted the elections they would be fatal to the Moderate Republicans. He did conduct them, and

they were much more favourable to them than the Moderates had dared to hope. He has been charged with want of foresight and of capacity in foreign affairs, yet he managed to settle a quarrel with Siam, which had been pending for years, to the advantage of France; he has come out of the grave difficulties which have arisen through the attacks of the Aigues-Mortes workmen on the Italians in a creditable manner, and he has organised and superintended the magnificent reception of the Russian squadron in Toulon and Paris. Finally, if, as he said, a formal Franco-Russian alliance is to be the upshot of that reception, M. Dupuy will be able to take the credit of it to himself.

The natural conclusion of what we have just said is that it would be desirable for M. Dupuy to continue at the head of the Ministry. And yet on all sides there seem to be doubts as to whether he can long remain Prime Minister. In Parliamentary circles he is still looked upon as a stop-gap. The Ministry, as it stands at present, cannot remain long in power, for it contains several Radicals—MM. Peytral, Viette, and Terrier; and there is a general dislike of the policy of concentration. Now, if this Ministry resigns, it is uncertain whether M. Dupuy will be asked to form another. If M. Carnot were to take the initiative in forming a Cabinet before the opening of the Chamber, M. Dupuy might be invited to lead; but it is more than doubtful whether the President will take any such step, although it would be the logical consequence of the present situation. And even if a new Ministry were formed under these conditions, the Chamber would probably overthrow it in order to maintain its power of determining the direction of the new policy. It is too much accustomed to trespass on the domain of the Executive to reform so soon. Should M. Dupuy not remain in power, who will be his successor? There are, in the new majority, more than a hundred fresh members who will no doubt have much influence, and amongst them are some first-rate men, such as M. Labat, M. de Vogüé, M. Léveillé, and many others. It is hard to prophesy how far that influence will extend. At a first glance, the only man who strikes one as being qualified by his name and his capacity to be the representative of the new majority is M. Casimir Périer, the President of the last Chamber. But it is said that he is reserving himself for the Presidency of the Republic, and that he wishes to escape the dangerous honour of being Prime Minister with a majority whose precise strength and character are unknown quantities.

The new Cabinet, indeed, will have to face difficulties of more than one kind—Parliamentary, foreign, and home problems.

We have already stated that there is a moderate Republican majority of from 310 to 320. This is true if we accept the professed opinions of these deputies, and look at the way they have previously voted. But it is certainly very doubtful whether these 310 or 320

deputies, can be accurately enough represented by a homogeneous Ministry to give it their support during a term of four years. In the first place, it would be necessary that these 310 or 320 deputies should unite in forming one single Parliamentary group. This they will certainly refuse to do. For want of men of ability so marked that they would be accepted beforehand as the indispensable leaders and Ministers, the majority, with the ambitious presumption which seems to be the chief characteristic of a large number of our legislators, will endeavour to form several groups, in order to force the Prime Minister to appoint their leading members to be heads of the different departments, under penalty of the loss of that majority.

Besides this, the Panama affair has left behind it a bitter ferment of rancour. It will not be easy to get accusers and accused to work smoothly together. Will those leading politicians who are now kept out of power by the recollection of the part they played in the Panama debates, accept with a good grace an inferior position, or will they not rather be misled into acting as kill-joys? It must not be forgotten that there is much that still remains a mystery with regard to the Panama affair, that a number of deputies were led astray by the wiles of the agents of the company, and that very few of the names of such deputies have transpired. There is nothing to prevent fresh revelations being made which would again arouse suspicion and stir up dissensions among the majority. The wretched failure of the Parliamentary inquiry, and the feeble manner in which, after a great show of indignation, the Commission passed judgment on the grave scandals which had been proved, have left open a question which ought to have been closed once for all. Even supposing that personal jealousies, mean rivalries, and secret vindictiveness do not interrupt the harmony of the majority, there are still questions of principle which may well cause division.

Let us suppose, for instance—what is rather difficult to imagine—that all its members were agreed on the taxation question, that they were all to accept the same solution as to the hard problem of its incidence on drink, and that there were no important faction amongst them inclined, for example, to join the Radicals in voting for the Income Tax; let us further suppose that they managed to work together as to the measures to be taken in favour of the working classes, that none of them were misled into seeking popularity by pressing Socialist views beyond the point at which they could be accepted by the Ministry, and that, in spite of the anti-religious passions of a great number amongst them, they were to uphold the Concordat firmly, and to adopt, with regard to the clergy, a policy at once Liberal and conciliatory, even then there would still remain an important point which might be the cause of dissension—*i.e.*, the Tariff question. The more self-seeking tendencies of some of the

manufacturers and agriculturists, under M. Méline's leadership, have contrived to make Parliament adopt a purely Protectionist policy. France has given up the policy of commercial treaties, which alone can give to her home labour, as well as to her commercial relations with foreign Powers security for the future. She has entered upon a system of economic war against her nearest neighbours, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy—the very neighbours with whom it would have been most to her interest to keep on good terms. She has not had to wait long for the result. No doubt certain manufacturers have doubled their profits by the absence of competition, but the revenue from the Customs, which, according to the partisans of the Protectionist system, was to have increased, has steadily diminished, and the severity of the agricultural crisis has in no way been lessened. Several individuals have grown rich at the expense of their country, and meanwhile new and close commercial ties are being formed between the countries to which we have closed our frontiers. To a large number of the majority these truths have come home, but many of the others will take some time before their ideas are modified. The several parties in the Chamber all contain both Protectionists and supporters of commercial treaties. If, as has already happened in the case of Switzerland, the question of these treaties is brought forward, the Moderate Republicans will be far from agreement. The new Ministry will thus have much difficulty in adopting a course which will satisfy all, and if it abstains from formulating an opinion on so vital a point, it will hardly be worthy of representing France, and will be likely to lose all authority.

When we see so many causes of dissension in the bosom of the Republican majority, we return to what we said at the beginning: there will never be a steady majority unless a homogeneous Ministry can be formed, with a definite programme supported by the majority, in whose presence divergences of opinion will be silenced, and with a strong-willed man of great intellectual and moral force at its head, because it will be felt that he is indispensable. But where is such a man to be found?

Foreign policy, which has been the stumbling-block of M. Ferry as well as of M. de Freycinet, does not at this moment present so great a difficulty as home affairs. The special position of France with regard to the Triple Alliance, as well as her attitude on military questions, has in fact brought about a certain unanimity amongst all Parliamentary parties, and even on colonial questions the old animosity between the supporters and opponents of colonial expansion is dying out. Every one is in favour of energetically defending French rights even in distant countries, even should this involve expenditure of men and money; but every one protests against useless wars of annexation. It is also felt that France must have her share in the division of



the continent of Africa; the explorations of Monteil, Mizon, and Binger are exciting eager and patriotic interest. M. Burdeau, the head of the Admiralty, was much commended for the enterprising manner in which he promised money which had not yet been voted, in order to enable General Dodds to lead the troops sent to drive back Béhanzin as far as Abomey, at the risk of the Chamber refusing to support his action. Nor did the deputies for a moment hesitate to supply M. Dupuy with the money and the support needed to restrain the Siamese to give up their encroachments on the left bank of the Mekong. The Chamber and the Senate combined together to carry out a plan which, though formed long ago, had been constantly adjourned—namely, the creation of a Colonial army. It is, however, very uncertain how long this union will last. Questions may arise which will divide afresh even the deputies of the majority into supporters and opponents of Colonial policy; already with regard to Dahomey the question has been asked, What are we going to do with our conquest? and hitherto there has been no answer. Ought we to make a colony or a protectorate of it? Ought we to divide it into several native States, or give it back to Béhanzin?

The new Ministry will have an opinion on the matter, and the question is, whether it will coincide with that of the majority. There are in the Chamber members who are in favour of the direct annexation of Tunis, of the conquest of Madagascar, and also of the annexation of Tonquin, of Annam, of Cambodia, and even of the protectorate of Siam. They are, it is true, in a minority, but who can say that they will not increase to such an extent as to become a stumbling-block to the Ministry, or that the latter may not, for reasons connected with home affairs, appoint one of their number to the Colonial Office, who, as a supporter of the policy of annexation, will find himself at variance with the majority?

At a first sight, French foreign policy in its main lines appears simple enough. The programme which seems to find favour, not only with the greater number of our politicians, but also with the majority of Frenchmen at the present moment, consists in strengthening the Russian alliance more and more, and remaining on terms as cordial as possible with England and the United States. As to Germany and Austria, we must maintain an attitude of complete reserve—of simple neutrality to the former, and friendly neutrality to the latter. Italy must be made to feel her ingratitude, and the harm she is doing herself by hostility to France. There was a time when a different policy was popular, and was even attempted, first by Gambetta, and then by Jules Ferry. That policy consisted in coming to an agreement with Germany on all international questions (and they are many) in which our interests and hers were identical—without, of course, forming any alliance with her—and meanwhile

increasing the wealth, power, and influence of France. The French settlement in Tunis was one of the tangible results of this policy, and others were about to follow when M. Ferry's fall occurred. Even supposing that the persistent hatred between Germany and France would have allowed Jules Ferry's policy to be carried out, which is doubtful, the Triple Alliance rendered any such continuance impossible, and was inevitably bound to bring about a Franco-Russian combination. It was in vain that the Triple Alliance was put forward as a league of peace among the three great Powers of Central Europe; it was felt to be, in point of fact, directed against France and against Russia. Italy guaranteed to Germany the possession of Alsace and \*Lorraine, whilst Germany guaranteed to Austria the security of her position in the East, which was threatened by Russia. France had no grounds for dissatisfaction with the support afforded by Germany and Austria to each other, nor could she doubt that their intentions were pacific, since their interests lay in the maintenance of the *status quo*. But she had every right to suspect the intentions of Italy, who had nothing to fear from France, and who had, on the contrary, many an ancient bond of brotherhood in arms, of traditional friendship, and of common trade interests. The only reason which could induce Italy to turn her back on her Republican neighbour, in order to form an alliance with the most powerful of Continental Monarchies, was the dynastic interests of the House of Savoy. Were those interests powerful enough, however, to persuade Italy to spend money on her military defences, and to accept an economic rupture with France, which would necessarily lead to her ruin, if she had not had a successful war in view as a compensation? France was therefore convinced that Italy wished for war. The bad faith with which the Italians invented stories of French plans for invading Italy, the recent manifestations of public feeling in Rome, Genoa, and elsewhere, with regard to the dreadful occurrences at Aigues-Mortes, where many Italian workmen were ill-treated, and a few of them massacred, by French workmen with whom they were competing, the invitation of the Prince of Naples to the great manœuvres at Metz, and his appointment to a commission in an Alsace-Lorraine regiment—all this confirmed the French in their opinion that the presence of Italy in the Triple Alliance meant a desire for war. In order, then, to maintain peace, and to re-establish equilibrium in case of war, it was necessary for the French to obtain the support of a great military Power. Russia also was threatened by the hostile attitude of Germany and Austria, not indeed with a possible loss of territory, but with the diminution of her influence in the East, and with the disturbance of her economic position. She needed, therefore, a financial alliance, and she found it in France. The conversion of the Russian loan in Paris, and the transference from Germany to France of part

of the Russian debt, has been up to the present time the most tangible result of the Franco-Russian understanding, and it is probable that Russia is again meditating an appeal to the power of French savings to enable her to meet her financial difficulties.

Now all that has happened up to the present has been natural enough. Two years ago, universal satisfaction was expressed when the news from Cronstadt was received, and there was a unanimous feeling of pleasure, and even of enthusiasm, when the Russian squadron was received at Toulon. Nobody can be surprised if Frenchmen feel some joy and pride in seeing the autocrat of all the Russias asking for their friendship, their security increased, and their position in Europe immensely magnified. Whatever Minister is in power, therefore, will meet with no opposition if he adopts the policy of thorough understanding, and even of an alliance, with Russia. Indeed, she is the only possible ally for France, England preferring to keep her independence, and being determined to remain aloof from Continental quarrels in so far as they do not directly concern her.

But will this unanimity last? If peace is maintained, as we have every right to hope, will not France perhaps feel that she has made a bad bargain for herself? She has given her money to Russia, she has opened her ports to Russian corn, and is going, it is said, to offer her coal-  
ing stations in the Mediterranean and in the Far East. What can Russia give her in exchange? Some good openings for her wine-trade—and then, what? Is it wise on the part of France to allow a fourth Power to enter the Mediterranean? Is it wise to help to swell the resources of an empire whose population increases at the rate of 38,000,000 in twenty years? The time may come when some Frenchmen will think, as M. Ferry thought, that a political and commercial understanding with Germany would have been far more profitable, provided of course that peace were maintained and the European *status quo* preserved.

Besides, can we live for any length of time in such an atmosphere of diplomatic silence and reserve as that in which we have been pleased to dwell of late in France as to all that concerns Russia? We cannot go on for ever professing for the Russian Government an admiration which no sincere Republican can possibly feel, or waxing wroth against the tyrannical *régime* in Bulgaria, when, as a matter of fact, we are all full of sympathy for the energy with which that little country has asserted its independence? Nor can we go on feigning ignorance as to the abuses of Russian autocratic government, such as the persecution of the Jews, of the Poles, and of all the Dissenters, the secret trial and execution of political prisoners, and the destruction of all local self-government, such as the *Zemstvos*, the election of justices of peace, and of the free communal administration, which were so many compen-

sations for the Tzar's autocracy? Will not France feel that she is losing in dignity if she is deprived of her freedom both of judgment and of speech. If, on the other hand, some Ministry endeavoured to bring about a war, through the medium of the Franco-Russian alliance, in order to re-conquer Alsace and Lorraine, would they find that they could count on a majority to back them? War is always at hand, in the present state of Europe, but nobody would dare to engage in it deliberately. The chances are too great. France must perish if she engages in an unsuccessful one; and a victorious war, in which Germany was crushed by France and Russia, would result in the subjection of all Europe to the latter. Would not France then feel that she had acted to the life, the part of the horse in the fable, who, to be avenged on the stag, submitted to be bitted and bridled by a rider? What a mockery if, after the victory, France were obliged to seek an alliance with Germany against Russia! Such are the questions which arise in many minds when they reason about the demonstration of Russian friendship, which they cannot, however, help hailing as a comfort after so many years of weakness and despondency. The truth is that the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany has disturbed the whole balance of European politics, and Europe to this day is feeling the consequences of it.

Another difficulty in the way of every Ministry is that France, now that the differences between the Monarchists and the Republicans have been composed, feels the need of some stimulating excitement. She is in love with stir and pageantry, with glitter and bustle. With no liking for distant adventures, she yet suffers from being compelled to inaction in Europe. Boulangism, viewed as a whole, was but a symptom of the uneasiness and discomfort of a great nation suffering from being too much "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined," and the childishness and "gush" with which the news of the arrival of the Russian squadron was hailed in some quarters is not without some likeness to Boulangism. The Panama affair has thrown light on the profound corruption of the press, and of a section of the financial world, and even of the political world. The newspapers, of which there are far too many, are either in the hands of financiers or are themselves so many financial ventures, often of a doubtful character. The scandalous increase in the sale of obscene literature, the growing moral cynicism in certain circles, the increase in the numbers of the drunken and criminal classes, all point to a sickly state of the body politic, which tends to foster restlessness and dissatisfaction. At the end of this century we sorrowfully deplore the loss of those great men who have been its shining lights. Taine and Renan have passed away within less than a year, and those that are still with us—Pasteur and Berthelot—will not leave any successors who can be compared to them. Nothing is produced, either in literature or in art, which excites enthusiasm. Yet we feel the need for

action, for something to admire, something to believe in. There is a longing for something nobler and greater in the life of the country. The very eccentricities of the decadent and "symbolical" writers, and of the impressionists in painting, are a sign of this longing for what is new and better. Among some of the younger generation there is a tendency towards religious mysticism, whilst theosophy and spiritualism attract an increasing number of followers. In a word, there is in France, for good or for evil, a certain fermenting dissatisfaction—a yearning for an unknown ideal. If Parliament needs chiefs, the nation itself needs leaders and guides, men of worth, who would be listened to and followed. The great danger and the great difficulty of our position at the present moment, both politically and socially, is the existence of a state of inaction, of languid *ennui*, side by side with the longing for activity; an intellectual and moral chaos from which may spring some sudden outburst—it may be war, it may be social revolution, it may be a pacific, moral and intellectual revival.

G. MONOD.

# THE PARISH COUNCILS BILL.

## THE GENERAL SCOPE.

**T**HE powers conferred by this Bill upon Parish Councils are so wide and so varied in their scope that it is as well that the public should understand how far-reaching the influence is likely to be which these councils will exert.

What these powers are will be best stated in the form of a summary. They are as follows :

1. All the powers, duties, and liabilities of the vestry of the parish, with comparatively few exceptions.
2. The powers, duties, and liabilities of churchwardens, except so far as they appertain to ecclesiastical matters, as well as the powers, duties, and liabilities of the overseers.
3. The power of making representations to the District Council with respect to allotments, and setting in motion the machinery by which allotments can be obtained and held.
4. The power of adopting of its own will the Lighting and Watching Act (1833); the Baths and Washhouses Acts (1846 to 1882); the Burials Acts (1852 to 1855); the Public Improvements Acts of 1860, and the Public Libraries Act of 1892.
5. The power to provide and acquire buildings for public offices, meetings, and other purposes; to provide and acquire land for such buildings, as well as for recreation grounds and public walks; to exercise over such recreation grounds the authority now exercised by the urban authority; to utilise any water supply in their parish; to deal with any pond, pool, or ditch likely to be prejudicial to health; to acquire rights of way and easements within or without their parish, the acquisition of which is beneficial to any inhabitants of the parish; to hold any gifts of property for the benefit of the parish; to execute any works of maintenance or improvement incidental to the exercise

of any of the previous powers, and to contribute towards the expenses of doing any of the above things.

6. The power of purchasing land, whether by agreement on reasonable terms, or even without agreement, if they are supported in their wish by the decision of the District Council.

7. In regard to finance the powers of the Parish Council are considerable, and require a somewhat further explanation and comment. The Council will be able, not only to raise a rate not exceeding one penny in the pound, but in addition to this, with the approval of the parish meeting, and the further approval of the District or County Council, they may incur further expense, and "any expense consented to by a parish meeting and approved by the District or County Council shall, unless the consent and approval otherwise directs, be excluded from future consideration for the purpose of limit of rate under this section." From this it would seem that, once an expenditure has been agreed to by the parishioners at a parish meeting and approved by the County Council, the parishioners, having consented, have no subsequent power of checking an expenditure to which they must contribute, and this is independent of the amount of the penny rate, which is practically in the hands of the Council. Powers of this kind need to be carefully guarded. The consent of a parish meeting to a certain expenditure may be found to involve a much larger outlay than the parishioners themselves realised; for when once an enterprise is undertaken, expenses have a tendency to expand, and it does not seem that a due check upon such enlarged expenditure is provided by, the Bill.

Again, with the consent of the District Council and the Local Government Board, the Parish Councils have the power of borrowing money for the purchase of land, for work under any of the adoptive Acts, or for any permanent work, the cost of which ought, in the opinion of the District Council and the Local Government Board, to be spread over a number of years.

In these proposals no small danger to the State itself may lie. For the safety of the commonwealth many question whether the borrowing powers in different localities should be as free as they are at present. It must be remembered that local indebtedness has ere this precipitated national ruin.

Mr. Pearson has sounded a caution based upon experience when he reminds us that "over-indebtedness, leading to bankruptcy and ruin, or to heavy temporary complications, has been a common feature of State life throughout history. *The decline of the Roman Empire was undoubtedly hastened by the heavy indebtedness of the cities, an indebtedness which was often occasioned by their engaging in great public works.*"

While, then, it will be seen that the powers of the Parish Councils

will be very wide indeed, and while all Englishmen desire to see local self-government extended, as far as is wise and prudent, it will also be seen that it will be necessary, out of the wisdom of experience, to guard jealously against the danger of giving to small bodies of men, scattered in every direction over the country, too free a hand in escaping immediate outlay at the expense of a future indebtedness. There is a danger that even excellent objects undertaken by the authority of public bodies may be carried out in extravagant and reckless fashion. With the great and grave circumstances of depression everywhere around us, with the shrinkage of trade, with many difficult problems awaiting solution, it is the part of prudence to watch anxiously against any tendency towards the increase of the burdens of the country.

In view, then, of these varied and far-reaching powers, and the corresponding variety of use and abuse which they afford, it can hardly be untrue to say that the importance of the Parish Councils Bill is far greater in the wide range of its influence, and the character of the changes it is likely to effect, than was that of the County Councils Bill of 1888. In the opinion of some it will do little less than revolutionise the whole government of our rural populations. It will, for the first time in our history, make the country populations acquainted with the modes and powers of self-government. All over the country, in every parish with a population of three hundred, there will be dotted these Parish Councils. It is too early yet to forecast the class of people who will be selected to govern these small republics, but it is not too much to say that the introduction of such responsible self-government cannot fail to have a direct influence upon the national character. Whether this influence will be for good or evil is a question which people will decide according to their predilections or their hopes; but any measure which tends to throw responsibility upon those who have not possessed it before, must have a direct influence upon the characters of those upon whom it is placed.

These new local parliaments will very largely determine what is for the benefit of the parishes. In their hands will be the administration of our minor laws. The protection of health, the acquisition of land, a distinct influence upon the education of the parish, and last, and in the view of some, not least, the power of borrowing money, will be committed to them. Mr. Pearson, in his book on "National Character," has told us that the most important guarantee of national debt is national character. There are some who have thought that our local indebtedness is already greater than prudence should sanction. If this local indebtedness should tend to increase in any large degree owing to the action of Parish Councils, it follows that the total obligation to which the English people are about to be committed should be very carefully estimated; and if in the long run



national character is the ultimate guarantee of national obligation, we shall have to watch very jealously the influence of the new bodies upon the dispositions, the temperaments and feelings of our people.

But apart from all money questions, the possession and use of new powers, in well-nigh every parish, will fill all thoughtful people with deep interest, and stimulate them to careful observation. We may then fitly ask, What will be the effect of this measure, when carried, upon the nation? The answer to this question will of course vary according to our dispositions. Sanguine people will naturally be full of hope; their argument will be that everywhere the possession of responsible powers tends to develop self-reliance. Should this be the case, we cannot be too grateful. We have been told that our national character has not improved of late; there are not wanting those who point to the causes and evidences of this deterioration. In their view the very multiplication of improvements has tended to the diminution of self-reliance. They argue that if we do too much for the people, if we superintend their interests too carefully, we relieve them from those very necessities out of which enterprise, hardihood, courage, and self-reliance are born. They are, moreover, of the opinion that the very quality of the education, which up to very recent times was in vogue, has worked in the same direction. The sole object of the teacher, they say, has been to qualify his pupils for meeting the ordeal of the inspector's visit. His ambition has been to produce children quick enough to answer the questions that will be asked: to form a shallow, smart memory, just sufficiently intelligent to take in the question and to remember the required answer; to make of the mind a great treasury of various and not very well-digested information; but not to strengthen the understanding, to train the reasoning faculty, to give force to the will, or to equip the scholar for life. The intellectual qualities which were developed by these methods could not be those of self-reliance or strong independent judgment. The men who grew up under such a system as this would be men painfully dependent upon the authority of others; a nervous timidity and an irresolute disposition were likely to be characteristics of the people. But life requires above all things that self-reliance which can rest at times upon its own judgment; emergencies cannot always be settled by precedent, nor is authority always at hand to solve problems; and it may be thought that the very discipline of life is intended and should be directed to teach men that there are times in which self-esteem is a virtue:

" Ofttimes nothing profits more  
Than self-esteem grounded on just and right."

If the view of those who feel depressed regarding the results of past education be true, we may welcome any system which is likely to call forth the lacking spirit of self-reliance; and there are proofs to

he found that the effect of some such system as the Parish Councils Bill is intended to establish may be to promote this strong and hardy spirit. In one of the Yorkshire districts a visitor was struck by the manly independence which marked the residents, and on inquiry he was disposed to attribute it to the responsibility which the people had been accustomed to exercise as Church members in the days of ecclesiastical neglect. At any rate, when we are threatened with so great a deterioration of national character, it is well to extract hope from new measures, and to cherish the pleasant belief that fresh and enlarged responsibilities will be followed by increased independence and by that courageous action which is the fruit of responsibility.

But if the optimistic minds see reasons for hope, it is fair to remember that there are others who are not so sanguine. We are told by the despondent spirits that the enlarged responsibility has not developed these happy characteristics, and we must admit that local self-government is not wholly a happy experience. Were Dean Swift alive he could make great mirth out of the paltry squabbles of our petty corporations. The great misfortune of the position is in the persistent and irrelevant importation of political considerations into matters of merely parochial interest. To read the inflamed and impassioned circulars which are issued on the occasion of some town council election one might imagine that matters of some high political import were at stake. But while the members are struggling for pre-eminence it often happens that the weightier matters of the law are forgotten. Who cares for the mint, anise, and cummin of a political struggle, when the health, the decency, the order, and the safety of a whole community are at stake? Our Gallic-like townspeople are probably just as well satisfied with the water whether the turncock be a Conservative or a Liberal; the matter of real importance is that the water be good and pure. It would be a good thing if some town councils would forget entirely the words *Conservative* and *Liberal*, and would turn their attention to the housing of the poor and the sanitary conditions of the towns for which they are responsible. There are few of us who do not know of the constant complaints and the impotent groans of those who are compelled to submit to the ignorant authority of not very high-principled men, whose rule, gilded with a sham political importance, is often marked by a robbery and neglect which jeopardise the lives and health of thousands.

In the view of those who are alive to these evils, the creation of Parish Councils only appears the opportunity for yet further abuses. It is vain to tell them that the remedy lies in their own hands—in the hands of the people. Their answer is, that the people grow lethargic when once they have delegated responsibility or authority to others; they remind us that, after having struggled to win some measure of self-government, they are content with having

won it ; they are like children who cry loudly for a doll, but neglect it as soon as it is given them :

“ The people like a headlong torrent go,  
And every dam they break or overflow ;  
But unopposed they either lose their force,  
Or wind in volumes to their former course.”

And yet the answer is good, that the remedy lies in the hands of the people. The Parish Councils can have no power but such as the parish electors are disposed to give them. The parish meeting, according to the Bill, is designed to be a check upon the parish authorities, and if the right stuff is in the people, the Parish Councils should become neither the arena of political struggle nor the scene of jobbery, nor the seat of dishonoured and disdained authority.

But there is another class of critic. There are those who tell us that the measure proceeds upon the wrong lines. Mr. Henry C. Stephens, M.P., who has been a consistent advocate of local self-government for many years, maintains that the Bill for Local Government in England and Wales, introduced by the Government, is conceived in a totally different spirit, and unfolds an apparently opposite intention to all for which he has laboured so long. It (that is, the Bill) deprives the parish of important and responsible powers, and confers none which are not trivial in value or in extent. Under it the effective powers for direct parish management, now possessed collectively by the inhabitants, and the understanding and personal guardianship of their interests which they obtain from direct management, would, he declares, disappear, for the inhabitants would be forced to transfer their powers for direct management to a very few elected persons, called a Parish Council. Mr. Stephens fears that we shall thus lose one means of education in self-government ; and he reminds us of the value of parish institutions as forming a school of self-government, quoting Sir Erskine May's words :

“ That Englishmen have been qualified for the enjoyment of political freedom is mainly due to those ancient local institutions by which they have been trained to self-government. England, alone amongst the nations of the earth, has maintained for centuries a constitutional polity, and her principles may be ascribed above all things to her free institutions. Since the days of their Saxon ancestors her sons have learnt at their own gates the duties and responsibility of citizens. . . . Every parish is an image and reflection of the State. The land, Church, and commonalty share in this government ; aristocratic and democratic elements are combined in its society. The common law in its grand simplicity recognised the right of the rated parishioners to assemble in vestry and to administer parochial affairs.”

It will be seen that the fear which is thus indicated is lest the Parish Councils Bill should take away from the parishioner the personal interest which he is now believed to possess in parish government. Certainly everything should be done to popularise our

institutions, and few things are more disastrous to the commonwealth than the studied indifference of our people to the institutions which they themselves have created. In justice to those whose fears we have been considering, it is only right to remember that the number of our citizens who take practical interest in borough elections, school board elections, and parliamentary elections, is comparatively few. It is not uncommon to find an election for a school board, for instance, determined by the vote of about thirty per cent. of the voters on the register. The proportion is probably higher in parliamentary elections (where the franchise is confined to men), but this would only go to prove that an election to Parliament is a more popular and interesting event than the election of a corporation or of a school board; and if so, there does seem to be ground for fearing that in the very matters which are of such close personal interest to a particular neighbourhood there is a lethargy wholly out of proportion to the issues at stake. In other words, the struggles of Conservatives and Liberals prove more engrossing than questions of education, health, drainage, sanitation, and social improvements. And if so, there is reason to fear lest a like inertness and indolence should manifest themselves in parishes towards the Parish Councils when they exist.

On the other hand, the powers given to the Parish Councils touch matters which will very directly affect the interests of the rural populations; the power to acquire land for the purpose of allotments, for walks, and for recreation grounds; the power to put in force the Baths and Washhouses Acts, and the Public Improvements Acts, might create some interest in the locality. We are afraid that the opportunity given to the Parish Councils of adopting the Free Libraries Act will not prove a special attraction to our rural populations. It has been said that we are not a reading people, and if our general characteristic is such, it can hardly be doubted that the rural population is comparatively indifferent to literature. One of the noblest and most unselfish of men, who lived a life of exemplary self-denial for more than half a century in agricultural districts, thought to benefit the people by securing a loan of books to be placed as a temporary library in a convenient locality. After the experience of a year or two, statistics showed only too clearly that the people were indifferent to his efforts, for only one beside himself made use of the library.

On the whole, then, we may look forward, I think, with hope to the operation of this Bill. Enough has been said to show that there are difficulties and drawbacks to the system proposed, but the Bill is a movement completely in harmony with previous legislation. It is one of those measures which has an air of inevitableness about it. It throws upon the people of our agricultural districts a great and a distinct

responsibility ; it is a step forward in the path of national freedom, and it is the law of all human things that we cannot stand still, we cannot sit down and say we have done ; to do so is to invite stagnation and to precipitate despair :

" In this perseverance  
Keeps honour bright, to have done is to hang  
Quite out of fashion like a rusty mail  
In monumental mockery "

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL ASPECT.

The ecclesiastical aspect of the Bill has a great and profound interest for the members of the Church of England, and there are points in the Bill which all fair-minded people will desire to see settled without injustice. We can admit the difficulty of drafting a Bill of the kind, and we are not disposed to be over critical of the efforts of men who are sincerely desirous of doing good to their country ; we go farther, and believe that even those who are not wholly friendly to the Church of England are still desirous of acting justly and fairly, and would be the last to take an advantage under the cover of any ambiguous or enigmatical clauses. Mr. Fowler, in introducing the Bill, invited the co-operation of all who sincerely wished for the welfare of their country. He claimed that the Bill was not in any sense a party measure. " We want," he said, " to deal with this question apart from politics, as a question in which all the citizens of the State are interested. We want to establish a local system, under which all shall have free play and all shall have fair play, and in which the advantage of all shall be the desire of each." The spirit of these words is everything that can be wished, and we take it that they are in themselves the guarantee that no direct injustice is intended, and that even an unintentional injustice will be readily redressed.

It has been pointed out by Mr. Chancellor Dabdin that certain clauses of the Bill may work this unintentional injustice, and anyone who reads the fifth, sixth, and thirteenth clauses will feel that the misgivings of Churchmen are not wholly without foundation. Clause 5 provides " that the local interest in all property, vested either in the overseers, or in the churchwardens and overseers, of a rural parish, other than the property connected with the affairs of the Church, shall, if there is a Parish Council, vest in that council." It will be seen that the whole significance of this clause depends upon the interpretation which is given to the phrase, " other than property connected with the affairs of the Church."

Again, if we turn to Clause 6, we find that " the powers, duties, and liabilities of the vestry of the parish, except so far as they relate to the affairs of the Church, and except so far as power is given to the parish "

meeting," are transferred to the Parish Council, which, by the same clause, is to possess "the powers, duties, and liabilities of the churchwardens of the parish, except so far as they relate to the affairs of the Church or to ecclesiastical charities."

Here, again, the value and significance of the clause largely depends upon the interpretation which may be given to the phrase, "the affairs of the Church or to ecclesiastical charities."

In the same way, in the thirteenth clause the Parish Council is given power over the parochial charities by permission to substitute their own trustees for the overseers or churchwardens of the parish, unless indeed the charity in question be an ecclesiastical charity. The question then for Church people will be, What does the Act mean by an "ecclesiastical charity"? And here again we are not left without doubt.

Clause 58 defines the expression: "the expression 'ecclesiastical charity' means a charity the income whereof is either wholly or partly applicable to any spiritual purpose which is now a legal purpose, or for the benefit of any spiritual person as such, or for the erection, maintenance, or repair of any ecclesiastical buildings; or for the maintenance of divine service therein, whether such purpose has or has not now failed." We have here reached a definition, but unfortunately some of us would like the definition to be defined, because when we are defining an ecclesiastical charity we think that we ought hardly to introduce the word ecclesiastical into the definition itself. Every one who reads the above clause will find himself asking, for example, what is meant by "an ecclesiastical building"? The church is an ecclesiastical building, but is the parish-room an ecclesiastical building? Is the schoolroom an ecclesiastical building? If an ecclesiastical building means a building devoted to church purposes, it may or may not include the parish-room or the schoolroom. If an ecclesiastical building means a building which is under the guardianship of the Church, then I think that Church people will feel no great apprehension as to the operation of the clause. But when we remember that once this Act has passed, the powers of definition will be left to those who may be disposed to interpret in a sense hostile to the Church, it seems only fair to ask that these ambiguities of expression shall be cleared up while yet there is time. Every one is aware that what are called parish-rooms have multiplied in number during past years, under the auspices of the Church of England. These parish-rooms are of inestimable value. It might even be argued that they are of more varied service to the parish than the church itself can be. In many cases they are used for divine service. They are the natural gathering-place of all kinds of parochial interests and institutions. Tea-meetings, lectures, classes are held in them. They have become

almost an indispensable part of parochial machinery. They are the growth of our own times, so that arguments based on the antiquity of endowments have no force here. And yet these parish rooms, built by the money of Church people, supported and maintained by Church people, of special value and interest to Church people, are, it seems, not wholly safe from the invading hand of the new bodies about to be created.

The same consideration applies to school charities. There are, as it is well known, many endowments, great and small, held by the Church of England for the purpose of educating children in the principles of the Church of England. These charities are very frequently vested in the vicar and the churchwardens. But, if experts are not mistaken, the Parish Councils, as the lawful representatives of the dethroned churchwardens, will have power to act as trustees over these charities, and possibly to divert them from their original intention. Educational charities are not the only ones which may be thus affected. Mr. Dibdin has said: "I apprehend that the first result of this legislation will be to sweep into the hands of the Parish Councils the mass of coal, blankets, bread and meat, and dole charities, of which testators and other donors have made the Church, through its officers the almoners." It is only fair to say that some reformation may be needed in the administration of these promiscuous and miscellaneous charities. Many of the more intelligent of the clergy feel that these ancient and well-intentioned charities, in the form in which they are now used, are by no means healthy influences in the parish. There are many places in which charities of this sort are so numerous and so well endowed that they form an unfortunate attraction to the idle. There are towns which are known to be possessed of such endowments, and towards these towns there gravitate large numbers of those to whom honest and independent work is distasteful. The morale of these towns is low. The influence of such charities is not invigorating, and it would certainly be well if the work of the Charity Commissioners could be extended to many of them. But it may be doubted whether, with the best intentions in the world, the Parish Council, constituted as it will be under this Bill, will be the best body to administer these somewhat unhappy doles. Surely these charities might be better employed. Might not, for example, a scheme be devised by which, without doing injustice to localities, the much-to-be-desired pensions for old age might be promoted? If some common administrative power could be exercised over all these charities, money which is now too often given in an uncertain, incomplete, and unsatisfactory fashion, might be utilised for the substantial advantage of those who have grown too old for work.

There is one other point on which Churchmen feel that they have a

grievance. The operation of the Bill will, it is thought, weaken, and perhaps paralyse, Church affairs in the vestry. The Bill, it will be remembered, substitutes the Parish Council for the churchwardens in all matters which do not appertain to the Church. But the withdrawal of the purely secular business from the authority of the churchwardens may leave in the vestry, as it is now constituted, a source of future confusion, for the vestries will still be under the government of various Acts of Parliament, and, as Mr. Dibdin has pointed out, "if nothing more is done, the mere leaving the church with its vestry to get on as well as it can will produce great and unjust embarrassment," for "its rigidity and property franchise which are now requisite are practically due to the fact that the vestry was framed with a view to the civil functions which are now being withdrawn." So that, as he says, the scheme of the Bill leaves the Church with all its complicated machinery, much of which is out of date, and all of it unsuitable for the purely ecclesiastical duties which are left to the vestries. His suggestion is that two or three sections should be added which would relieve the Church from these embarrassments. What is required is that the vestries should be reduced to the simplest possible form, and that all ecclesiastical parishes should be free to adopt the same form.

Thus the questions which interest Church people are questions in which Church property and Church authority are involved, and in which the working of the essential machinery of the parish is endangered. In spite of the strong political and religious differences which exist amongst us, there is, we believe, a strong love of fair play among English people, and we are persuaded that no body of men, whether they sit on the right or on the left of the Speaker's chair, will wish to deal in this matter otherwise than justly and fairly by the National Church. At the same time, when we remember the power of minorities and the weakness of men in allowing their higher moral nature to be over-ridden by political or party prepossession, it is not to be wondered at that Church people should feel uneasy till some assurance is given them that, in the matters of which they are afraid, their representations will be fairly considered.

Before leaving the consideration of this Bill there is one thought which has pressed upon many minds of late years to which we would give expression. Everywhere we are hearing of agricultural depression; everybody is deploring the exodus of our populations from the rural districts, and the desperate and fatal increase of population in each of our towns. The cry of many is, Let us return to the land. The land is good; the land will yield her increase, there is bread enough and to spare, if only labour and industry can be gathered there. The temptations to fly to the towns are many, but the advan-



tages of a residence there are at least doubtful. The strength and the stature, the health and the happiness, of the race are not secured by a residence in the slums and purlieus of our large cities. The Parish Councils Bill deals with the rural districts. It would be in every way a gain if, coincident with the passing of this Bill, a revival of interest in the country might take place.

Further, it is of inestimable importance that over the cradle of these new Parochial Councils there should be gathered the best, the wisest, the most self-denying spirits in our land. It would be a disaster if the management and manipulation of these councils fell into the hands of ignorant perversity or self-interest; it would be the means—nay, it would be almost a guarantee—of prosperity if the wise and good, the experienced and the patriotic, could be found in large numbers among the first members of these Parish Councils. Is this impossible? At the very moment when the country is denuded of her population we are throwing upon the few that remain a responsibility greater than any that has been entrusted to them hitherto. Is there no way, we ask, in which the country could once more become attractive and fashionable? We turn our eyes to the great cities, and there we see, not merely the struggling and the half-starving\* population; not merely the great officials, the men of affairs, and the men of mark, whose hands are already too full; but we see thousands upon thousands who are residents in these cities, whose hands are idle, and whose abilities are growing stagnant for want of occupation. Are there none of these, we may ask, who could find in the country a noble duty and a congenial employment? Has it occurred to the many who are asking what they shall do with their lives, and who play at charity and coquet with religious and philanthropic work in London, that there is work for them to do of nobler and more abiding use in the remote corners of our own land? The advent of a few families, possessed of even comparatively small means, into forlorn country districts would be an untold blessing.

From a commercial point of view, their advent would mean employment to many who can hardly make a subsistence. From an intellectual point of view their presence might mean the cultivation of higher interests among many whose interests rise little above the level of the field. From a moral point of view their life and their example might lift the neighbourhood to higher conception and performance of life and of duty. We are too romantic. Calls to the foreign mission field, where death and danger flank men on all sides, are responded to with a heroism worthy of all praise. A glamour hangs round the work which may be done in the alleys of White-chapel and the courts of Spitalfields. But in the rural districts, work, perhaps a little more prosaic, may be done, but work which involves far more than a transient blessing to not a few of the struggling ones,

whose precarious existence is a doubtful blessing. The work which may be done in the country is little less than the refounding of English life under conditions which will be good for the physical, the mental, and the moral welfare of the people.

Now, if at any time, is the opportunity for those who, having the means and the leisure, sincerely desire to serve their country. Of houses there is no lack: districts too numerous to mention would kindly welcome their approach; the labourer, the shopkeeper, the farmer, the clergyman, living in some lonely spot, would court such comers as missionaries indeed. If the spirit of patriotism could move many such to go forth and dwell in the wilderness districts of England, their presence would not only arrest the flow of population from the country, but might even attract back from the fatal vortex of town life many who now go but to struggle and to perish there. The homes which such people would found would be centres of employment, of cultured intelligence and of noble example; their duties would possess a grand simplicity; they might be the friends and the counsellors of those around them. In the difficult days of the formation and first working of these Parish Councils they might render untold service, and the blessing of self-denying and patriotic action would be theirs. The healthy breezes of the country, the joy of communion with Nature in her sublimer or in her sweeter aspects, the boon of lofty thinking and simple living, the joy of finding a legitimate sphere for the exercise of their powers—these would be among some of the blessings which would fall to the lot of those found ready to sacrifice what are after all the doubtful enjoyments of a doubtful position in the town for the solid advantages of doing good in their day and generation.

W. B. RYON.

## MASHONALAND AND ITS PEOPLE. 7

PERHAPS, before entering Mashonaland, a few words about our new ally, King Khama, of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland, may not be amiss. Without his aid the pioneers could never have entered the country, and without his consent the plucky scheme for annexing the auriferous district between the Lundi and the Zambesi, conceived by Mr. Cecil Rhodes and carried out by a handful of Englishmen, would never have been heard of; hence it is only fitting that he should claim our attention first.

King Khama is a model savage, if a black man who has been thoroughly civilised by European and missionary influences can still be called one. He is an autocrat of the best possible type, whose influence in his country is entirely thrown into the scale of virtue for the suppression of vice. Such a thing as theft is unknown in his realm; he will not allow his subjects to make or drink beer. "Beer is the source of all quarrels," he says; "I will stop it." He has put a stop also to the existence of witch-doctors and their wiles throughout all the Bamangwato. He conducts in person services every Sunday in his large round *kolla*, or place of assembly, standing beneath the tree of justice and the wide canopy of heaven in a truly patriarchal style. He is keen in the suppression of all superstitions, and eats publicly the flesh of the *duyker*, a sort of roebuck, which was formerly the *totem* of the tribe, and held as sacred amongst them twenty years ago. The late King Sikkome, Khama's father, would not so much as step on a *duyker* skin, and it is still looked upon with more veneration by his subjects than Khama would wish.

As an instance of Khama's power and judgment, it is sufficient for us to quote the sudden change of his capital from Shoshong to the present site, Palapwe. Shoshong was in a strong position, where the

Bamangwato could effectually protect themselves from the Matabele raids under Lobengula, but it was badly supplied with water, and in dry seasons the inhabitants suffered greatly from drought. The change of capital had been a subject discussed for years, but Khama waited quietly until people began to think that he was against it and would never move. He waited, in fact, until he was sure of British protection, until he knew that Lobengula could not attack his people at Palapwe without embroiling himself in a war with England. Then suddenly one day, now five years ago, without any prefatory warning, King Khama gave orders for the move, and the exodus began on the next day, and in two months' time 15,000 individuals were located in their new capital, sixty miles away from Shoshong. Under Khama's direction everything was conducted in the best possible order; every man was given his allotted ground and told to build his huts thereon. Not a single dispute arose, and no one would imagine to-day that only a few years ago Palapwe was uninhabited.

Khama, in manner and appearance, is thoroughly a gentleman, dignified and courteous; he wears well-made European clothes, a billy-cock hat and gloves, in his hand he brandishes a dainty cane, and he pervades everything in his country, riding about from point to point wherever his presence is required; and if he is just a little too much of a dandy it is an error in his peculiar case in the right direction.

Khama, on more than one occasion, has driven back Matabele raids from his country with great discomfiture to the enemy, and now with the English behind him his position is thoroughly and indisputably secure. As an ally in the war with Lobengula his services will be invaluable; his men can serve when ours cannot, they are up to all the tricks of the Matabele warfare and, moreover, they are fighting for their hearths and homes, for a discomfiture in Mashonaland would mean that the Bamangwato are the next to be attacked, and they are well aware of the cruel vengeance that would be wreaked upon them by Lobengula if he could have his way.

Khama's country is the threshold of Mashonaland, and after crossing a series of rivers we reach the high plateau where dwell the tribes whom collectively we now call Mashonas. The number of tribes and petty chiefs who occupy this high plateau is bewildering in the extreme. Sixty years ago they had no enemies to molest them save their own internal jealousies; the strong chiefs attacked the smaller ones; constant quarrels arose and desultory warfare without end. It was at this juncture that Moselikatze came and his Zulu followers, and made short work of the aborigines of this country, appropriating their lands and taking up the best portion of their territory, which we now know as Matabeleland. For years and years Mashonaland has been the happy hunting-ground of the Matabele impis. Right from Bulwayo

to the Sabi river these troops marauded, whereas on the left bank of the Sabi the great chief Gungunyama raided, and the two mighty robbers, Lobengula and Gungunyama, by tacit consent, kept to their own districts.

It is impossible to speak too emphatically on the subject of the misery wrought by the Matabele on the Mashona tribes. Matabeleland is to-day full of Mashona slaves. The aristocratic Matabele do not care to do their own work, but entrust the care of their cattle and their fields to Mashonas snatched from their homes and their relatives in these annual raids.

This is why all Mashona villages are perched on the pinnacles of their rocky hills or kopjes. Sometimes five hundred feet above the plain these villages are placed; and when we travelled through untrodden paths in Mashonaland, where the motive of the white man was not as yet thoroughly understood, we could see the naked black savages scampering away as fast as they could up the rocks, like goats or lizards, and on more than one occasion we had some difficulty in explaining to them that we were not a Matabele impi, and that our motives were entirely peaceful.

Cherumbila is the chief of a tribe about twelve miles distant from Fort Victoria. His town is situated on a long ridge, the approach to which is exceedingly difficult. He is a man of activity both of mind and body, and is consequently feared and respected by his men, and has conducted several successful raids upon his neighbours. Years ago, when he was a boy, he told us, his tribe used to live on the top of one of the highest mountains overlooking Providential Pass, where a Matabele impi fell upon them, and drove most of the inhabitants over a steep precipice to their death; the remnant that escaped came here and settled, and have now, under Cherumbila's rule, grown strong.

Umgabe is the name of the neighbouring chief with whom Cherumbila is constantly at war, petty squabbles about cattle and trespass and such like being the cause; this condition of affairs before the English occupation was suicidal: these chiefs fought amongst themselves, and when the Matabele came each chief in succession fell an easy sacrifice to the invader. Umgabe is a very different man to Cherumbila, very fat and inert, devoted to his Kaffir beer, and rarely, if ever, sober; his kraal is in a narrow valley shaded by trees, and their protection against attack from the Matabele impis is a curious one. A stream runs down this valley, and in its course passes underneath a vast mass of granite rocks which form a labyrinth of caves exceedingly difficult to approach. To aid themselves in entering this cavern the Mashonas have made bridges of trees, and in time of danger from the Matabele they take refuge therein. They always keep the cave well victualled with granaries and so forth, and water

is always easily obtained from the stream which foams and boils at their feet. Old Umgabe was reluctant for us to enter this secret retreat, but with the aid of candles we penetrated into its inmost recesses and inspected the preparations which they permanently keep there against a Matabele attack. They drive all their cattle into the cave and put their women and children into snug quarters, and here they remain until the enemy has passed on.

For several weeks we had with us a Mashona servant called Mashah, a most intelligent man. He, his father and his mother and his wife, a sister of the chief Umgabe, had been captured some years ago by the Matabele, and they spent several years in servitude, during which time Mashah had learnt the Zulu tongue with fluency and the more energetic habits of the stronger race; after the death of his father and mother Mr. and Mrs. Mashah succeeded in escaping, and when the Chartered Company came up he offered his services to them. On one occasion he distinguished himself by rescuing a party of pioneers who had hopelessly lost their way, and for this he received a present of a Martini-Henry rifle, of which he is very proud. He constantly affirmed to us that should the white man ever leave the country he would go too, for the country, exposed as it was to Matabele raids and eaten up by internal jealousies, was intolerable to live in.

Even when we were there confidence in the new state of affairs was beginning to be established. Many of the inhabitants were abandoning their hill-set villages and coming down to live on the plain. Many more acres were being put under cultivation, and many more head of cattle kept. This state of affairs has of course gone on increasing, and now that the officers of the Chartered Company are putting down the internal quarrels with a strong hand, and putting a stop to the Matabele raids, there is every prospect that a country so well endowed by nature will become rich and prosperous.

Up to the time of the outbreak of hostilities with Lobengula, a contingency certainly expected, but at the same time lamentable, farming operations in the new colony had progressed as favourably as could be expected. Deputations from the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State have visited the country, and estimate from analogy with their own countries that at least 40,000 square miles will be well adapted for colonising purposes, and already a total area of 3178 square miles has been granted and located, and when the gold-fields are opened these farms ought all to be worked at a considerable profit. For cereals the country will offer certain difficulties at the outset until the nature of the soil and climate are thoroughly understood; the peculiar conditions of climatology must be met by the farmers with special arrangements. The rainy season, from the end of November to the end of March, interferes greatly with work, while at the same time it is the season for the crops. A large area of Mashonaland is

granite, which in places retains the moisture in swamps. Then, again, the dry season is long and trying to the farmer unless his land is well placed where irrigation is possible. The natives have only farmed the country on a small scale, but the rice that they produce is excellent; tobacco also flourishes in the small patches they have planted around their kraals; tomatoes of a huge size are produced, and sweet potatoes, chilis, and ground nuts. These productions, which the natives cultivate with scarcely any trouble, are in themselves an earnest of what the country can do when peace is again restored and colonisation extends.

Locomotion in the country is at present difficult; if you leave the great Selous road, which runs right up the country from Fort Tuli to the Zambesi, you are confronted with endless difficulties. From Fort Victoria to the Zimbabwe ruins is a distance of barely eighteen miles; but there was only a narrow Kaffir path, and we had to take our waggon and goods with us. It took us exactly seven days to do these eighteen miles, and that with the sweat of our brows, the constant making of corduroy bridges, the cutting down of trees, and the digging out of our waggons in swampy ground. Of course, towards the end of the dry season this condition of affairs is greatly ameliorated, and it only took our waggons two days to get back. This is pretty much the same style of country that the Chartered Company's forces which are marching against the Matabele have to face. Thick bush, composed of thorny trees—the mimosa, the mapani, and others—will have to be cut through; the rocky ridge of the Matopo hills will have to be crossed, affording excellent cover to natives, who are as active as cats and exceedingly subtle in their methods of attack. Rivers, too, impede the way, and across all these the invading force will have to convey its Maxim guns and heavy artillery, and take good care that the enemy does not get round and attack them in the flank.

As for the scenery of Mashonaland, I do not call it particularly beautiful, except in parts; but it is exceedingly peculiar. The rocky granite kopjes offer a landscape of the oddest, weirdest appearance; in places the flat plateau is sown broadcast with these strange piles of granite, like the structures of a giant race, rising out of the thick vegetation in all directions, fantastic in outline, producing to the eyes of those who love to see forms in rocks and thus name them, an endless and fascinating variety of shapes. Much has been said about the beauty of Providential Pass, the natural approach from the river country to the high plateau. But to my mind it is exceedingly commonplace, though pretty; in South Africa it might be called beautiful, but in Scotland or Wales it certainly would have to take a second place. It is on its kopje scenery that Mashonaland must *pride itself*, not on its valleys.

The green of the country is not at all pretty; though there is an abundance of it. The acacias are dull and grey, the mapani is somewhat of the colour of an ivy leaf, the machabel or elephant-tree is slightly better, but its foliage is not beautiful; the most striking effect we saw was when all the coarse grass of the country was ripe, and for miles and miles the general aspect was that of a series of harvest-fields. When this is dry and easily ignited, they set fire to it, and at certain seasons of the year vast prairie fires devour the country and blacken the horizon with thick volumes of smoke. But the flora of Mashonaland is exquisite; masses of aloes, with fiery spikes, nestle amongst the rocks, lilies and flowers of all hues and descriptions cover the plains, *Bignonias* climb amongst the trees with festoons of flowers. Indian shot, yellow everlastings, and endless rare specimens of the flower world, decorate the forests and glades of this favoured land.

Villages in Mashonaland are for the most part, as I have said, perched on the top of rocky heights, and the aspect of them is uniform—when you have seen one you have seen them all; they are generally hedged round with palisades, inside which there is a conglomerate mass of from 50 to 100 round huts, with low doors, and they are particularly dark and dingy inside; the Mashona is extremely frugal in his requirements; his grain, which when made into porridge forms the staple food of the country, together with caterpillars, locusts, and mice, is housed in granaries made of clay, and arranged round the hut; his shield, his assegais, and his axes are hung to the rafters; when he goes to bed he merely spreads a grass mat on the floor, and lays his neck on a wooden pillow, so that his somewhat elaborate *coiffure* does not get disturbed during the night; most things he has are made of bark taken from the forest trees at certain seasons of the year—namely, his quiver, his bee-hive, and the long sausage-like cases in which he stores his food, hung from the branches of trees in the kraal; and before the Chartered Company's days his only blanket was made of bark-fibre.

The Mashonas are particularly fond of dancing to the tune of a tom-tom; they keep up this amusement for an interminable time, never seeming to tire of the monotonous music, and the still more monotonous steps. When their husbands are away on a hunting expedition, the women will often get hold of the tom-tom and some of their husbands' weapons, executing a war-dance for their own benefit, and I must say they often look fiercer in their gesticulations than the men. The women all have their stomachs tattooed, or, rather, furrowed with cicatrices, different tribes having different patterns, and they have a dance which consists in smacking the aforementioned part of their person and their breasts alternately, as they proceed, making thereby a weird sound not altogether unlike the drum's.



Near most villages, especially those at the foot of Mount Wedza, the great iron-producing district, we find the primitive Mashona forge for smelting iron. It is done with inflated skins, a clay blow-pipe, and a charcoal fire, and the instruments are filled by pulling the skin backwards and forwards. Curiously enough, this very form of smelting iron is still in vogue in Abyssinia and Arabia, and the Mashonas make all their own weapons and knives with the iron they find in their mountains. Arabian influence is quite obvious in this country; the type is by no means strictly negroid; frequently one sees a fine aquiline nose, thin lips, and the cast of countenance common to the Semite. Again, the Mashona game called *Isufuba*, played with long rows of holes dug in the ground, and with stones moved rapidly from one to the other, is a game always found in countries where Arabian influence has been felt. The Mashona piano, consisting of a number of iron notes fastened on to a wooden board, and placed in a gourd to bring out the sound, is similarly of northern origin, and this Arabian influence in Mashonaland dates from a very remote period, when early traders settled here and built their fortresses to protect their workmen who were procuring gold.

There is much conflict of evidence concerning the religion of the Mashonas, and whether they have one or not is doubted by many. Up to now very little has been done towards obtaining their confidence on this point, and they are exceedingly shy of communicating their ideas to strangers.

In M'toko's country, to the north-east of Fort Salisbury, we came across a lion-god. The lion is the totem of the tribe, a sort of spiritual lion, which only appears in the time of danger and fights for the men of M'toko; all good men of the tribe, when they die, pass into the lion form and reappear to fight for their friends. They gave us an instance of how lions had fought for them against the Portuguese, and the lion priest, called the Mondoro, is a more powerful man in the tribe than the chief himself.

Once a year he sacrifices a bullock and a goat to what they call the Maklosi or luck spirit of their ancestors. This ceremony takes place in February, the same time as the Matabele war dance, and much Kaffir beer is drunk on the occasion, and dancing done.

We had a curious proof that the idea of sacrifice is common amongst them during our excavations at Zimbabwe. We found in a small cave the skeleton of a kid tied by cords to a mat, and by the side of it the knife with which the sacrifice was performed, with portions of

being doubtless too infinitely vague to their minds, but instead they sacrifice to their ancestors, who act, they suppose, as intercessors between them and the Supreme Being, or at any rate have better means of knowing more about it than they have.

At Mangwendi's the great tribal gathering is on the anniversary of the death of the late Mangwendi, when a great feast is held in honour of the dead chief. I may here add that the names of the chiefs of tribes amongst the Mashonas are all dynastic; when a Mangwendi dies his successor drops his own name and is henceforth known as Mangwendi; this custom is probably the result of ancestor worship and the desire to pay respect to the defunct line of chiefs. The spirits of their ancestors are called *Mozimo*.

To the north-east of Fort Salisbury there is better opportunity of judging what the Mashona is like when left to himself than there is in those parts most exposed to Matabele raids. M'toko's chief enemy has been Gouveia, the half-caste Portuguese, whose territory adjoins his on the eastern side, and whom he, or rather his father who lately died, conquered on more than one occasion. Here the timid, cringing manner of the inhabitants around Fort Victoria is changed for decidedly noble bearing and finer physique. M'toko treated us with scant courtesy, and refused to let us encamp in close proximity to his kraal. He visited us with a band of armed followers, and he was the first chief in the country for whom we felt the least respect.

His neighbour Mangwendi is the same; also Makoni and Chipunza. Here the kraals are not necessarily placed on rocky heights. Three or four huts are seen together, scattered over the country, with well-tilled fields around them, and cattle, showing a condition of peace and prosperity to which the unfortunate inhabitants of those parts near the Matabele frontier are absolute strangers, and there is every prospect that under a good government these tribes to the east of their territory will be infinitely more valuable to the Chartered Company than the others.

Much is said just now about the rights of Lobengula over Mashonaland, and that inasmuch as he only conceded mining rights to the Chartered Company, he is at perfect liberty to exercise his lordship over the Mashonas and exact tribute from them and make them his slaves.

I must say that people who advocate these views, and let us hope they do so through ignorance, are a disgrace to civilisation and the age they live in. I should like to know what right anybody has to reduce his fellow-creatures to a condition of slavery? What right has anybody to seize the cattle and goods of those people who refuse to be made slaves of? What right has anybody to exact tribute from a race who get nothing in return, and who are now entirely removed from the jurisdiction of the man who demands this tribute? Thus,

on purely international grounds, it is obvious that there is no justification for Lobengula's raids into the Chartered Company's territory, and when we consider the misery, the butchery, and the dastardly cruelty which these impiés bring along with them, it seems altogether past belief how any one professing advanced and liberal views can stand up for the savage sovereign of Matabeleland, who is so obviously an anomaly and a thing of the past in this age.

An eye-witness writes to me that not far from Fort Victoria, a whole village under the Chief Setoutse had been wiped out by the last raid, the younger inhabitants being made slaves of, while the older ones were ruthlessly butchered. I was witness myself of the devastation wrought by these raids in the direction of the Sali River—of a whole district depopulated which had once possessed many villages, the remains of which could be traced on every side, of the abject terror of the inhabitants, who fled at our approach to the rocks; and yet there are those found in England who profess to support this state of affairs, and to say that Lobengula has a perfect right to do what he likes with what they call his own.

Mashonaland has several reefs running across it from east to west, right into the heart of the Matabele country, which are all auriferous. Many of them were worked in ancient times, when shafts to the depth of 100 feet were sunk, and gold was extracted from the quartz by crushing and washing. Many hundreds of these shafts, and crushing-stones and smelting-furnaces, pointing to a very extensive trade, are to be found scattered over the country, and since a systematic prospecting has been gone into numerous virgin reefs have been discovered which the ancients have not touched.

One gold belt starting from Umtali passes through Victoria, and it is considered probable that it will connect with the Tati gold-fields in the western portion of Matabeleland, which is at present occupied by Major Goold Adams and the Bechuanaland Border Police. The latest news from the neighbourhood of Fort Salisbury, the Mazoe and Lo Magondas is very satisfactory, and new finds were occurring everywhere daily, until the present complications with the Matabele put a stop to all operations; and it is really on its gold mines that the future of Mashonaland depends; without gold the country is not sufficiently rich to warrant colonisation. It could doubtless be self-supporting without gold, but as a speculation it would be valueless; hence it is intensely gratifying to those interested in the Company to hear such good reports of the gold prospects, and every one is eagerly looking forward to the cessation of hostilities for further development in this direction. The railway from Beira will enable plant to be introduced into the country for working the gold, which previously could not be done owing to the prohibitive distance by road from the Cape Colony, and the cost of transport.

There are, of course, several points which must seriously impede the progress of colonisation in Mashonaland; first and foremost amongst these is the extreme unhealthiness of this country for all cattle. Oxen die on the road in quantities from the fatal lung sickness, which sometimes clears off whole teams; from drunk sickness, or staggers; and from numerous other diseases with curious Dutch names. The rank fodder is in many cases unwholesome, so that the owner of a waggon and a team of oxen is constantly kept at the highest pitch of anxiety concerning the health of his beasts. The fatal horse sickness, too, at present prohibits all but salted horses from entering the country. Ignorant of this fact, the pioneers took up unsalted horses, and they all died. At Fort Victoria we saw 150 saddles in a row in the fort, and no horses to put them on. Again, salted horses are wretched things, for a horse not worth a five-pound note in England you have to give £100 if he is salted; and similarly, the best horse you could see is not worth the five-pound note up country if he is not salted.

Then there is the belt of tsetse-fly, fatal to all quadrupeds which come from without. It is a small grey fly, about the size of an ordinary horse-fly, with crossed wings, and is generated, some suppose, in buffalo droppings; at any rate, it is pretty clear that when the buffalo disappears from a district the fly does too. It is certainly a most tiresome little insect, and has cost the Chartered Company many thousands of pounds. Now it is to be hoped that the railway will obviate any further loss from this cause. It has always remained a puzzle to me why it is that in a district where a foreign horse, ox, donkey, or dog is sure to die from the fly-bite, the zebra, buffalo, quagga, and native dogs never suffer at all.

As to the fitness of the climate for Europeans, opinions differ considerably; certainly, during the rainy season, and when the long coarse grass is rotting in the tropical sun, there is much fever—sometimes mild and easily warded off by doses of quinine and Warburg, and sometimes persistent, running into hæmaturia, and without proper care resulting in death; but this is generally the case in a new country. It was so in Griqualand and the Transvaal; but when the drainage of the towns has been attended to, and proper house accommodation erected, the tendency to fever is much lessened. The report of the senior medical officer of the British South Africa Company, at Salisbury, for 1892, is very satisfactory on this head. He says: "Good food, good clothing, shelter from inclement weather and the sun, an abundant supply of medicines and invalid necessaries, and a mild season, have wrought an enormous improvement in the general health of the people, and the Mashonaland of 1892 is not recognisable as the Mashonaland of 1891." It is to be hoped that the coming rainy season, especially if the campaign be not satisfactorily termi-

nated before its commencement, may be equally favourable to the health of Europeans.

Salisbury, Victoria, and Umtali will undoubtedly be the chief towns of the new colony. The position of Salisbury is exceedingly dreary, but it is the healthiest of the three. It is close on 5000 feet above the sea level, and enjoys an abundance of that peculiarly exhilarating air which is to be found only in the tropical highlands. It is surrounded by a large plain, and the town is chiefly built on and around a diminutive tree-clad kopje, which rises about 200 feet out of this plain. The Chartered Company have spent a considerable sum on draining the immediate neighbourhood of this town, and last wet season it was practically free of fever. Eighteen hundred stands have already been surveyed and mapped out, and certain public buildings, such as offices for the administrator, bank, and police station, &c., have been completed.

Victoria is not nearly so advantageously placed. The ground around it is marshy, and fever is here much more frequent; but possessing, as it does, the key to Providential Pass, and being in close proximity to newly discovered gold reefs, Victoria is bound to proceed rapidly. Already 572 stands have been sold, and public buildings superior to those of Kimberley or Johannesburg have been erected.

A friend writes to me concerning the present condition of Fort Victoria :

“The old fort is abandoned, and only a few ruined huts are left to mark the place. We are now on the bit of ground between the fort of the Umshagashi and another stream, where was our first outspan after leaving Victoria. This town is now nearly as big as Mafeking, and about as well built. There is a great square barrack-yard, surrounded by a loop-holed brick wall ten feet high. At two corners are towers on which are machine guns, which sweep the country for a long distance around; so that this place can hardly be taken by the Matabele.”

Umtali is beautifully situated in a basin formed by the Manica mountains. It is considerably lower than the other two, but as the fall is good the place is healthy. It will ultimately be on the railway system which is pushing in from Beira. Umtali has every prospect of a successful future, and there are numerous gold reefs in the neighbourhood. Three hundred stands have been located there, and it is connected with Salisbury on the one hand, and on the other with Chimoio, by a good road which Mr. Selous constructed last year.

There is no doubt about it that in their coming contest with the Matabele the Chartered Company will get no assistance from the Mashonas; they are abject cowards, and have for generations lived in terror of the Zulu. During our experience of work at Zimbabwe we found that they could only be treated with kindness; any reprimand

terrified them, and they ran away never to return, regardless of their wages. Once we had a quarrel with the chief of the village on the hill; there was a great deal of shouting and bluster and shaking of assegais, but the moment we went for them they fled like monkeys, and laughed at us from their unapproachable eyries. It is the same when they fight with one another; there is much shouting and gesticulation, but rarely any bloodshed.

The Mashonas are decidedly clever and ingenious, and, when confidence is once established, they may be trained to make themselves very useful workmen. We had no difficulty with them in that respect, and they soon learnt how to handle our tools; and their work was decidedly good. They carve very well, and make very pretty knife handles and pillows, and their ingenuity in turning old meat tins into ornaments is most remarkable.

As for Khama's men, I doubt much whether they will be very efficient allies, if they are called upon to fight against the Matabele in the open; their value will be more in scouting and surprise parties, for the Bamangwato are an essentially pastoral race, with a wholesome dread of the Matabele. Throughout the length and breadth of South Africa there is not a tribe which can stand up to the Zulu, and all the hard fighting will have to be done by the white men.

Will, then, Lobengula be as easily quelled as the sanguine messages from Mashonaland lead us to hope? This is a question which only time can answer. A savage tribe fighting for its very existence in a difficult and at times almost impassable country is a very formidable foe. It is not likely that they will stand in a half circle in the open, to be shot down by the Chartered Company's guns, if ever the heavy artillery can be brought anywhere near them. Again, if there is no open opposition, and the British forces march on and destroy Baluwayo, what will be gained? Before the victorious army is at home again, another capital will be built, and the question will be no more settled than it was before. Nothing but making a clean sweep of the Matabele out of the country and driving them across the Zambesi can settle the matter. Then, if a series of forts is erected to prevent their return, Mashonaland and Matabeleland may hope for a time of peace and prosperity.

J. THEODORE BENT.

## CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM : THEIR POINTS OF CONTACT AND CONTRAST.\*

**I**T is not my purpose to enter upon any defence or criticism of Mohammedanism, but simply to state, as impartially as possible, its points of contact and contrast with Christianity.

The chief difficulty in such a statement arises from the fact that there are as many different opinions on theological questions among Moslems as among Christians, and that it is impossible to present any summary of Mohammedan doctrine which will be accepted by all.

The faith of Islam is based *primarily* upon the Koran, which is believed to have been delivered to the Prophet at sundry times by the angel Gabriel, and upon the traditions reporting the life and words of the Prophet; and, *secondarily*, upon the opinions of certain distinguished theologians of the second century of the Hegira, especially, for the Sunnis, of the four *Imams* Hanifè, Shafi, Malik, and Hannbel. The Shiites, or followers of Aali, reject these last, with many of the received traditions, and hold opinions which the great body of Moslems regard as heretical. In addition to the twofold division of Sunnis and Shiites and of the sects of the four *Imams*, there are said to be several hundred minor sects.

It is, in fact, very difficult for an honest inquirer to determine what is really essential to the faith. A distinguished Moslem statesman and scholar once assured me that nothing was essential beyond a belief in the existence and unity of God. And several years ago the *Sheik-ul-Islam*, the highest authority in Constantinople, in a letter to a German inquirer, stated that whoever confesses that there is but one God, and that Mohammed is his Prophet, is a *true* Moslem, although to be a *good* one it is necessary to observe the five points of confession, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage. But the diffi-

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culty about this apparently simple definition is, that belief in Mohammed as the prophet of God involves a belief in all his teaching, and we come back at once to the question what that teaching was.

The great majority of Mohammedans believe in the Koran, and the traditions and the teaching of the school of Hanifè, and we cannot do better than take these doctrines and compare them with what are generally regarded as the essential principles of Christianity.

With this explanation we may discuss the relations of Christianity and Mohammedanism as Historical, Dogmatic, and Practical.

### I. HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

It would hardly be necessary to speak in this connection of the historical relations of Christianity and Islam if they had not seemed, to some distinguished writers, so important as to justify the statement, that Mohammedanism is a form and outgrowth of Christianity—in fact, essentially a Christian sect. Carlyle, for example, says, "Islam is definable as a confused form of Christianity." And Draper calls it "the Southern Reformation, akin to that in the North under Luther." Dean Stanley and Dr. Döllinger make similar statements.

While there is a certain semblance of truth in their view, it seems to me not only misleading, but essentially false. Neither Mohammed nor any of his earlier followers had ever been Christians, and there is no satisfactory evidence that up to the time of his announcing his prophetic mission he had interested himself at all in Christianity. No such theory is necessary to account for his monotheism. The citizens of Mecca were mostly idolaters, but a few, known as *Hanifs*, were pure deists, and the doctrine of the unity of God was not unknown theoretically even by those who, in their idolatry, had practically abandoned it. The temple at Mecca was known as *Beit Ullah*, the house of God. The name of the Prophet's father was *Abdallah*, the servant of God; and "By Allah" was a common oath among the people. The one God was nominally recognised, but in fact forgotten in the worship of the stars, of *Lat* and *Ozza* and *Manah*, and of the 360 idols in the temple at Mecca. It was against this prevalent idolatry that Mohammed revolted, and he claimed that in so doing he had returned to the pure religion of Abraham. Still, Mohammedanism is no more a reformed Judaism than it is a form of Christianity. It was essentially a new religion.

The Koran claimed to be a new and perfect revelation of the will of God, and from the time of the Prophet's death to this day no Moslem has appealed to the ancient traditions of Arabia or to the Jewish or Christian Scriptures as the ground of his faith. The



Koran and the traditions are sufficient and final. I believe that every orthodox Moslem regards Islam as a separate, distinct, and absolutely, exclusive religion; and there is nothing to be gained by calling it a form of Christianity. But after having set aside this unfounded statement, and fully acknowledged the independent origin of Islam, there is still a historical relationship between it and Christianity which demands our attention.

The Prophet recognised the Christian and Jewish Scriptures as the word of God, although it cannot be proved that he had ever read them. They are mentioned one hundred and thirty-one times in the Koran, but there is only one quotation from the Old Testament, and one from the New. The historical parts of the Koran correspond with the Talmud, and the writings current among the heretical Christian sects, such as the Protevangelium of James, the pseudo-Matthew, and the Gospel of the nativity of Mary, rather than with the Bible. His information was probably obtained verbally from his Jewish and Christian friends, who appear, in some cases, to have deceived him intentionally. He seems to have believed their statements that his coming was foretold in the Scriptures, and to have hoped for some years that they would accept him as their promised leader.

His confidence in the Christians was proved by his sending his persecuted followers to take refuge with the Christian King of Abyssinia. He had visited Christian Syria, and, if tradition can be trusted, he had some intimate Christian friends. With the Jews he was on still more intimate terms during his last years at Mecca and the first at Medina.

But in the end he attacked and destroyed the Jews, and declared war against the Christians; making a distinction, however, in his treatment of idolaters and "the people of the Book;" allowing the latter, if they quietly submitted to his authority, to retain their religion on the condition of an annual payment of a tribute or ransom for their lives. If, however, they resisted, the men were to be killed and the women and children sold as slaves (Koran, *sura ix.*). In the next world Jews, Christians, and idolaters are alike consigned to eternal punishment in hell.

Some have supposed that a verse in the second *sura* of the Koran was intended to teach a more charitable doctrine. It reads: "Surely those who believe, whether Jews, Christians, or Sabians, whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with the Lord. No fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be grieved." But Moslem commentators rightly understand this as only teaching that if Jews, Christians, or Sabians become Moslems they will be saved, the phrase used being the common one to express faith in Islam.

In the third *sura* it is stated in so many words: "Whoever

followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those that perish."

This is the orthodox doctrine; but it should be said that one meets with Moslems who take a more hopeful view of the ultimate fate of those who are sincere and honest followers of Christ.

The question whether Mohammedanism has been in any way modified since the time of the Prophet by its contact with Christianity, I think every Moslem would answer in the negative. There is much to be said on the other side, as, for example, it must seem to a Christian student that the offices and qualities assigned to the Prophet by the traditions, which are not claimed for him in the Koran, must have been borrowed from the Christian teaching in regard to Christ; but we have not time to enter upon the discussion of this question.

## II. DOGMATIC RELATIONS.

In comparing the dogmatic statements of Islam and Christianity, we must confine ourselves, as strictly as possible, to what is generally acknowledged to be essential in each faith. To go beyond this would be to enter upon a sea of speculation almost without limits, from which we could hope to bring back but little of any value to our present discussion.

It has been formally decided by various *fatwas* that the Koran requires belief in seven principal doctrines; and the confession of faith is this: "I believe on God, on the Angels, on the Books, on the Prophets, on the Judgment-day, on the eternal Decrees of God Almighty concerning both good and evil, and on the Resurrection after death." There are many other things which a good Moslem is expected to believe, but these points are fundamental.

Taking these essential dogmas one by one, we shall find that they agree with Christian doctrine in their general statement, although in their development there is a wide divergence of faith between the Christian and the Moslem.

*First the Doctrine of God.*—This is stated by Omer Nessefi (A.D. 1142) as follows: "God is one and eternal. He lives, and is almighty. He knows all things, hears all things, sees all things. He is endowed with will and action. He has neither form nor figure; neither bounds, limits, or numbers; neither parts, multiplications, or divisions, because He is neither body nor matter. He has neither beginning nor end. He is self-existent, without generation, dwelling, or habitation. He is outside the empire of time, unequalled in His nature as in His attributes, which without being foreign to his essence do not constitute it."

The Westminster Catechism says: "God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness,

justice, goodness, and truth. There is but one only, the living and true God."

It will be seen that these statements differ chiefly in that the Christian gives special prominence to the moral attributes of God; and it has often been said that the God of Islam is simply a God of almighty power, while the God of Christianity is a God of infinite love and perfect holiness: but this is not a fair statement of the truth. The ninety-nine names of God, which the good Moslem constantly repeats, assign these attributes to Him. The fourth name is "The Most Holy"; the twenty-ninth, "The Just"; the forty-sixth, "The All-Loving"; the first and most common is "The Merciful"; and the moral attributes are often referred to in the Koran. In truth, there is no conceivable perfection which the Moslems would neglect to attribute to God. Their conception of Him is that of an absolute Oriental monarch, and His unlimited power to do what He pleases makes entire submission to His will the first and most prominent duty. The name which they give to their religion implies this. It is *Islam*, which means *submission* or *resignation*. But a king may be good or bad, wise or foolish, and the Moslem takes as much pains as the Christian to attribute to God all wisdom and all goodness.

The essential difference between the Christian and Mohammedan conceptions of God lies in the fact that the Moslem does not think of this great King as having anything in common with His subjects, from whom He is infinitely removed. The idea of the incarnation of God in Christ is to them not only blasphemous but absurd and incomprehensible; and the idea of *fellowship* with God, which is expressed in calling Him *our Father*, is altogether foreign to Mohammedan thought. God is not immanent in the world in the Christian sense, but apart from the world and infinitely removed from man.

*Second: the Doctrine of Decrees*, or of the sovereignty of God, is a fundamental principle of both Christianity and Islam.

The Koran says: "God has from all eternity foreordained by an immutable decree all things whatsoever to come to pass, whether good or evil."

The Westminster Catechism says: "The decrees of God are His eternal purpose according to the counsel of His will, whereby for His own glory He hath foreordained whatever comes to pass."

It is plain that these two statements do not essentially differ, and the same controversies have arisen over this doctrine among Mohammedans as among Christians, with the same differences of opinion.

Omer Neseffi says: "Predestination refers not to the temporal but to the spiritual state. Election and reprobation decide the final fate of the soul, but in temporal affairs man is free."

A Turkish confession of faith says: "Unbelief and wicked acts

happen with the foreknowledge and will of God, by the effect of His predestination, written from eternity on the preserved tables, by His operation but not with His satisfaction. God foresees, wills, produces, loves all that is good, and does not love unbelief and sin, though he wills and effects it. If it be asked why God wills and effects what is evil and gives the devil power to tempt man, the answer is, He has His views of wisdom which it is not granted to us to know."

Many Christian theologians would accept this statement without criticism, but in general they have been careful to guard against the idea that God is in any way the efficient cause of sin, and they generally give to man a wider area of freedom than the orthodox Mohammedans.

It cannot be denied that this doctrine of the decrees of God has degenerated into fatalism more generally among Moslems than among Christians. I have never known a Mohammedan of any sect who was not more or less a fatalist, notwithstanding the fact that there have been Moslem theologians who have repudiated fatalism as vigorously as any Christians.

In Christianity this doctrine has been offset by a different conception of God, by a higher estimate of man, and by the whole scheme of redemption through faith in Christ. In Islam there is no such counteracting influence.

*Third: the other five doctrines* we may pass over with a single remark in regard to each. Both Moslems and Christians believe in the existence of good and evil *angels*, and that God has revealed His will to man in certain *inspired books*, and both agree that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are such books. The Moslem, however, believes that they have been superseded by the Koran, which was brought down from God by the angel Gabriel. He believes that this is His eternal and uncreated word; that its divine character is proved by its poetic beauty; that it has a miraculous power over men apart from what it teaches, so that the mere hearing of it, without understanding it, may heal the sick or convert the infidel. Both Christians and Moslems believe that God has sent *prophets and apostles* into the world to teach men His will; both believe in the *judgment-day* and the *resurrection of the dead*, the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments in the future life.

It will be seen that in simple statement the seven positive doctrines of Islam are in harmony with Christian dogma; but in their exposition and development the New Testament and the Koran part company, and Christian and Moslem speculation evolve totally different conceptions, especially in regard to everything concerning the other world. It is in these expositions based upon the Koran (*e.g.*, *suras* lvi. and lxxviii.), and still more upon the traditions, that we find the most striking contrasts between Christianity and Mohammedanism; but it

is not easy for a Christian to state them in a way to satisfy Moslems, and, as we have no time to quote authorities, we may pass them over.

*Fourth*, the essential dogmatic difference between Christianity and Islam is in regard to the person, office, and work of Jesus Christ. The Koran expressly denies the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, his death, and the whole doctrine of the Incarnation and the Atonement, and rejects the sacraments which He ordained. It accepts His miraculous birth, His miracles, His moral perfection, and His mission as an inspired prophet or teacher. It declares that He did not die on the cross, but was taken up to heaven without death, while the Jews crucified one like Him in His place. It consequently denies His resurrection from the dead, but claims that He will come again to rule the world before the day of judgment. It says that He will himself testify before God that He never claimed to be divine; this heresy of His divinity originated with Paul.

At the same time the faith exalts Mohammed to very nearly the same position which Christ occupies in the Christian scheme. He is not divine, and consequently not an object of worship; but he was the first created being, God's first and best beloved, the noblest of all creatures, the mediator between God and man, the great intercessor, the first to enter Paradise, and the highest there. Although the Koran in many places speaks of him as a sinner in need of pardon (*e.g.*, *suras* xxiii., xlvii., and xlviii.), his absolute sinlessness is also an article of faith.

The Holy Spirit, the third person in the Trinity, is not mentioned in the Koran, and the Christian doctrine of His work of regeneration and sanctification seems to have been unknown to the Prophet, who represents the Christian doctrine of the Trinity as teaching that it consists of God the Father, Mary the Mother, and Christ the Son. The promise of Christ in the Gospel of John to send the Paraclete, the Prophet applies to himself, reading *παράκλητος* as *περικλυτός*, which might be rendered into Arabic as *Ahmed*, another form of the name Mohammed.

We have, then, in Islam a specific and final rejection and repudiation of the Christian dogma of the Incarnation and the Trinity, and the substitution of Mohammed for Christ in most of his offices; but it should be noted in passing that while this rejection grows out of a different conception of God, it has nothing in common with the scientific rationalistic unbelief of the present day. If it cannot conceive of God as incarnate in Jesus Christ, it is not from any doubt as to His personality or His miraculous interference in the affairs of this world, or the reality of the supernatural. These ideas are fundamental to the faith of every orthodox Mohammedan, and are taught everywhere in the Koran.

There are *nominal* Mohammedans who are atheists, and others

who are pantheists of the Spinoza's type. There are also some small sects who are rationalists, but after the fashion of old English Deism rather than of the modern rationalism. The Deistic rationalism is represented in that most interesting work of Justice Ameer Aali, "The Spirit of Islam." He speaks of Mohammed as Xenophon did of Socrates, and he reveres Christ also, but he denies that there was anything supernatural in the inspiration or life of either, and claims that Hanifè and the other Imams corrupted Islam as he thinks Paul the apostle did Christianity. But this book does not represent Mohammedanism any more than Renan's "Life of Jesus" represents Christianity. These small rationalistic sects are looked upon by all orthodox Moslems as heretics of the worst description.

### III. PRACTICAL RELATIONS.

The practical and ethical relations of Islam to Christianity are even more interesting than the historical and dogmatic. The Moslem code of morals is much nearer the Christian than is generally supposed on either side, although it is really more Jewish than Christian. The truth is, that we judge each other harshly and unfairly by those who do not live up to the demands of their religion, instead of comparing the pious Moslem with the consistent Christian.

We cannot enter here into a technical statement of the philosophical development of the principles of law and morality as they are given by the Imam Hanifè and others. It would be incomprehensible without hours of explanation, and is really understood by but few Mohammedans, although the practical application of it is the substance of Mohammedan law. It is enough to say that the moral law is based upon the Koran and the traditions of the life and sayings of the Prophet, enlarged by deductions and analogies. Whatever comes from these sources has the force and authority of a revealed law of God.

The first practical duties inculcated in the religious code are: *Confession* of God, and Mohammed His Prophet; *Prayer* at least five times a day; *Fasting* during the month of Ramazan, from dawn to sunset; *Alms* to the annual amount of two and one-half per cent. on property; *Pilgrimage* to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. A sixth duty, of equal importance, is taking part in *sacred war*, or war for religion: but some orthodox Moslems hold that this is not a perpetual obligation, and this seems to have been the opinion of Hanifè.

In addition to these primary duties of religion, the moral code, as given by 'Omer Nessefi, demands: Honesty in business; Modesty or decency in behaviour; Fraternity between all Moslems; Benevolence and kindness toward all creatures. It forbids gambling, music, the

making or possessing of images, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, the taking of God's name in vain, and all false oaths. And, in general, Omer Nessesfi adds: "It is an indispensable obligation for every Moslem to practise virtue and avoid vice—*i.e.*, all that is contrary to religion, law, humanity, good manners, and the duties of society. He ought especially to guard against deception, lying, slander, and abuse of his neighbour."

We may also add some specimen passages from the Koran:

"God commands justice, benevolence, and liberality. He forbids crime, injustice, and calumny."

"Avoid sin in secret and in public. The wicked will receive the reward of his deeds."

"God promises His mercy and a brilliant recompense to those who add good works to their faith."

"He who commits iniquity will lose his soul."

"It is not righteousness that you turn your faces in prayer toward the east or the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels and the prophets; who giveth money, for God's sake, to his kindred and to orphans, and to the needy and the stranger, and to those who ask, and for the redemption of captives; who is constant in prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity and hardships, and in time of violence. These are they who are true, and these are they who fear God."

So far, with one or two exceptions, these conceptions of the moral life are essentially the same as the Christian, although some distinctively Christian virtues, such as meekness and humility, are not emphasised.

Beyond this we have a moral code, equally binding in theory, and equally important in practice, which is not at all Christian, but is essentially the morality of the Talmud in the extreme value which it attaches to outward observances, such as fasting, pilgrimages, and ceremonial rites. All the concerns of life and death are hedged about with prescribed ceremonies, which are not simple matters of propriety, but of morality and religion; and it is impossible for one who has not lived among Moslems to realise the extent and importance of this ceremonial law.

In regard to polygamy, divorce, and slavery, the morality of Islam is in direct contrast with that of Christianity; and as the principles of the faith, so far as it is determined by the Koran and the Traditions are fixed and unchangeable, no change in regard to the legality of these can be expected. They may be silently abandoned, but they can never be forbidden by law in any Mohammedan State. It should be said here, however, that while the position of women, as determined by the Koran, is one of inferiority and subjection, there is

no truth whatever in the current idea that, according to the Koran, they have no souls, no hope of immortality, and no rights. This is an absolutely unfounded slander.

Another contrast between the morality of the Koran and the New Testament is found in the spirit with which the faith is to be propagated. The Prophet led his armies to battle, and founded a temporal kingdom by force of arms. The Koran is full of exhortations to fight for the faith. Christ founded a spiritual kingdom, which could only be extended by loving persuasion and the influence of the Holy Spirit. It is true that Christians have had their wars of religion, and have committed as many crimes against humanity in the name of Christ as Moslems have ever committed in the name of the Prophet; but the opposite teaching on this subject in the Koran and the New Testament is unmistakable, and involves different conceptions of morality.

Such, in general, is the ethical code of Islam. In practice there are certainly many Moslems whose moral lives are irreproachable according to the Christian standard, who fear God, and in their dealings with men are honest, truthful, and benevolent; who are temperate in the gratification of their desires, and cultivate a self-denying spirit; of whose sincere desire to do right there can be no doubt.

There are those whose conceptions of pure spiritual religion seem to rival those of the Christian mystics. This is specially true of one or two sects of Dervishes. Some of these sects are simply Mohammedan Neo-Platonists, and deal in magic, sorcery, and purely physical means of attaining a state of ecstasy; but others are neither pantheists nor theosophists, and seek to attain unity of spirit with a supreme, personal God by spiritual means.

Those who have had much acquaintance with Moslems know that, in addition to these mystics, there are many common people—as many women as men—who seem to have more or less clear ideas of spiritual life, and strive to attain something higher than mere formal morality and verbal confession; who feel their personal unworthiness, and hope only in God. The following extract from one of many similar poems of Shereef Hanum, a Turkish Moslem lady of Constantinople, rendered into English by the Rev. H. O. Dwight, is certainly as spiritual in thought and language as most of the hymns sung in Christian churches:

' O Source of Kindness and of Love  
Who givest aid all hopes above,  
Mid grief and guilt although I grope,  
From Thee I'll ne'er out of my hope,  
My Lord, O my Lord !

" Thou, King of kings, dost know my need,  
Thy pardoning grace no bars can heed,  
Thou lov'st to help the helpless one,  
And bidd'st his cries of fear be done,  
My Lord, O my Lord !



“ Shouldst Thou refuse to still my fears,  
 Who else will stop to dry my tears ’  
 For I am guilty, guilty still,  
 No other one has done so ill,  
 My Lord, O my Lord !

“ The lost in torment stand aghast  
 To see this rebel’s sin so vast .  
 What wonder, then, that Shereef cries  
 For mercy, mercy, e’er she dies,  
 My Lord, O my Lord.”

These facts are important, not as proving that Mohammedanism is a spiritual faith in the same sense as Christianity, for it is not, but as showing that many Moslems do attain some degree, at least, of what Christians mean by spiritual life ; while, as we must confess, it is equally possible for Christianity to degenerate into mere formalism.

Notwithstanding the generally high tone of the Moslem code of morals, and the more or less Christian experience of spiritually-minded Mohammedans, I think that the chief distinction between Christian and Moslem morality lies in their different conceptions of the nature and consequences of sin. It is true that most of the theories advanced by Christian writers on theoretical ethics have found defenders among the Moslems ; but Mohammedan law is based on the theory that right and wrong depend on legal enactment, and Mohammedan thought follows the same direction. An act is right because God has commanded it, or wrong because he has forbidden it. God may abrogate or change his laws, so that what was wrong may become right. Moral acts have no inherent moral character, and what may be wrong for one may be right for another. So, for example, it is impossible to discuss the moral character of the Prophet with an orthodox Moslem, because it is a sufficient answer to any criticism to say that God commanded or expressly permitted those acts which in other men would be wrong.

There is, however, one sin which is in its very nature sinful, and which man is capable of knowing to be such—that is, the sin of denying that there is one God, and that Mohammed is His Prophet. Everything else depends on the arbitrary command of God, and may be arbitrarily forgiven ; but this does not, and is consequently unpardonable. For whoever dies in this sin there is no possible escape from eternal damnation.

Of other sins some are grave and some are light, and it must not be supposed that the Moslem regards grave sins as of little consequence. He believes that sin is rebellion against infinite Power, and that it cannot escape the notice of the all-seeing God, but must call down His wrath upon the sinner ; so that even a good Moslem may be sent to hell to suffer torment for thousands of years before he is pardoned.

But he believes that God is merciful ; that “ He is minded to make

His religion light, because man has been created weak" (Koran, *sura iv.*). If man has sinned against His arbitrary commands, God may arbitrarily remit the penalty, on certain conditions, on the intercession of the Prophet, on account of expiatory acts on the man's part or in view of counterbalancing good works. At the worst, the Moslem will be sent to hell for a season and then be pardoned, out of consideration for his belief in God and the Prophet, by divine mercy. Still, we need to repeat, the Moslem does not look upon sin as a light thing.

But notwithstanding this conception of the danger of sinning against God, the Mohammedan is very far from comprehending the Christian idea that right and wrong are inherent qualities in all moral actions; that God Himself is a moral being, doing what is right because it is right, and that He can no more pardon sin arbitrarily than He can make a wrong action right; that He could not be just and yet justify the sinner, without the atonement made by the incarnation and the suffering and the death of Jesus Christ. He does not realise that sin is itself corruption and death; that mere escape from hell is not eternal life, but that the sinful soul must be regenerated and sanctified by the work of the Holy Spirit before it can know the joy of the beatific vision.

Whether or not I have correctly stated the fundamental difference between the Christian and Mohammedan conceptions of sin, no one who has had Moslem friends can have failed to realise that the difference exists, for it is extremely difficult, almost impossible, for Christians and Moslems to understand one another when the question of sin is discussed. There seems to be a hereditary incapacity in the Moslem to comprehend this essential basis of Christian morality.

Mohammedan morality is also differentiated from the Christian by its fatalistic interpretation of the doctrine of Decrees. The Moslem who reads in the Koran, "As for every man we have firmly fixed his fate about his neck," and the many similar passages, who is taught that at least, so far as the future life is concerned his fate has been fixed from eternity by an arbitrary and irrevocable decree, naturally falls into fatalism; not absolute fatalism, for the Moslem, as we have seen, has his strict code of morality and his burdensome ceremonial law, but at least such a measure of fatalism as weakens his sense of personal responsibility, and leaves him to look upon the whole Christian scheme of redemption as unnecessary, if not absurd.

It is perhaps also due to the fatalistic tendency of Mohammedan thought, that the Moslem has a very different conception from the Christian of the relation of the will to the desires and passions. He does not distinguish between them, but regards will and desire as one and the same, and seeks to avoid temptation rather than resist it. Of conversion, in the Christian sense, he has no conception—of that

change of heart which makes the regenerated will the master of the soul, to dominate its passions, control the desires, and lead man on to final victory over sin and death.

There is one other point concerning Mohammedan morality of which I wish to speak with all possible delicacy, but which cannot be passed over in silence. It is the influence of the Prophet's life upon that of his followers. The Moslem world accepts him, as Christians do Christ, as the ideal man, the best beloved of God; and consequently its conception of his life exerts an important influence upon its practical morality.

I have said nothing thus far of the personal character of the Prophet, because it is too difficult a question to discuss in this connection; but I may say, in a word, that my own impression is that, from first to last, he sincerely and honestly believed himself to be a supernaturally inspired prophet of God. I have no wish to think any evil of him, for he was certainly one of the most remarkable men that the world has ever seen. I should rejoice to know that he was such a man as he is represented to be in Ameer Aali's "Spirit of Islam," for the world would be richer for having had such a man in it.

But whatever may have been his real character, he is known to Moslems chiefly through the Traditions; and these, taken as a whole, present to us a totally different man from the Christ of the Gospels. As we have seen, the Moslem code of morals commands and forbids essentially the same things as the Christian; but the Moslem finds in the Traditions a mass of stories in regard to the life and sayings of the Prophet, many of which are altogether inconsistent with Christian ideas of morality, and which make the impression that many things forbidden are at least excusable.

There are many nominal Christians who lead lives as corrupt as any Moslems, but they find no excuse for it in the life of Christ. They know that they are Christians only in name; while, under the influence of the Traditions, the Mohammedan may have such a conception of the Prophet, that, in spite of his immorality, he may still believe himself a true Moslem. If Moslems generally believed in such a prophet as is described in the "Spirit of Islam," it would greatly modify the tone of Mohammedan life.

We have now presented, as briefly and impartially as possible, the points of contact and contrast between Christianity and Islam, as historical, dogmatic, and ethical. We have seen that while there is a broad, common ground of belief and sympathy, while we may confidently believe as *Christians* that God is leading many pious Moslems by the influence of the Holy Spirit, and saving them through the atonement of Jesus Christ, in spite of what we believe to be their errors in doctrine, these two religions are still mutually exclusive and irreconcilable.

The general points of agreement are that we both believe that there is one supreme, personal God; that we are bound to worship Him; that we are under obligation to live a pious, virtuous life; that we are bound to repent of our sins and forsake them; that the soul is immortal, and that we shall be rewarded or punished in the future life for our deeds here; that God has revealed His will to the world through prophets and apostles, and that the Holy Scriptures are the Word of God.

These are most important grounds of agreement and mutual respect, but the points of contrast are equally impressive.

The Supreme God of Christianity is immanent in the world, was incarnate in Christ, and is ever seeking to bring His children into loving fellowship with Himself.

The God of Islam is apart from the world, an absolute monarch, who is wise and merciful, but infinitely removed from man.

Christianity recognises the freedom of man, and magnifies the guilt and corruption of sin, but at the same time offers a way of reconciliation and redemption from sin and its consequences through the atonement of a Divine Saviour and regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

Mohammedanism minimises the freedom of man and the guilt of sin, makes little account of its corrupting influence in the soul, and offers no plan of redemption except that of repentance and good works.

Christianity finds its ideal man in the Christ of the Gospels; the Moslem finds his in the Prophet of the Koran and the Traditions.

Other points of contrast have been mentioned, but the fundamental difference between the two religions is found in these.

This is not the place to discuss the probable future of these two great and aggressive religions, but there is one fact bearing upon this point which comes within the scope of this paper. Christianity is essentially progressive, while Mohammedanism is unprogressive and stationary.

In their origin, Christianity and Islam are both Asiatic, both Semitic, and Jerusalem is but a few hundred miles from Mecca. In regard to the number of their adherents, both have steadily increased from the beginning to the present day. After nineteen hundred years Christianity numbers 400,000,000, and Islam, after thirteen hundred years, 200,000,000; but Mohammedanism has been practically confined to Asia and Africa, while Christianity has been the religion of Europe and the New World, and politically it rules now over all the world except China and Turkey.

Mohammedanism has been identified with a stationary civilisation, and Christianity with a progressive one. There was a time, from the eighth century to the thirteenth, when science and philosophy flourished at Bagdad and Cordova under Moslem rule, while darkness reigned in Europe. But Renan has shown that this brilliant period

was neither Arab nor Mohammedan in its *spirit* or *origin*; and although his statements may admit of some modification, it is certain that, however brilliant while it lasted, this period has left no trace in the Moslem faith, unless it be in the philosophical basis of Mohammedan law, while Christianity has led the way in the progress of modern civilisation.

Both of these are positive religions. Each claims to rest upon a divine revelation, which is in its nature final and unchangeable: yet the one is stationary and the other progressive. The one is based upon what it believes to be divine *commands*, and the other upon Divine *principles*; just the difference that there is between the law of Sinai and the law of love, the Ten Commandments and the two. The ten are specific and unchangeable the two admit of ever new and progressive application.

Whether in prayer or in search of truth, the Moslem must always turn his face to Mecca and to a revelation made once for all to the Prophet; and I think that Moslems generally take pride in the feeling that their faith is complete in itself, and as unchangeable as Mount Ararat. It cannot progress because it is already perfect.

The Christian, on the other hand, believes in a living Christ, who was indeed crucified at Jerusalem, but who rose from the dead, and is now present everywhere, leading His people on to ever broader and higher conceptions of truth, and ever new applications of it to the life of humanity; and the Christian Church, with some exceptions perhaps, recognises the fact that the perfection of its faith consists not in its immobility, but in its adaptability to every stage of human enlightenment. If progress is to continue to be the watchword of civilisation, the faith which is to dominate this civilisation must also be progressive.

It would have been pleasant to speak here to-day only of the broad field of sympathy which these two great religions occupy in common, but it would have been as unjust to the Moslem as to the Christian. If I have represented his faith as fairly as I have sought to do, he will be the first to applaud.

The truth, spoken in love, is the only possible basis upon which this Congress can stand. We have a common Father; we are brethren; we desire to live together in peace, or we should not be here; but of all things we desire to know what is truth, for truth alone can make us free.

We are soldiers all, without a thought of ever laying down our arms, but we have come here to learn the lesson that our conflict is not with each other, but with error, sin, and evil of every kind. We are one in our hatred of evil and in our desire for the triumph of the kingdom of God, but we are only partially agreed as to what is

Truth, or under what banner the triumph of God's kingdom is to be won.

No true Moslem or Christian believes that these two great religions are essentially the same, or that they can be merged by compromise in a common eclectic faith. We know that they are mutually exclusive, and it is only by a fair and honest comparison of differences that we can work together for the many ends which we have in common, or judge of the truth in those things in which differ.

GEORGE WASHBURN.

## THE ENGLISH POOR LAW AND OLD AGE.

“IT is a never-failing theme of the moralist and the divine that a benevolent attention to the wants of the poor is a necessary part of a virtuous character. The politician is no less persuaded that the interest of the State is essentially concerned in the ample and efficient performance of this duty, that [among other things] a bare subsistence for the aged poor is no more than the fair right of those who have spent their best days and exhausted their strength in the service of the public.” And I think that Eden—for it is his axiom which I have quoted—had he lived in our time, instead of a century ago, would have seen cause to couple the economist with the politician. “A bare subsistence” for the aged poor, as the minimum duty of the State, is the principle for which I contend. The question of the more humane treatment of the impecunious aged, the endeavour to make the English Poor Law a blessing rather than a curse to the old people, is still in the front rank of the burning socio-economic problems which await solution; and seeing that, in the course of nature, we cannot have the aged with us long we shall not err in putting their case at the head of any list of social reforms to which we set our seal. And in handling the question I shall endeavour to keep clear of that officialism of the Poor Law which has reduced the Act of Elizabeth—the basis of all after-enactments—to a set of cast-iron regulations, issued by a central authority, from which the human element, to say nothing of the moral factor, has been carefully eliminated, making the Poor Law administration a mere matter of police.

The actual number of the aged who come upon the poor rates within a twelvemonth has up to quite recently been a subject of much controversy. All doubt, however, has been settled by the publication

of returns specially furnished by the several Unions of the number of persons of each sex of sixty-five years of age and upwards, and the number under that age, who were in receipt of relief at any period during the twelve months ended at Lady Day 1892. This Report proves the accuracy of the calculations of Mr. Charles Booth—the Darwin among statistical investigators. Below are the figures :

PERSONS 65 YEARS OF AGE AND UPWARDS IN RECEIPT OF PAROCHIAL RELIEF.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In-door . . . . .	68,490 . . . . .	45,654 . . . . .	114,144
Out-door . . . . .	95,140 . . . . .	192,620 . . . . .	287,760
Totals . . . . .	163,630 . . . . .	238,274 . . . . .	401,904

Of the, in round numbers, 400,000, some 25,000 received medical relief only, while there is a striking contrast between the 45,600 females who were in receipt of in-door relief and the no less than 192,600 in receipt of out-door relief—the latter being nearly four-and a half times the number of the former. The Blue Book goes on to show that about one in every eighteen of the population was at some time or other during the year in receipt of relief, either personally or constructively, while of the population who were over sixty-five years of age one in every three (females) or four (males) was relieved. An allowance, however, of 6 per cent. of persons over sixty-five who received medical relief only should be made. Coming to Union-counties, and taking the average proportion of persons of sixty-five and upwards relieved to such population at 292 in the thousand, the ratio rises to 364 in Hertford and sinks to 174 in Westmorland. Dorset occupies the seventh place on the list.

As to the classes which yield the bulk of our old people who turn to the State for a pittance, or portion of a pittance, when their working days are over, and destitution overtakes their "latter end," a larger proportion than is generally believed comes from the ranks of urban skilled labour. A good deal has been made of the improved condition of the British workman during the past half-century. It might easily be shown that the limits of such a comparison are not just, but be that as it may, after making due allowance for increase in wages—and such increase has been most unequal—these larger earnings have not proved an unmixed benefit. They have been discounted by an 150 per cent. rise in house rent since 1840 ; and, further, the advance itself has militated against both the aged and the aging. The aging are no longer employed at their trade, and consequently the full working period of life has been shortened. In other words, the economic position of the aged and aging has not improved in recent years, but rather the reverse. The bulk, however, of the recipients of poor-relief in their old age undoubtedly comes



from the classes of unskilled labour; nor must we overlook the number of widows that go to make up the excess of females over males in the specially prepared Government return.

I pass to a brief consideration of the policies of relief pursued by different Boards of Guardians. Roughly classified, these are four in number :

Class A is that in which out-relief is given to the industrious poor in old age, destitution not being determined by any hard-and-fast line, and the relief covering cases of poverty to which the "good administrators" would turn a deaf ear. The object is to enable the old folk to secure a sustenance maintenance without being forced to enter the "house." It is easy to see that, according to the composition of the Board, this object is likely to be attained in a greater or lesser degree. So far as I am aware, we have in the Union of Grantham the most thorough example of policy A. The Union comprises fifty-four parishes, and contains 104,000 acres, with a population of between 33,000 and 34,000, rather more than half of whom reside in the borough of Grantham, the remainder being scattered over a widely spread area of rural villages, for the most part of no size. Below the old-age period, out-relief is granted on a fixed scale. With regard to the aged, owing to the different views which the medical officers took of their duties, another method has been adopted.

"The Board," writes the chairman, Sir Welby Gregory, Bart., "has substituted for their old scale, with its uncertain extras, a weekly allowance of 5s. 6d. to men above seventy-five years of age, of 5s. to women above seventy, and of 9s. to an old married couple living together. The same allowances are made to adults below these ages who are certified by the doctor to be permanently disabled from work. The medical recommendations of extras are discontinued, except in actual illness, and a further allowance for nursing is granted only amid special circumstances. This change, which has had a trial for nearly three years, has been found to give general satisfaction. It has lightened the labours of the doctors and relieving-officers; it has benefited the poor; and the additional burden imposed upon the rate-payers is so trifling as to be almost imperceptible."

In policy B out-relief is granted subject to—(1) good character, (2) definite destitution, and (3) contributions from relations legally liable, when considered in a position to so contribute, but adequate maintenance is not always assured. This policy, or one which, taking characteristics from both, occupies a middle ground between A and B, may be said to be the common one, and to be followed in at the least 70 per cent. of the 648 Unions into which England and Wales is divided. Its weak points consist in the practical impossibility of agreeing upon a workable definition of destitution and the non-assurance of adequate maintenance. The cruel kindness of insufficient relief is too often customary, when there are more guardians of the

rates than of the poor habitually present at the Board. This is at once manifest when we bear in mind that the weekly amounts given range from 4s. down to 2s., or even less in some instances. Dissimilar features in neighbouring Unions may often be contrasted. In the one, a fixed amount is given to the old people, and they are allowed without question to earn such small extras as they may be able; while in the other, every sixpence of earnings (though the weekly total may not amount to more than ninepence or a shilling) is taken into account. Under such a policy every little comfort or help given by relations (not legally liable) or friends—such as the payment of rent or gifts in kind—is hunted out by the relieving officers, and the customary rate of relief correspondingly lowered. Consequently the most deserving cases are oftentimes the hardest dealt with.

Coming to policy C, we have out-relief given subject to—(1) good character, (2) actual destitution, (3) full contributions from relations legally liable, (4) fair contributions from relatives not legally liable, (5) what is considered adequate maintenance sought to be secured. This is the last and most stringent class in which out-relief is given. Under its working the destitution of the applicant is severely tested—all possible inquiries are made. In policies A and B a microscopic investigation is not always insisted upon—a trifle now and then, a small gift from relatives, friends, or old employer, is not hunted out with the practice which comes so near perfection; but very little escapes the lynx-eyed guardians and relieving officers of Unions that have adopted policy C. A word as to results. Some kindly clergyman or other good friend has a sixpence, perhaps even a shilling, for the old man who has so nobly borne the burden and heat of his working day, or for the old widow who still clings to her people and would suffer and endure to the end, if only the workhouse be not the last station. The alms is not accepted, though so acceptable. The relieving-officer will get to hear of it, and the pittance from the Board will be withheld. But we have overlooked the “good character” qualification. Woe to the old man or woman who has made a slip in bygone years! Good indeed the character that will pass muster when the search light of policy C is brought to bear upon it. Besides, there is an almost overmastering temptation for concealment and deception.

With regard to exacting the “full contributions from relatives legally liable,” I sometimes wonder whether the exactors of enforced maintenance from children towards their parents or grandparents can know what it all means. The practice is so often unjust in operation—a heavy burden is laid upon one son, while another who is better able to contribute escapes scot-free. The guardians, almost without exception themselves employers, base the amount of contribution upon “paper” wages, not upon what the relative actually earns week in

and week out. And if "full contributions" are insisted upon, the prior duty to wife and family suffers therefrom. Cases have not been unknown in which an agricultural labourer, with wife and family dependent upon him, in receipt of 10s. or 11s. per week, has been ordered to contribute towards the maintenance of father or mother, his employer sitting at the Board. At the best, such a policy only paves the way towards the contributor himself falling upon the rates, while the rich, in their superabundance, point the moral—"There goes the man who has neglected to provide for himself." This enforcing of contributions from relations legally liable is bad economics and bad ethics; it weakens family ties, is provocative of family dissensions, and breeds hatred and variance. Gifts in kind and sometimes of money could be, and often would be, given, but this weekly cash reduction of earnings is most injurious in its effects, seeing that the vast majority of workmen are in receipt only of the minimum "to live and thrive" rate of wages.

We have now reached policy D, which consists in the practical refusal of out-relief and the universal application of the workhouse test—a policy which requires no elucidation.\*

There still remains the subject of in-door relief. It will have been understood that in cases where decent conduct cannot be relied upon, the "offer of the house" is all that the applicant obtains. There are other persons, however, to whom, as they are not able to find a home outside, and have none to care for them, the workhouse is offered as an asylum. In some Unions, but by no means in all, a difference in favour of the old people is made in the diet, and certain small indulgences are allowed. With regard to the separation of old couples, the guardians are generally ready to avoid this, provided the workhouse will furnish the necessary accommodation, which is not the case in what are known as "cottage" workhouses. But it must be confessed that such old couples as enter the "house" are not always desirous of living together. For bearing in mind the common policy of Boards of Guardians, it will, as a rule, be only the least deserving cases that are in receipt of in-door relief. I have, however, known several fine old men who have entered the "house," and resided there till the end of their days in comparative comfort. Much depends on locality and upon the officers. The great drawbacks to the old people are (1) the confinement, and (2) the want of a little something to do. I am well aware that something is being done by a benevolent public to assist the guardians in ameliorating the condition of the aged. Certainly the literature supplied by some societies is comprehensive enough in its character; very dry religious tracts and old copies of *Truth* may be seen lying side by side on the table.

\* In the fourfold division of the different methods of Poor Law administration I am largely indebted to statistics of old-age pauperism which are being prepared by Mr. Charles Booth, an indebtedness which I gratefully acknowledge.

But though by such-like means there may be a little less shadow in the picture of the aged worn-out servants of labour who spend their last days in the workhouse, still it is, after all, a picture of the captivity of the poor, as regulated by an instructional letter of the Poor Law Commissioners, dated 1842, under which the inmates may only in very exceptional cases, for "urgent and special reasons," go outside the workhouse doors. These "urgent and special reasons" are sampled in the afore-mentioned official document as—(1) in order to look for work in the neighbourhood—this does not apply to the aged; (2) to visit a relation, but not regularly; and (3) to attend the baptism of a child at the parish church. So far as I have been able to discover, the *raison d'être* for the last exception was the custom in those days of certain old and respected parishioners being regarded as god-parents in general, for the exercise of which duty they received small donations. At that time it was evident that to enter a workhouse did not *per se* constitute disgrace.

In order to show what may be done for the impecunious aged and infirm, even under existing law, I would call attention to the remarkable classification of the recipients of in-door relief as contained in a scheme recommended by a special committee of the Sheffield Guardian, which, it is to be regretted, has not come before the Commissioners on the Aged Poor. In this scheme, Class I. consists of aged and infirm persons over sixty years of age, who have resided in the Sheffield Union for a period of not less than twenty years before applying for relief, whose characters will bear strict investigation, and who, through no fault of their own, have been unable to provide for old age. It is recommended, for the accommodation of this class, that a three-sided quadrangle should be built, and in the centre a residence for the attendants. Each room is to be furnished with the necessary household utensils, and, besides bed, two arm- and two rocking-chairs; and the rooms are to be made in every way as homelike as possible, with the help of pictures, plants, &c. The inmates to be allowed to retain any unobjectionable pet animal or object to which they have become attached; to be encouraged to cultivate a small garden with flowers and vegetables for their own use; and to be allowed the fullest freedom within the necessary limits of reasonable discipline. There are other proposed regulations, but these are perhaps of most interest.

On the general question, I am supposed to be writing upon the English Poor Law system in so far as it deals with old-age pauperism. But is there any such system in operation? It need not be questioned that the New Poor Law Commissioners' intention was to gradually reduce the practice of granting out-relief to a minimum, if not to abolish it altogether; such, too, has been, and is, the aim of Poor Law reformers who favour what they euphemistically term—begging

the question—"good administration," while the central authority and their inspectors have the same end in view. But, to adopt the language of the old Greek tragedian, even this strong combination has proved unequal to the task of causing the stream of popular sentiment to run backwards. Such a policy of administration, save in isolated instances, has never become a reality. On a most liberal calculation, not 5 per cent.—not, *i.e.*, thirty Unions out of a total of 618—have at any one time attained to the "good administration" qualification of abolition of out-door relief and the universal application of the workhouse test. Indeed, it may be said that we have no such thing as an English Poor Law. At the best, the Act of 1834 was a loose constitution, leaving the settlement of almost everything to the Commissioners, who in turn made way for their successors, the Poor Law Board and the Local Government Board. The so-called Poor Law consists of a pile of uncodified general orders and instructional letters (extending over the last fifty years), which are no more than a long series of recommendations from the central authority, not possessing the authority or finality of law. Further, these orders and recommendations have so overlaid the original enactments of 1834—such as they were—as to have made the latter often of none effect. A signal example of this tendency will be given later on. Again, the very co-ordinate existence of no less than four broadly defined and fundamentally different methods of administration is in itself sufficient to prove that there is more than one system in operation.

I contend that adequate maintenance of the aged poor outside the workhouse is not assured, and that anything less than this condemns itself. It may be argued that a bare sustenance maintenance is offered in the "house," and that if the offer is refused, and deaths from starvation or semi-starvation ensue, the community is not to be blamed. But the question remains, whether the State has fulfilled its duty towards those who, in the language of Eden, "have spent their best days and exhausted their strength in the service of the public," by offering only the alternative of entering the workhouse or of remaining outside destitute and short of the means of living. It is very well to theorise, but the stubborn fact remains, that those aged servants of labour who by their life-long toil have been wealth-producers, will suffer extreme privation and want rather than, by entering the workhouse, break up what home there remains, lose their freedom, and cast a slur upon their reputation. Consequently, there are numbers of aged poor who, either from the refusal of out-relief or from inadequate out-relief, are without proper nourishment in their last days, and do not live out their natural term of life. It is an appalling fact, as witnessed to by the annual "Return of Deaths from Starvation," that persons in receipt of out-relief do sometimes die of starvation,

while the semi-starvation of numbers of the aged, from the ranks of unskilled labour (urban and rural), necessarily shortens life.

In 1834 the then practical best was no doubt done; the remedy for the old state of things had more of cruelty than kindness about it, but the bad laws of fifty years prior to that date had brought about an economic and social condition of the labour classes which necessitated such a remedy. *Then*, however, is not *now*. We are not, like the Poor Law Commissioners, face to face with a terrible outbreak of able-bodied pauperism threatening to bring about national bankruptcy. We are face to face with another economic question—How is old age to be adequately provided for? Not the workers or the women workers, but the past- and can't-workers. And to such I venture to affirm that the cardinal principle of relief, as laid down by the Poor Law Commissioners, cannot justly be applied—namely, “that the condition of the paupers shall in no case be so eligible as the condition of persons of the lowest class subsisting on the fruits of their own industry.” A principle correct enough, it may be, when applied to the case of the able-bodied or temporarily disabled, but not so when the permanently unable to work are concerned; in their case there are no competing “fruits of industry” by which to regulate the amount of relief.

There is still a firmly held belief among the vast majority of the “classes,” that the “masses” can always save, if they will, and that it is a duty incumbent upon them to find the means of providing for their own old age. I am afraid it is, in nine cases out of every ten, a demand to furnish “the tale of bricks” while the necessary straw is withheld. It is astonishing how many people deceive themselves over this matter; and because the working classes have not fully provided for their old age, they are believed to be idle, drunken, wasteful, and thriftless. In other words, that the main cause of the condition of the impecunious aged is one of moral defect, needing, therefore, a moral rather than an economic remedy. But facts, broadly stated, go the other way, and while it is only too true that “the destruction of the poor is their poverty,” it is not true that the origin of that poverty is to be looked for in the vices of the poor.

Again, contrary to a loose popular opinion, the cost of most of the necessaries of life has risen, and, as Mr. Hobson shows in his “Problems of Poverty,” although a sovereign will buy more for a rich man than fifty years ago, it will buy less for a poor man.

Out of a number of instances which might be given of the *non possunt* which bars the way against old-age provision, as a Wiltshire man I will select the bill of fare of a Wiltshire labourer and his family, the man's wages being 11s per week (a shilling above the average). The family numbers seven, including five children, ranging from three to twelve years of age:

	s.	d.
6 gall. of bread at 9d.	4	6
$\frac{1}{2}$ gall. flour for puddings	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tea	0	10
$1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bacon	1	0
1 lb. butter and cheese	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
8 lbs. sugar	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. coal	0	6
Soda	0	1
Soap	0	3
Tobacco	0	3
Total	10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Nothing is allowed for clothing and shoes; when these are required, the family have to put up with shorter commons, or run into debt. They have butcher's meat only at Whitsuntide. But perhaps the greatest deprivation, when we consider the physical well-being of the children, is the absence of milk. It is the exception, not the rule, for milk to be found in the homes of our agricultural labourers. Referring to the question of thrift and old age, the Assistant Labour Commissioners, in their recent Reports on "the Agricultural Labourer," state that a labourer with wife and three or four children can save nothing out of an income of even 16s. a week, unless the family are deprived of the necessaries of life. And it must be borne in mind that with 7,000,000 of the total population of Great Britain and Ireland the standard of living is little, if anything, above that of bare necessaries.

The argument is sometimes brought up that a policy of out-relief, such as that, for instance, classed as B, tends to reduce the rate of wages. I may say that, after careful examination, I am convinced that it is a case of *non sequitur*. It is true that wages generally diminish from the north, where we get the maximum, to the south, where we get the minimum. But this is almost entirely due to the presence or absence of neighbouring centres of industry. In Unions similarly situated a policy of giving out-relief or of refusing out-relief makes no appreciable difference in the rate of wages.

As a contribution towards a new Poor Law, I venture to make the following recommendations so far as old age is concerned:

I. That District Councils be entrusted with the administration, and that powers of supervision and inspection, such as may be deemed necessary, be given to County Councils. The District Council to be elected on the one-man-one-vote franchise, with a view of securing a working-class representation.

II. The aged and infirm not to be placed in the workhouse except under conditions hereinafter laid down.

III. The District Council to be empowered to grant a minimum

sustenance endowment of 5s. per week to all aged persons who send in a demand note, unless in the case of those who, in the judgment of the Council, have forfeited the right to have their pension free of control and supervision. Such cases to be sent to the workhouse. Age at which the endowment shall commence to depend upon the age at which, in each case, decay of working powers becomes manifest.

Here there is a singular case of the way in which the central authority has overridden, or rather neglected to issue instructions upon, a remarkable and greatly overlooked passage in the Act of 1834. This clause, if put into general operation, would at once, without any alteration of the law, largely provide for impecunious old age. I refer to section xxvii. Shorn of its legal amplifications, it reads thus: "Any two justices usually acting for the district wherein the Union is situated, at their just and proper discretion may direct that relief shall be given to any adult person who shall from old age or infirmity be wholly unable to work, without requiring that such person shall reside in any workhouse."

IV. District Councils to be empowered to purchase or erect municipal or village cottages for aged inhabitants of the district, to be let for a small weekly sum to those who require them.

V. The old-age endowment fund under the new law to come from imperial rather than local taxation.

A caution in the matter of administration is needed lest an over-severe test should be imposed upon the recipients of the endowment. We have to bear in mind that a man's lack of self-control may have largely resulted from the neglect of society either towards him or his parents. To take only one instance, that of drinking habits. If society, or the State, had done its duty, it could never have obliged that man or his parents to live amid the temptations of drink to the extent of a public-house for every hundred to two hundred inhabitants of the district, not to say street. Nor is this evil restricted to the town. I am well acquainted with a village of 800 inhabitants, situated four miles from the nearest town, in which there are five licensed houses—four of them in sight of each other, and three of them within twenty or thirty yards of each other. It will not do to say that society is not largely responsible for lapses from self-control, such as might, under a severe test, deprive some of the old folk of their pension. It must be remembered that, after all, the endowment provided is nothing beyond the barest sustenance.

In conclusion, I believe that some such new law as I have sketched would go far to wipe out a dark stain upon our national honour, and to remove a blot on our economics, since it would tend to encourage the practice of thrift, dispelling that hopelessness of being able to save enough which at present so paralyses saving. Under it the



aged would secure a right to live; and the duty of supporting the aged would fall upon the community as a whole. "Ethical forces," writes Professor Marshall, "are among those of which the economist has to take account." Has not the time arrived when the Poor Law reformer should do the same, and allow the guardians of the poor to bring hearts as well as heads to the work of the Board-room? The English Poor Law was *not* intended to be a mere matter of police. What we need is a process of democratising decentralisation.

J. FROME WILKINSON.

## PRIEST AND ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

IT may almost appear presumptuous for a layman to intervene in the interesting controversy which has been carried on by Archdeacon Farrar and Canon Knox-Little, who may be said to represent, so far as the clergy are concerned, the extreme differences of opinion held regarding one of the sacraments by dignitaries of the English Church. In some respects, however, the point of view in which such questions are regarded by ecclesiastics and by laymen is so different that this intervention may not be altogether valueless.

Into a considerable portion of the controversy it is unnecessary to enter, indeed too much space appears to have been given by both controversialists to what may be called mere verbal fencing. Had they in the first instance been able to fix a definite meaning to the words about to be used the points at issue would have been very much narrowed. Nor is it necessary to pay much attention to the quotations given by each controversialist from the writings of divines of past times, for these only show that difference of opinion existed then as it exists now regarding the interpretation of the words of Scripture and the meaning of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and that learned and good men held as contradictory views on these subjects in those days as learned and good men do at the present time.

It is also quite unnecessary to consider the comparative saintliness of the lives of those who hold these conflicting opinions, for only persons permeated with the narrowest bigotry would dispute the saintliness of the lives of many of those who maintain what, for the want of a better word, may be described as the Sacerdotal system.\*

\* The word Sacerdotal is used because Canon Knox-Little objects to the word Ritualist as insulting, but it is not altogether a satisfactory term as many who hold the Sacerdotal theory would not agree with many of Canon Knox-Little's views.

Keble, Liddon, and Canon Knox-Little himself will, from their lives and works, always command the respect of liberal-minded men, to whatever party they belong.

But although the majority of religious people are probably more influenced by the character of those who promulgate doctrines than by an examination of the doctrines themselves, this saintliness of the teacher absolutely proves nothing in regard to the truth of the teaching. Saintliness of character has belonged to the best men of every school of thought. The most bigoted of the opposite party would hardly deny the saintly characters of the evangelical leaders, such as Fletcher, Whitfield, Wesley and many others, whilst all denominations of Nonconformists can point to eminently holy men amongst their leaders; indeed, in this respect, no section of Christ's Church can show a grander roll of Christian lives than the Society of Friends, although its adherents most strangely repudiate the need or efficacy of any sacrament whatever, notwithstanding the apparently clear teaching of Scripture. The Sisters of the High Church Sisterhoods and the Slum-sisters of the Salvation Army equally, at the present time, display the practical fruits of Christianity, although their theological views are as far apart as the poles.

It is a strange mystery, but it is an undoubted fact that the test of truth is not the lives of those who first adopt certain theological views, but the effects which such views develop as time progresses. A striking example of this is shown in the history of the Jesuits. There are few more saintly lives recorded than those of Ignatius Loyola and his immediate followers, who founded the Society of Jesus, "to God's greater glory," and yet it is difficult to find in history a more terrible lesson of the destructive influence of false principles embodied amongst the true.

The society was founded in the love of Christ and for the glory of God, the highest ideal of which man is capable; yet embodying false principles in its conception, it soon became such a curse to mankind that its members were expelled from almost every Roman Catholic country, and the very name of Jesuit has become a byword for falsehood and cruelty.

If saintliness of life in the teacher proved the truth of the teaching, not only every sect of the Christian religion, but most other religions also, could put forth this evidence of the truth of their faith.

It will therefore only be necessary, the above subjects being excluded, to consider the points of difference between the views of the two controversialists as regards the teaching of the Anglican Church and the Bible; first, as to the position of the Priest or Presbyterian in the ministry, and, secondly, as to the nature and meaning of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist, or the Mass, words which in themselves really are of little importance.

Canon Knox-Little seems to cling to the last name which is used by Roman Catholics, but it is a word of very obscure origin, and there seems little reason why it should be adopted in place of the words of the Prayer-book, "the Supper of the Lord." It is true, as Canon Knox-Little says, that this is a free country, but *Priests of the English Church* can hardly be free to alter the words of the Prayer-book.

Canon Knox-Little deserves our thanks for the full and candid way in which he expresses the view taken by the members of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament which he represents, as to the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, although it seems practically to divide the Church into two parts so completely differing that they can in fact hardly be said in any reasonable sense to belong to the same Church.

Amongst those who may be designated as the non-Sacerdotal party (see foot-note, page 681), there may exist great differences of opinion and ritual; as, for instance, between those who hold the views of Archdeacon Farrar and those who look upon the Sacrament as something of much greater significance.

But whilst amongst these there can be absolute unity with the largest amount of difference both in ritual and teaching, there cannot possibly, from the very nature of the case, be any unity between those who hold that Christ is only present in the Sacrament after a heavenly and spiritual manner and *not* in the elements themselves, and that He is communicated to the faithful recipient in the worthy reception; and those who claim that after the consecration prayer, offered up by a properly ordained Priest, the real Body and Blood of Christ, that Deity itself, is present on the altar, under the form of bread and wine.

In order that there may be no mistake in regard to the views held by Canon Knox-Little and his party, the following extracts from his article in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW may be quoted; they could hardly be clearer:

"Priests on earth ordained according to Christ's will in succession from His apostles present one sacrifice (once for all offered on the Cross as a sacrifice of blood and sorrow) before God the Father, as a perpetual memorial of His Passion" (p. 191)

"The Priesthood of Jesus is exercised now ministerially, but *really*, by the priests of His Church."

"If the Church of England insists upon a real priesthood, we are bound to hold it too" (p. 191).

"Sacerdos, that is, sacrificing priest, was used in the Latin Service-books up to the time of the English Reformation. Had our reformers intended to abandon the idea they must have abandoned the word; they would not give up the term priest, they were well aware that *that* term carried the whole question, namely, the sacrificial presence and action in His Church of Jesus Christ" (p. 192).

"In the article on the marriage of priests, the Church takes care to write

in the Latin copy, which is of equal authority as the English copy, 'De conjugio Sacerdotum.'

"The sacerdotal idea is the teaching of the Church of England and part of the Gospel of Christ" (p. 194).

"I do not believe that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is a heresy. What our part of the Catholic Church does is this: she refuses to say how the mysterious presence is given; she declines to accept the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church that the 'how' of the presence is defined by the word Transubstantiation. . . . But I am sure that along with the Bible, the Prayer-book, and the great divines of the English Church, they (the Ritualists) hold with the Real Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood (after consecration by a properly ordained priest) under the form of bread and wine, is the doctrine of the Church of England and part of the Gospel of Christ."

"The Church of England uses the following terms in the ordination of her priests: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost' for the office and work of priest in the Church of God now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands; whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained'."

From the above extracts it is perfectly clear that the party represented by Canon Knox-Little hold the following views, as essentially those of the Bible and the Prayer-book—namely, that those who are properly ordained priests by the laying on of hands by a bishop, become through that act possessed of the following powers: they possess authority to forgive or to withhold the forgiveness of sins; they possess the power through the offering of the prayer of consecration and the laying of hands on the bread and wine, of working the most stupendous of miracles—namely, causing these elements which before were only bread and wine to be afterwards the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine.

The difference between the Roman Catholic view and the Sacerdotal Anglican is, that the former defines the *how* of this miracle, while the latter refuses to accept the word Transubstantiation or to define the *how*.

As the Twenty-fifth Article of the Church of England teaches distinctly that the efficacy of the Sacrament is not taken away by the wickedness of the minister, it follows that a properly ordained priest has the power, at any time, by uttering the appointed words and laying his hands upon the elements, to perform this stupendous miracle, although the priest himself may be an infidel.

It is impossible for any one to deny the importance of the issue here presented. It is no doubt a great demand both upon reason and faith to accept such teaching, but if it can be proved to be true we must accept this mystery as we accept other mysteries, only we are bound to demand that the proofs brought forward should be conclusive that such teaching is actually presented to us in the Word of God and the Prayer-book.

To accept a mystery to be part of revelation is the duty of every

Christian; to demand proof that such a mystery is really taught and is absolutely part of the revelation, is equally the duty of every reasonable being.

First, then, let us examine the claims of the Sacerdotal party and the proofs upon which they rely in regard to the priesthood, for on the position of the Priest and the power possessed by him the claim in regard to the nature of the Sacrament stands or falls.

Canon Knox-Little claims that the Church of England does possess a real priesthood which is composed of all those men who have been set apart by the laying on of hands by a bishop and ordained to the office of Priests; that these Priests are not, as Archdeacon Farrar contends, presbyters but sacrificing priests, the word "sacerdos" being in some instances applied to them in the Prayer-book. That to these men thus set apart is given the power of rightly administering the Sacrament or Mass, that is, of causing by certain acts the Real Body and Blood of Christ to be present on the Holy Table under the form of bread and wine. They also have authority to forgive or not to forgive the sins of those who come to confess to them.

In regard to the word Priest, Canon Knox-Little appears decidedly to have the advantage over his opponent. To apply the word presbyter or elder to all that is said in the Church Service in regard to the Priest, is more than difficult, and if applied to young curates recently "priested," as they call it, the word presbyter or elder seems absurd. The Canon seems to establish his point that Sacerdos, not Presbyter, was the idea in the minds of those who compiled the Book of Common Prayer, but he is clearly wrong when he proceeds to attach to the word Sacerdos a meaning which does not by any means belong to it.

The word "sacerdos," or its equivalent in Greek, *ιερεύς*, simply denotes a minister whose office it was to perform certain acts publicly on behalf of the community, generally ritualistic, principally sacrificial. Such priests existed in all the great religions of ancient times, and the sacrifices offered were very various, for the most part composed of the fruits of the earth and of the flesh of beasts by which human life is supported; the essence of the sacrifice being that these gifts were presented to God to be consumed in His service. Without doubt very often the sacrifices were of a more awful kind, the destruction of life, either animal or human, being the offering made in order to propitiate a Deity, but the word "sacerdos" is absolutely free from any such necessary meaning: it simply means one given to sacred things, not a man set apart to take life, but a man set apart from his fellows as a representative of the people before God, and for the performance of certain religious acts in their name, especially the offering of sacrifices with an appointed ritual.

This is exactly the position of the priests of the Church of England,

their office is to perform certain religious acts as representatives of the people, especially to offer the sacrifices of praise and prayer and the freewill gifts of the people set apart to be used in the service of God; thus acting, they fulfil all that is embodied in, or that necessarily pertains to, the word "sacerdos," or "hiereus." Neither the taking of life nor the offering of a propitiatory rite to appease Deity are meanings which belong necessarily to it.

It will be noticed by those who have carefully read Canon Knox-Little's article that all his arguments are taken from the Prayer-book, and, as a dignitary of the Church, this may suffice; but it is a fact that though the word Priest may legitimately, by order of the Church of England, be applied to its ministers, the word itself is never used in the New Testament for a minister or bishop of the Church, but is only applied to Christ Himself or to the whole body of Christians.

With regard to the claims of Canon Knox-Little to the power of Priests to forgive sins and to invite confession, if he will look a little more closely into the Prayer-book exhortation to confession before Communion, he will find that the word Priest is carefully excluded from it.

The whole teaching of the Prayer-book is that man has free access to God through Christ without any intermediary, and that those who truly repent and come to God possess absolution. But the Church does exhort any of its members who are thereby unable to quiet their consciences, but require further counsel and comfort, to come, not necessarily to their Priest, but "to me, or *some other discreet and learned minister* of God's Word."

Surely no one would contend that all Priests of the Church are discreet and learned ministers of God's Word; probably the almost universal verdict would be that many, not only of the curates, but of the beneficed clergy of the Church of England, are not learned, to judge by their sermons, and that many are not discreet, to judge by their actions; in fact, they are in both respects very like average men.

It is evident, then, that when it is claimed that it is the duty of a Priest to urge confession and that the power of forgiveness of sins is attached, not to the possession of the Holy Ghost, but to the fact of ordination. such a claim is quite contrary to the teaching of the Prayer-book, since no one will assert that all who have been "priested" are discreet and learned ministers of the Word, fit to be trusted with the confession of the sinful secrets, not only of their own, but of the opposite sex.

Canon Knox-Little has not produced the slightest evidence, either from the Bible or the Prayer-book, that such confession is to be insisted on, whilst the history of the confessional in the Romish Church, guarded and limited as it is with great care, has proved that as a general practice its effect is disastrous.

The next point that we have to consider is the claim by the party to which Canon Knox-Little belongs that every properly ordained Priest is able by virtue of such ordination to perform the stupendous miracle of causing, by the use of certain words and the laying on of his hands, the Real Body and Blood of Christ to become present on the altar under the form of bread and wine, and that every properly ordained Priest, however wicked or foolish, possesses this power.

This is a most awful claim. If it be true, then, those alone discern the Lord's Body who, in receiving the bread and wine, believe that they receive the Real Body and Real Blood of Christ Himself under the form of bread and wine, and all those who believe that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a spiritual manner by the means of faith do not truly discern the Lord's Body and Blood, and therefore eat and drink to their own condemnation.

On the other hand, if this latter view, which seems to be expressed by the Prayer-book, is true, then those who hold that by consecration Deity becomes present on the altar under the form of bread, before it is given or received, and that independently of faith in the recipient, the Real Divine Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine is given and received in the Sacrament, come under the condemnation of worshipping God under a material form, which is the essence of idolatry.

As has been before said, it is difficult to see how persons holding such diametrically opposite views can be said in any true sense to belong to the same Church, or how they can communicate together in the Lord's Supper.

It will be noticed that Canon Knox-Little advances no argument whatever in support of his views; it would no doubt have been difficult to do justice to the subject within the limits of an article in a Review, and he may have thought that all the arguments he could use would be familiar to most of his readers; nevertheless it seems hardly right to ignore all argument. The miracle of the Sacrament is so astounding, and appears to many minds so to contradict the teaching of the Bible and Prayer-book, that unless it can be clearly proved that it is to be read therein, even to ask acceptance for it appears awful presumption.

Of course every theological student realises that the whole controversy turns upon the actual meaning of the word "is." In instituting the Eucharist at the last supper, Christ said to His disciples: "Take eat, this *is* my body"; there are several perfectly legitimate meanings to the word "is." Three have been well illustrated by the manner in which it is now used in common conversation: for instance, a nobleman showing his newly appointed steward the fields belonging to him says, "This *is* my property"; pointing to



a pictorial representation of the same field, he says, "This is my property"; and again, producing to him the title-deeds and plan of the estate, he may say with equal correctness, "This is my property."

Now, strange as it may appear, the whole controversy between the Roman Catholic and Sacerdotal party and those who follow the reformers rests upon which of the three meanings is attached to the little word "is." When it was used by Christ, His body had not been broken, yet He breaks bread and gives it to His disciples, and says: "Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me." In which of the three legitimate meanings of the word "is" did Christ then employ it?

It seems difficult to those who do not hold the Sacerdotal view to understand why, when two other meanings are equally legitimate, any person should attach to the word "is" the one meaning which involved at the time, if it were so used, a stupendous miracle of which in the narrative there is no trace, whilst there are two other meanings perfectly consistent with the only stated object of Christ in instituting the Lord's Supper, the remembrance of Himself broken for them. This seems the more strange since it was Christ's habit to speak figuratively; as when, in a somewhat similar discourse, He said: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you," and added, "The flesh profiteth nothing, the words I speak are spirit." But however strange it may seem, it is a fact that the contest over this little word "is" has filled the earth with bloodshed and the dungeons of the Inquisition with groans and anguish.

But even if it were granted that Christ actually intended that the bread He gave to His disciples had been converted in some mysterious manner into His body, this is only one of many proofs required to sustain the Sacerdotal view of the Sacrament, for in addition to proving this interpretation, which has never yet been done, they must also prove that Christ gave the Apostles power to perform the same miracle and that they also gave it to others, with power to transmit by laying on of hands, and yet more, that without break the priests of the Church of England have received this power from them. Surely the strictest proof is necessary before we laymen are asked to accept such doctrine as a matter of faith, the more so as we find in the Bible no hint of the awful meaning and effect which is attached by the Sacerdotalists to the words and act of consecration.

The distinction made by Canon Knox-Little between the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacerdotal theory of the sacrament, seems comparatively of slight importance; the "how it is done" is immaterial, the fact that both the Roman Church and the Sacerdotalists believe that *that* which was before consecration simply bread and wine becomes after consecration

“the real body and blood of Christ—that is, Deity itself—in the form of bread and wine,” is the vital point.

Canon Knox-Little denies that Transubstantiation is a heresy, but the Prayer-book declares that the doctrine is “repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.” Surely the holding of a doctrine which is repugnant to Holy Scripture is a heresy—*i.e.* a fundamental error in religion?

The non-sacerdotal part of the Church of England may thoroughly agree with Canon Knox-Little that the Church of England has its appointed Priests and that they possess sacerdotal functions—namely, authority to represent the people in the performance of religious services, and also to offer the gifts of the people as sacrifices to God, so that they may be used in His service only; but the word sacrifice does not necessarily convey any idea of propitiation or the taking of life, for neither the Latin nor Greek word conveys any such exclusive meaning.

To conclude: we believe that those who are properly ordained, and who at their ordination do truly receive the Holy Ghost, and become and remain discreet and learned ministers of God’s Word and Sacraments, may accept the confession of those who cannot otherwise quiet their own consciences; but we absolutely refuse to believe that these qualifications necessarily belong to all who are ordained Priest, and without these qualifications the Church does not give any one of its Priests authority to accept confession or forgive sin.

We believe that Christ is present in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and that “His body is given, eaten, and received after a spiritual manner, and that the means whereby it is taken and received is faith”; but we absolutely deny that by means of consecration the Real Body and Blood of Christ become located upon the altar under the form of bread and wine, or that the Bible or Prayer-book in any way teach such a doctrine. If indeed it were so, the bread and wine would be a right and worthy object to worship, whereas the Prayer-book teaches distinctly that the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is not to be worshipped. Such a view, moreover, is inconsistent with the definition the Prayer-book gives of a Sacrament—namely, “the outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace given,” whereas if the sacramental bread and wine are indeed the very Real Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine, it is not the sign, but the thing signified.

Both Archdeacon Farrar and Canon Knox-Little dwell upon the effect that the Sacerdotal revival is likely to have upon the future of the Church of England, and, as might be expected, take most opposite views, the one prophesying its destruction, the other its increased vitality and development. The future alone can show which is right. Probably an as yet unknown factor—the spirit of the age as deve-

veloped during the next twenty years—will solve this and many other burning questions.

At present, every form of thought, both social, political, and religious; is unsettled. In the religious world this is shown by a strong tendency to materialism, with a counter-current of scepticism, hence the large numbers who find comfort in the belief that in the Sacrament they handle and taste the Real Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine; whilst, on the other hand, numbers have lost faith in the miraculous altogether, and stumble at that one great mystery, without which Christianity is little more than the enunciation of the highest morals—namely, the incarnation, life, and death of God the Son. Whatever may be the result, we may still hope that the grand old National Church of England which has existed from the earliest days of Christianity, which at the Reformation shook itself free from the bondage of Rome and the corruption of the Dark Ages, which roused itself from the deadly apathy of the last century, and is now full of life and energy, will survive also this crisis in her history. It is true that heresies are bad, and either the Sacerdotal or the non-Sacerdotal party must be sadly guilty in this respect, but after all we may comfort ourselves that there is something worse in a Church even than heresy, for, strange as it may seem, it is the fact that of the seven representative Churches of the Apocalyptic vision, the only two that were free from heresies were Laodicea the Lukewarm and Sardis the Dead.

FRANCIS PEEK.

## DRAMATIC CRITICISM.

**A**MONGST the many essential requirements of the Drama, if it is ever to become a flourishing plant in our later civilisation, the necessity of dramatic criticism holds a chief place. Possibly the very statement of this necessity may be considered an affront to our age. Where, it may be asked, can be found a greater abundance of criticism and critics? Do not our newspapers serve up for us, hot and hot, the most admirable notices of each play as it is produced? Have we not an energetic band of critics who occupy prominent and favoured positions in the stalls at each *première*, on the sole condition that they shall tell the world next day how everything went on? Do we not owe a deep debt of gratitude to these men for giving us exactly the right point of view and saving us all the trouble of making up our minds for ourselves? It would be folly, indeed, not to recognise our obligations to them, as well as to those other unwearied scribes who tell us through the same medium of the press what books we should buy, or borrow, study or skim over. When we consider the conditions of their industry, it is remarkable how successful are its results. The dramatic critic has to have a certain lightning speed of judgment, for his impressions have to be in print some three or four hours after he has himself formed them. His opinion cannot be recast, nor indeed can he, through a just sense of self-respect, ever admit that he is wrong. Because of the rapidity with which his work has to be done, he must be all eyes and ears; he must cultivate his æsthetic susceptibility even though sometimes this may be at the cost of his reasoning power, for quick perceptiveness is of far greater value to him than intellectual deliberation: he must be sensitive, receptive, appreciative; he must be able to reflect with unerring accuracy the pictures which have passed before him. Thinking

requires time, and time is exactly what he lacks. For these reasons unfriendly people are inclined to call him a reporter rather than a critic, a judgment which is only true because newspaper readers prefer reporting to criticism. Moreover, he has to notice every piece which appears on the stage, and that is exactly what a critic, if left to himself, would rather not do. Under such conditions, and with such limitations everywhere set to his own natural instincts, the dramatic critic is worthy of the highest admiration. No one who knows what he is talking about could grudge the most honest praise to a body of men, who perform a very difficult task, enjoined upon them in so peculiarly difficult a manner, with such discriminative skill and with, comparatively speaking, so few mistakes.

But, after all, this is not quite an ideal state of things; nor yet does journalistic reporting really supply what the best interests of the stage require. Journalism, it is true, in this as in other matters, exactly discharges its proper functions. A picture of the world in the last four-and-twenty hours—that is, and ought to be the *ultima ratio* of the newspaper. From this point of view the journal ought to be occupied more with persons than with things, with changing fashions more than with permanent types, with the accidents of our social state rather than with its underlying laws. So far as the stage is concerned, journalism ought to deal with the individual rather than with the universal. But if instead of actors, actresses, playwrights, managers, stage-carpenters, and scene-painters, we want to know something about the Drama as a living organism, about the Drama as an imperishable form of art, or even about a play in its relation to those general dramatic aptitudes and instincts from which it proceeds and whose tendencies it summarises, journalistic criticism is perhaps not wholly adequate. The weekly newspaper has a much better chance, the monthly magazine a better chance still. At all events, the kind of criticism which would be of real value to the theatrical manager and to the art-loving public would, it may be surmised, be found not in the journal, but in some more leisurely writing, let us say, by a modern Lessing in a new form of “Hamburgische Dramaturgie.”

The preliminary question, on which we want some illumination, is summed up in a remark, which I may quote with the more assurance, because it was addressed to myself. A friend, who was himself no mean critic, told me in reference to some notice of which I happened to be the author, that I was ignorant of “the first principles of dramatic criticism.” I am sure he was right, the more so because I am not certain that a man ought to be much troubled in his mind about such first principles when he has to write a dramatic notice in a journal. But what *are* the first principles of dramatic criticism? Are there any absolute principles, or are they purely relative and fluctuating? Are there any rules based on wide inductions of expe-

rience to which the critic should appeal and which should serve for him as a kind of touchstone in moments of doubt? Whatever they may be, if we grant their existence, they clearly cannot be absolute, for very obvious reasons. Art does not admit of scientific universals any more than that study of mankind, called sociology, or even political economy. Beauty is a fluctuating thing if we look at the history of our race, a thing which has had many definitions and has appealed in widely diverse forms to the successive generations of men. To the old nations of the East it seems to have meant vastness: to the Hebrews it wore the form of sublimity: to the Romans it might be characterised as elegance and dignity: to the Greeks it was the sum total of all the higher energies of the soul. The Drama is, of course in the widest sense, the representation of man: but men have metamorphosed themselves in a wonderful variety of shapes. They may be regarded merely as products of Nature, or as the ideal forms of the natural world, Nature's consummation and crown. From the first point of view they will be treated in one way, from the second in another. So long as man is considered as the goal to which Nature has all along been tending, the Drama will have an easier task and a nobler one: but, when he falls into place as one specimen—and perhaps not a very valuable one—out of Nature's workshop, when he is regarded not as the lord of creation but as a limited fraction of a vast objective order, the dramatist, if he does not find his occupation gone, at all events finds it somewhat narrowly circumscribed. When the Greek dramatists made their highest heroes bow before a great impersonal objective power called Fate or Nemesis, the range of human activity and the interest of the human being were necessarily limited. When man seemed to have all his destiny in his own hands, as he did in the times of Queen Elizabeth, when every day seemed to open new prospects to his ambition and his chances of power, then a Shakespeare or a Marlowe could found a Drama in which individuals were of infinite value, and where the only real fate resided in the character of the agent. So again we can have man looked at as an animal, a soulless being, as he has been in a good deal of the modern French Drama: just as, on the other hand, we can have the chief dramatic interest shifted from the external, sentient qualities of mankind to those intricacies of his spirit or soul, which are laid bare in a *Macbeth* or a *Hamlet*. If mankind is always changing, so too must the dramatic representation of him change; critical first principles must be content to be relative and not absolute; and criticism can never claim to be, in the proper sense of the term, scientific.

But although all this is true—so true, indeed, as to be almost commonplace—it does not follow that we ought to throw ourselves upon the opposite extreme and treat the relativity of the standard

as though it excused and justified the personal idiosyncrasies of the critic. This, so far as I can judge, seems the tendency of the time, and it leads to more perilous results than the hopeless attempt to discover non-existent first principles. Better a thousand times that we should try to formulate abstract rules and treat Art as an impersonal objective thing than that we should recognise no other rules than our personal tastes and distastes, and fall under the delusion that Art is nothing more and nothing less than the sum total of our personal caprices. Unfortunately, the fashion of the present day exaggerates the subjective side of all criticism. "In literature," says Mr. Henry James,\* "criticism is the critic, just as art is the artist; it being assuredly the artist who invented art and the critic who invented criticism, and not the other way round." A dangerous doctrine, assuredly, whatever be the authority under which it is put forward, and however, in one aspect of the case, it may be true. For most people, reading the passage with that incurious haste which we mostly apportion to occasional essays, will suppose Mr. James to be resolving all deliberative judgment into innate and instinctive powers of perception. Criticism is not *any* critic, but the *ideal* critic, which is a very different matter. We see this by the parallel instance which the author gives us. It would be absurd to say that Art is any individual artist who may chance to practise it, for it existed before him, and will continue long after his contributions have been relegated to their appropriate limbo. And criticism, too, is independent of the chance vagaries of the individual, and has its own laws, which each age modifies and reforms. In this work of modification and reformation the critic plays his part, and plays it all the better according to the greater qualifications he may possess for his task. But when criticism becomes, "I like this," or "I don't like this," out of all relation to the special equipment of the speaker or writer, we may as well wash our hands of the business, or read it merely as a sort of barometer of the critic's state of health, or the strength or weakness of his digestion. And if this is what so-called "Impressionism" has brought us to, it ought to be called individual freakishness and not criticism.

When all this weakness of subjective fancy, however, has been stigmatised and provided against, it remains of course to be allowed that the nature and endowments of the critic are an immensely important matter. Think what his supreme task is—he has to tell us what we ought to admire. That, I venture to think, is his essential function, and not the slighter and far less important one of being "critical," in the ordinary sense of the word. It is given to many of us to pick holes and find faults—a delightfully easy business, on which an endless amount of smart writing may be expended with the smallest

\* "Essays in London," p. 277.

expenditure of trouble. But *non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*, it is not everybody who is simple enough or serious enough or great enough to be able to admire, still less to be able to transmit his enthusiasm to others. Or, to put the matter in another way, the first characteristic of the critic is a sympathetic imagination, the imagination to look at the work before him from the point of view of the author, and the sympathy to comprehend and estimate aright the methods by which the author seeks to attain his aim. He must be immensely inquisitive, too, capable of finding interest in very different kinds of work, full of a patient exploring tendency, without which his sympathy will find itself quickly exhausted. He must be able to subordinate himself to possibly alien material without wholly losing his own individuality; he must not be too proud to give himself up for the time to other men's guidance—receptive, in other words, plastic, sensitive, within certain limits, emotional. As I have already ventured to demur to one of Mr. Henry James' pronouncements, as leaning too much in the direction of our personal weakness, it is all the greater pleasure to quote from the same essay his description of what the critic should be :

“There is something sacrificial in his function, inasmuch as he offers himself as a general touchstone. To lend himself, to project himself and steep himself, to feel and feel until he understands, and to understand so well that he can say, to have perception at the pitch of passion, and expression as embracing as the air, to be infinitely curious and incorrigibly patient, and yet plastic and inflammable and determinable, stooping to conquer and serving to direct—these are fine chances for an active mind, chances to add the idea of independent beauty to the conception of success.”\*

An inspiring picture, assuredly, and quite sufficient of itself to prove that when we say “criticism is the critic,” we mean the ideal critic, and not any chance possessor of the name.

And now, having duly laid our sacrifice on the altar of subjectivity, let us attempt to redress the balance by insisting on the equal necessity of some objective elements. What must the ideal critic possess besides this restless, appreciative organism of sentient nerves and vibrating tentacles? Well, he must clearly try to apprehend some of the conditions which make Drama a vital art. We take for granted, of course, those original instincts of imitation, of mimetic representation out of which the Drama itself sprang. That, historically, it arose out of songs and was an adjunct to, or rather an essential part of, religious worship is less important than the psychological impulses, on the one hand, of liking to imitate, and on the other hand, of liking to see imitated. Man feels a pleasure in seeing himself on the stage, of watching the exhibition of those forces of which he is conscious in his own person, and of that restless energy which brings him sometimes in relationship with, sometimes in antagonism to, his fellows.

\* “Essays in London,” p. 276 at foll.



He likes to see his faults, his errors, his failings, his vices portrayed at one time, just as at another he prefers the representation of his higher moods, his powers of self-sacrifice, his heroism, his innate nobility. To ask why is a futile question. We may say with Aristotle that all this objective presentment serves as a *κάθαρσις*, a kind of purification, a mystical idea as though a man feels himself washed clean of his own pity and terror when he sees them exhibited by fellow-men on the stage. Or we may put the matter in much plainer language, and say that the stage affords us a relief from the commonplace of daily life, because in looking at theatrical representations the excitement of individual feeling passes into a calmer contemplation of mortal destinies. In either case, perhaps, we are merely satisfying ourselves with phrases, paying ourselves with words, as the French say. But whatever may be the meaning of the original impulse, there are two consequences involved which are not without importance. If men like to see themselves as in a picture, the picture must have a certain typical significance. It must not be a mere photograph of Tom, Dick and Harry, but Tom, Dick and Harry carried to a higher degree, sublimated and refined and presented as it were in essence and concentration. If I always saw myself on the stage, it would assuredly not be a relief from the ordinary pressure of commonplace, *was uns alle bündigt, das Gemeine*, but only an intensification of the boredom with which I bear the burden of my personality. It must be me and yet not me, a concentrated *moi-même* gained by skilful adaptation and selection. The case stands just as it does for the painter. He makes no photograph of the scene before him; he has a selective skill, a power of grouping, a happy felicity of regarding things from the right angle, which enables him, as we say, to improve on Nature. And the dramatist, too, must have this selective felicity; his characters are to be intensely human and yet in a certain sense typical, presenting in radiant and explicit form all sorts of underlying and unconscious tendencies which move humanity. All Art is a relief from the commonplace, and for this reason its creations move on a higher plane than that of the casual spectator.

There is another consequence, too, of wider scope. If man is attracted by his mimic presentment, it must be on the condition of recognising in what he sees the men and women whom he understands. In other words, Drama must always be viewed in relation to national life and character. I do not of course mean that because the spectator wears a frock-coat, the *dramatis personæ* must be in frock-coats also. But the characters, however they may be clothed, and to whatever age or clime they may belong, must always be attuned to the prevailing national key. Their motives must be motives which can be sympathised with by the age which is asked to contemplate them; their feelings must be contemporary feelings;

their dispositions must have that complexity or simplicity which is the prevailing characteristic of the spectators. Otherwise Drama will always be an exotic, an alien plant in uncongenial surroundings, never a national Drama. We can see this best at the times when national life was closely concentrated and ran in narrow and strenuous channels. The Greek Drama was attuned to the characteristic notes of Hellenic civilisation—in its attitude towards the heroic past, in its moral ideas, in its belief in the reign of Fate, of Nemesis, of ethical law, in its conception of a vigorous manhood, in the formal excellence of its sense of measure, proportion, beauty. So too, to take the Drama which must always form for Englishmen an inexhaustible source of illustration, the Elizabethan plays were attuned to and sprung out of the national life. There was the free, vigorous expansion of conquest and adventure, there was the belief in what man could do, the strength of will, the indomitable confidence that the Anglo-Saxon race was born to victory, to possession, to empire, the faith that the only destiny was character. All this is easy to see—as well as that other strange characteristic of active, self-reliant men, a certain dreaminess of romance, such as made Hamlet or Macbeth possible, and which was the heritage to the Elizabethans, partly of the Middle Ages, partly of the Germanic stock from which they had come. And so Shakespeare could make all his heroes appeal to Englishmen, not only in his historic plays, but in his tragedies, not only the proud, self-willed Coriolanus, but the dreamy, introspective Brutus; not only his Hotspurs and his Prince Harrys, but also his reckless, passionate, juvenile Romeos, and his capricious, violent, senile King Lear.

The difficulty comes in with a later age. For how are we to characterise the national life of the contemporary period? Less activity, less self-reliance, a wonderful increase of sympathy combined with a fading of old ideals, the diffusion of culture, here a frank return to paganism, there a hesitating recourse to superstition, the growth of cosmopolitanism, the immersion in practical, materialistic aims, the departure of the heavenly vision, the tyranny of wealth, the first notes of the growing democratic storm. Is there, we sometimes ask in despair, a national life to which our Drama can correspond? And the answer is clearly a negative one, if we are thinking of a national life such as the Greeks and the Elizabethans enjoyed. For that was based above all on a keen sense of citizenship, a feeling which in our age has become considerably weakened. Commerce and science have made us cosmopolitan, have given us a sympathy with all kinds of civilisation—even with the Chinese. The expansion of the British Empire has brought before us as a practical problem the urgent necessity to understand habits of mind, conditions of life very different from our own. We are of no particular country, like

early Christians—only we have not, like them, the advantage of seeking a country or a kingdom yet to come. The superficial increase of knowledge has brought all past periods within our ken; an antiquarian interest has sometimes made us feel an even greater attractiveness in ruder and simpler times than in our own more polished era. The best of our intellects are engaged in scientific pursuits rather than in the study of Art; and politics in the widest sense of the term—the petty politics of the parish, of the commune, of the county council, just as much as the wider occupations of St. Stephen's—are engrossing more and more the attention of the capable and the thoughtful. Intensity of interest has vanished and catholicity of interest remains, whereas Art seems to spring more out of strong, one-sided feeling than out of that calm temper of moderation which the modern humanism loves to cultivate. Art itself is not part and parcel of our lives, but something which we can take up when we are in the temper, being in this respect like religion, to which we devote exactly one day out of seven. Moreover, music, which is the Art *par excellence* of modern times, stands at the opposite pole to dramatic art. It belongs to the vague, the universal, the infinite sea of feeling, not to those limited, precise, stormy waves of human character and individual passion among which, like the petrel, Drama is at home.

It becomes, therefore, very difficult for a conscientious critic to say what kind of plays in the modern world are national, in the proper sense of the term. Sometimes, of course, it is easy enough. Every one can see that so long as imitations of the French Drama were, practically, the only plays popular at our theatres, we had nothing which could be called a national Drama. Or, to take recent instances, every one sees that "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" is wholly English in its construction, its tone, its range of ideas, whereas "Denise," or, better still, "La Dame aux Camélias," is so essentially French in character that no "adaptation" could give it anything but a superficial English air. So, too, "The Bauble Shop" could only be produced—could only be understood, perhaps—on English soil, whereas "A Woman of No Importance," if only its paradoxes could be translated, would be speedily recognised as belonging to a very familiar type in France. It is clear that the critic must not press too far his interpretation of what a national Drama is. If we have taken the whole world for our province, the range of subjects is practically unlimited, and "Hypatia" has as good a right to be welcomed as "Becket." Only we can rightly insist that transplantations are at most a *pis-aller*, and that every play, which is to help the future of the English stage, must have, not necessarily the topic with which we may happen for the moment to be most concerned, but the English point of view, the indefinable but still recognisable English temper, the English pro-

cedure in attacking its problems, the English way in carrying out its conclusions. This is not narrowness, nor provincialism; it is merely the consciousness of national existence. Every kind of interest, meanwhile, can be taken in foreign manners and foreign questions and specimens of foreign Drama. But if these alone are to form the stock-in-trade of our theatrical representations, then we shall have sooner or later to confess with all contrition that we have no English Drama at all.

All this, be it remembered, is only illustrative comment of certain objective methods, which, apart from the instincts of his own subjective personality, must guide the critic in forming his theatrical judgments. Inasmuch as there are no absolute first principles in a subject which is so full of incalculable elements and intricate correlations, the critic has to proceed, like the sociologist, with a large use of the Comparative Method. He has to compare the Dramas of different nationalities; he has to estimate the forces which move different periods of civilisation; he has to adjust the subject to the author's point of view, and the author's point of view to the chief characteristics of the age in which he lives; he has to contrast crude juvenility and mature development; he has to let disease throw light upon health, and health upon disease. And then, when the Comparative Method has given him the statical conditions, the actual elements of the play in relation to its times and to other nations, he must use the historical method to give him the dynamical relations, the conditions of origin. To look at the Drama of the present day, without some knowledge of the history of the past, is to miss more than half of its nature and its value. In the widest sense the critic must understand how the modern Drama arose out of the chaotic feelings of the Middle Ages: how the miracle and mystery plays became developed into that marvellous outburst which culminated in Shakespeare; how the plays of the Restoration period became possible; how it came to pass that in quite modern times an adequate technique could survive without the possession of any ideas which were not puerile ones, and sometimes without any ideas at all. Not only will the critic better comprehend his own age in this fashion, but he will be prevented from asking silly and unprofitable questions. He will not, for instance, ask whether Sheridan is better than Congreve, or whether Tennyson's plays are better or worse than those of the Elizabethans, or, as they so constantly inquire in public schools and universities, whether modern Drama is better or worse than Greek Drama. Contrast will be valuable, no doubt, and yield important points; but excellence is a relative term, and can only be understood in reference to the period in which it is found, as history very wisely teaches. Does all this apparatus of scientific or pseudo-scientific methods for the use of the dramatic critic sound pedantic, academic,

absurd? Most assuredly, for I am dealing, after all, with only the commonplace equipment of all thoughtful minds, which use these and other methods without knowing that they are using them, as we most of us do in the cases of grammar and logic. But the personal note of modern criticism gets tedious after a time; "impressionist" reviews are a weariness to the flesh; and the constantly recurring phrases, "I like it" and "I don't like it," represent precisely the most petulant and the least critical temper in which we can approach a work of Art. And the real critic ought to be not the flippant fault-finder, or the fawning adulator, of the artist, but his veritable helper, his interpreter, his brother.

Meanwhile, what are we to say of the artist himself—the actor—and the large influence which he seems at the present day to exert on the healthiness, the vitality, and the future condition of the Drama? It is impossible to ignore the fact that the modern importance of the histrionic profession has a distinct and decided effect on dramatic criticism, and yet in dealing with a contemporary phenomenon like this, we are in more than common danger of being misled by prejudice, or blinded by sympathy. It is difficult to disengage oneself enough from social conditions to look at the matter, with sufficient coolness and steadiness. The actor has been accepted, not solely as an artist, but as both something more and something less than an artist—as a social and intellectual factor of the day. He is no longer "the poor player," the man who makes himself "a motley to the view." He has become an integral part of society, so that no function is complete without him, no public ceremony adequately fulfilled in which he does not bear his share. He shines as "a lion," so that men like to hear him talk on the current problems of the time and invite him to utter his opinions on heterogeneous subjects on public platforms. No longer is he at home merely before the footlights; he is "at home" in other and commoner senses of the term, not only in Bohemia, but Belgravia. And because he is thus a force to be recognised, an authority of unquestioned power on many subjects, political, philosophical, social, artistic, he makes himself felt also in dramatic criticism, the nature of which he modifies in many ways, conscious and unconscious. For the actor is no more the subject or topic of the critic's investigation—he is this only when he appears on the stage—he is also, outside his theatre, a component part of the body politic, an organic section of that national life to which it is given in the last resort to decide what kind of Drama is possible or practicable. The critic may say what he likes, but the public listens, often it must be admitted with complete justice, not to him but to the actor, as to a man who both knows and has power, a man who talks with authority, and not as the scribes.

Well, there are advantages in this state of things. It is only the best of the artists who can be called social and intellectual forces, and it is right that in virtue of their qualities and powers they should be allowed to have a chief voice in the direction of English Drama. Nine out of ten men of general culture and education can become critics; but how many men out of a hundred can become accomplished actors? It would be hard indeed if those who have unquestionably special knowledge and experience should not be more listened to than men who may or may not have experience and knowledge, but who sometimes only have wit and a facility of writing. I say nothing about the good it does to the histrionic profession itself to receive so much public and social attention, how it gives its members self-respect, a reverence for their art, and a sense of wide responsibility. This is not the point, however, with which I am concerned; it is the effect on dramatic art which is the sole thing at present to be considered. And here, too, it is clear how much benefit may be done by the social importance of the artist, who by his knowledge of society can feel the pulse of public taste and guide his worshippers into dignified and praiseworthy paths. The great actor—for it is only of him of whom it is safe to speak—just because what he says is fully reported in the press and is treasured in the remembrance of its countless readers, just because he shines in public life with a glory which has rarely surrounded his head in past stages of his history, has a unique opportunity of improving his generation, communicating genuinely intellectual impulses, and pointing to lofty artistic ideals. He stands next to the statesman, and has many of the statesman's chances.

But then, unfortunately, he has not had a statesman's education. It has not been his business to study history, or political economy, or the philosophy of civic life, without which no one can really understand the age in which he lives, or seek to do it lasting good. The history of Drama he may know well; he may have a vast amount of plays at his fingers'-ends, and his memory for quotations may be as inexhaustible as his experience in the stage tradition; but the relation of Drama to the life which it represents, to the age whose tendencies it expresses, to the natural character which it expounds—to say nothing of the place which Drama holds amongst the various departments of Art, and the psychological laws on which its existence is based—on matters like these he has had no special training. When, then, he is pushed forward into an authoritative position, and his dicta are treated as of national value, he must often feel himself at sea, if he retains any frankness and modesty. He must sometimes go through an experience like that of an eminently respectable country gentleman or county member, who is suddenly asked his opinion on Bimetallism and the Indian currency.

But that is not his only disadvantage in the character of Sir Oracle. In this country, at all events, he is engaged in commercial speculation, he has to make his dramatic enterprises pay. Now it suits the characteristic ideas of our countrymen on such subjects, that just as the capitalist must make his commerce pay, so, too, the actor should make his histrionics pay, on the general ground that private ventures left to individual initiative are on the whole better and more efficient than State-aided enterprises. Art, however, is not quite the same thing as commerce, and that which makes the latter prosperous will not always make the former noble. In the long run, and in the majority of instances, convention and tradition can more safely be relied upon in conducting a commercial business than hardihood in conception and fresh, untrammelled exercise of imagination and fancy— and yet the latter may be those which in some turning-point of its fate Art may need. If the “practical” man is he who, according to an old definition, is invariably wrong at a crisis, the “business-like” actor is no less likely to be one who, in a period of change, is unable to understand the signs of the times. It would be against human nature, if we did not find him sometimes balancing his chances of commercial success against his artistic instincts, and allowing the latter to kick the beam. From this point of view, perhaps, it is an uncommonly fortunate thing that he is not only a force on the stage, but a social ornament, for it may be that he will then more acutely feel his responsibility, and allow larger room to his generous impulses.

There is still a third point, however, which affects the actor's influence on the Drama. It is the actor's own temperament. Just in proportion as he is an artist he will not be a critic. When Lord Beaconsfield said that critics were those who had failed in literature he enunciated a great truth, although in somewhat perverted form. The truth of the aphorism is not that critics have failed in literature, but that the critical temper is exactly the antithesis of the artistic. For the artist must be sensitive, emotional, imaginative, originaive, while the critic's nature is to be reflective, deliberative, giving play to his powers of judgment and ratiocination on subjects and ideas which he has not and could not have invented for himself, but which, nevertheless, he can both expound and illustrate. One of the most interesting experiences is to listen to an artist—especially if he is a real genius—expounding his ideas. But one of the most curious and not always the most pleasant experiences, is to hear the same man talking about his own artistic work. In the one case we find lucidity, suggestiveness, brilliancy, all those mysterious flashes which genius can throw alike on the known and the unknown, whereby the relations and conditions of our commonplace world seem to acquire a new meaning, a final consecration of grace and poetry. But all

this vanishes when he has to deal, not with the realm of imaginative truth, but with its concrete and actual exemplification. The artist knows very well, no man better, what he wants to do, but he is a poor judge of what he has done, having apparently no means of estimating his own methods of execution. Even the painter will describe his picture in terms which are almost ludicrous to the critic, because he is speaking of the animating idea, and not of the way in which he has embodied it. The actor's case is worse, for he cannot see himself act. He can judge, it is true, by its effect on other people, but then he knows nothing of the means by which it was gained, and often mistakes their relative value and effectiveness. Nor is he a good judge of other men's work, because, like all men of strongly emotional temperament, his feelings are intense in proportion to their narrowness, and it is difficult for him to conceive of a part being played otherwise than as it appeals to him. Fortunately for the sake of general dramatic criticism the actor is not always a genius, not always of the purely artistic temperament, but in proportion as he approaches the highest levels of art and genius, his criticism becomes defective and valueless. For if an actor was consistently and conscientiously a critic whether of himself or any of his brethren, it is doubtful whether he would not thereby diminish his own imaginative aims and aspirations; it is doubtful whether he would not become too self-conscious to act at all.

Such are some of the more obvious disadvantages involved in the social honours and privileges which are now laid at the actor's feet. I do not know whether they counterbalance the corresponding advantages, or whether they form a merely insignificant sum in relation to that superior dignity and consideration which has so marvellously raised the whole histrionic level. But I think I notice one effect on contemporary dramatic criticism. The importance of the actor has made the notices which appear in such profusion in the daily and weekly press deal in a somewhat disproportionate manner with the acting as compared with the construction of the play. Where old stage pieces are performed, this is of course inevitable. But there is no reason why it should be so with new plays. The critic assigns the same superior attention to the actor which he indubitably receives at the hands of society at large. And yet from the point of view of a dramatic art, which has its before and after, and which develops with a developing nationality, it is the actor who is a transitory phenomenon; "the play—the play's the thing."

W. L. COURTNEY.



## THE GEOGRAPHICAL EVOLUTION OF THE NORTH SEA.

**H**OW many of those who cross the North Sea from Harwich to Rotterdam, or who make the still longer voyage from Hull to Norway, ask themselves how long this sea has existed—that is to say, when did the area now covered by its waters first come to be relatively lower than the countries that surround it?

In a previous article I gave some account of the many geographical phases through which the area of the English Channel had passed before it acquired its present contours, and before it sank to its present level. The history of the physical changes involved some slight reference to the contemporary conditions in the southern part of the North Sea area, but this area has also a history of its own which is no less interesting and no less varied than that of the English Channel.

Most people are aware that the North Sea is a very shallow one, and many may know that an uplift of fifty fathoms would raise all the southern part of it into dry land, and would unite the British Isles to Holland and Denmark. The idea of this part of the area having once been a great plain traversed by a continuation of the river Rhine is familiar to geologists, but, so far as I am aware, no one has yet endeavoured to give a connected account of the geographical history of the North Sea with the view of showing how it has acquired its present shape and aspect. It is this task that I have now set myself to attempt.

We need not concern ourselves with the earlier periods of geological history, but may begin with a brief glance at the aspect presented by north-western Europe in the early part of Cretaceous time. At this epoch there was a kind of northern Mediterranean Sea lying between two broad tracts of land.

The southernmost land area stretched from Saxony and Thuringia through the province of the Rhine and Belgium into the east of England, its southern coast running through Surrey and Kent and the north-west of France, and its northern coast, passing through Norfolk and the south of Holland. The English portion of this land is now deeply buried beneath the Chalk and Gault, but it has been reached by many of the deep borings which have been made from time to time in the eastern counties. The samples brought up by the boring-tools prove it to consist of Palæozoic rocks like those of Devon and Wales, and it is because coal-measures are likely to be associated with such rocks that an East Anglian coal-field is a scientific possibility.

In the time when our Wealden and Vectian deposits were being formed, this land stood well above the sea-level of the period, and its northern coast was washed by the waves of a sea which spread through Northern Germany and Holland across the centre of the North Sea into Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire. Beyond this there was again land; Scotland was in all probability united to Scandinavia as well as to Ireland, for no deposits of Lower Cretaceous age occur in any of these countries; this land also included the north-west of England, Wales, and the north-west of France.

In later Cretaceous time a large part of this region sank beneath the deep sea or ocean in which the Chalk was accumulated, an ocean which covered not only the whole of England and the North Sea area, but stretched eastward across Holland and Denmark, southward over Belgium and France, and north-westward into the North Atlantic.

This great submergence blotted out, as it were, nearly all the previously formed physical features of Western Europe, and when a succeeding earth-wave once more lifted the region above the level of the sea, a new set of geographical features began to be formed, and out of these, by a succession of changes, have been elaborated the seas and lands, the mountains and plains, among which we live and move.

It is therefore from this post-Cretaceous or early Eocene upheaval that the history of our eastern sea may be said to commence. The oldest Eocene deposits are found in Belgium and in the extreme east of England; they were evidently deposited in a shallow sea which occupied the southern part of the North Sea area, and its borders, reaching as far west as Leatherhead in Surrey. But the central and northern parts of the North Sea were probably then dry land, such land extending across from Norway to Scotland and then southward through England and France. The southern part of this land was low and swampy, but the northern part was a broad tract of high plateaus and mountain ranges where volcanic action was rife, and where the tributaries of many large rivers had their sources.

During the formation of the London Clay the Anglo-Belgic sea.

above mentioned extended itself much further northward, covering the eastern half of Norfolk, for 310 feet of London Clay were found in a boring at Yarmouth, and probably reaching into that part of the modern North Sea which lies outside Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

The successive Eocene deposits which are found in Belgium, England, and the north of France, tell us of modifications in the extent and contour of this Anglo-Belgic sea, and of its occasional connection with a southern sea which opened westward by narrow

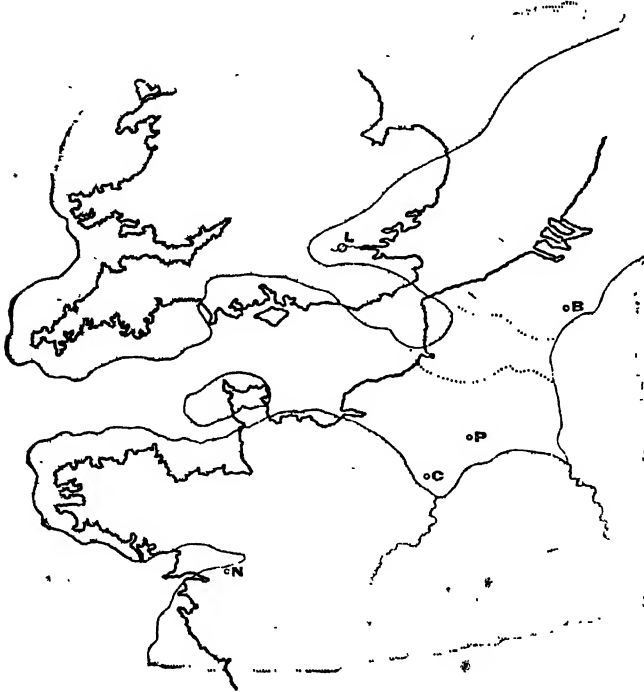


FIG. 1.

straits or channels into the Atlantic. One phase of these varying geographical conditions is shown in the Map, Fig. 1, where the shaded parts represent land and the unshaded parts indicate the probable outlines of the seas in the middle of the Eocene period.

In the succeeding Oligocene epoch the sea-space was contracted by the gradual formation of an isthmus which connected the Wealden area with that of the Ardennes on the borders of France and Belgium. By this local upheaval the shores of the eastern sea were made to recede towards Holland, while the southern sea remained in the form of a long gulf, with a deep estuary opening into it across Dorset and Hants.

The next change was a gradual upheaval of the whole area, or at any rate of the southern portion of it, for there is a complete break

between the Oligocene and Miocene strata of Belgium, and no deposits of Miocene age have been found in England or Northern France except near the mouth of the Loire and at one locality in the Cotentin. It is evident that the greater part of Northern Europe was at this time a land surface, and that the seas within its limits were small and shallow. Still, so far as we know the relative levels of the several geographical areas round the North Sea were very nearly the same as they were during the preceding Oligocene period, though in central and southern Europe great physical changes were taking place at this time. A small inlet of the Miocene sea lay over Belgium, but all the rest of the North Sea area formed part of a northern continent which included Germany, the Baltic, Scandinavia and the British Isles. The deep trough which curves round the southern end of Norway into the Skager Rack is evidently the submerged end of the valley of a great river draining the Baltic plain, and this valley was probably deepened during Miocene times in consequence of the general upheaval of the region.

At the beginning of the epoch known as the Pliocene, that part of the region which we may call the Anglo-Belgic area was again depressed beneath the sea, and marine deposits of early Pliocene or Diestian age occur not only at low levels in Suffolk and Belgium, but at high levels on the top of the Chalk Downs in Kent and in France. In both cases they contain fossil shells which seem to indicate a depth of about forty fathoms of water; hence it is clear that the summits of the North Downs were then at about the same level below the sea as the low ground round Aldborough in Suffolk, and in all probability the Wealden area was not as now a wide depression bounded by the heights of the North and South Downs, but a nearly level surface. There is, however, good reason to believe that this submarine plain rose toward the south and emerged into dry land, for there is no trace of any marine Pliocene deposit on the South Downs or anywhere in France between Calais and the Cotentin, whence we may infer that the Diestian sea did not extend very far to the south of the range of the North Downs.

There is another significant fact connected with these early Pliocene deposits: the large majority of the fossil shells they contain are Mediterranean species; no less than 205 out of the 250 species that still exist have a southern range, and 51 of them are now only found in the Mediterranean, while of the 142 extinct species almost all are known to occur in the Miocene or Pliocene strata of Southern Europe. Hence we may infer that the early Pliocene or Diestian sea opened southward and did not extend very far northward; probably there was a broad tract of land, as in Eocene times, stretching from North Britain to Denmark and Scandinavia, by which the cold waters of the Arctic Ocean were completely shut off from the Anglo-Belgian sea. This sea, in fact, seems to have been only a large gulf terminating

westward in Surrey, and probably opening southward down the valley of the Rhine. (See Fig. 2).



FIG. 2.

We arrive, therefore, at the important conclusion that the North Sea—that is to say, a sea lying east of Britain and opening northward—had no existence until after the formation of our Coralline Crag. The great change which submerged the northern land-barrier and permanently lowered the temperature of eastern England by letting in the waters of the Arctic Ocean took place during the formation of the newer “Craggs” which overlies the Coralline Crag in Suffolk, and extend northward through Norfolk.

In proof of this statement, two salient facts may be mentioned: (1) the incoming and gradual increase in the number of northern species among the mollusca of the newer Craggs; (2) the occurrence of Crag shells in the glacial sands of Aberdeen, showing that marine Pliocene deposits once existed at no great distance from the Scottish coast and were destroyed by the ice of the Glacial Period.

Speaking of the physical changes which occurred at the beginning of the later Pliocene time, Mr. Clement Reid writes: “The climatic conditions had also changed, and in place of a warm sea, the mollusca point to cold currents bringing Arctic species unknown in the older deposits. These boreal forms become more and more abundant as we examine higher beds, till at last they give the dominant character to the fauna.”\*

\* “The Pliocene Deposits of Britain”: *Man. Geol. Survey*, p. 71.

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There can be little doubt that these Arctic species were introduced by the gradual submergence of the land which had for such a long time united North Britain to Northern Europe, and that by this subsidence what may be termed the great basin of the North Sea was formed.

The first breach was probably effected by way of the deep submerged valley off the southern coasts of Norway, and from this southward into the eastern sea, which even in Diestian time had reached farther north than Holland. The greatest amount of subsidence seems to have been in the north of Holland, for a deep boring at Utrecht passed through about 800 feet of alluvial and later Pliocene deposits before entering the Diestian sands, and a boring at Diemerburg, near Amsterdam, was carried to a depth of 1096 feet without reaching the base of the later Pliocene strata, the whole of this depth was occupied by shallow water deposits, showing that the water was shallowed by deposition as fast as or faster than it was deepened by subsidence.

As submergence proceeded the western shore of the newly formed North Sea was brought nearer and nearer to North Britain, but, except in Norfolk and Suffolk this Pliocene North Sea does not seem to have reached so far west as to have come within the present limits of the British Isles. (See Fig 3)



FIG 3

While this submergence was in progress in the northern part of the region, the southern border of the earlier Diestian (or Coralline Crag) sea was being raised, the arch of the Wealden area was being made more pronounced, and the escarpments of the North and South Downs were being gradually carved out and cut back toward their present positions. Even in Suffolk the water was less deep during the formation of the Red Crag than during that of the Coralline Crag, so that the crust-movement seems to have been a tilting one, raising up the southern border of the North Sea region and depressing the northern part.

Toward the close of the Pliocene period the whole area lying between East Anglia and the Netherlands appears to have become dry land, partly in consequence of the elevatory movement above mentioned, partly on account of the silting up of the sea by the great quantity of material brought down by the Rhine. The fauna and flora of the Cromer Forest-bed, according to Mr. C. Reid, suggest the existence of a "wide alluvial plain with lakes and sluggish streams, bounded on the west by slightly higher sandy country covered with fir-forests and distant from any hills." The pebbles in the Forest-bed gravels tell us that this plain was traversed by a river coming from the south-east, which could be no other than a continuation of the Rhine. At this time, then, the estuary of the Rhine lay off the coast of Norfolk, and the Thames was one of its tributaries.

We now come to that epoch which is known as the Glacial Period, and about the physical conditions of which there is still great difference of opinion among geologists. All are agreed that ice was the dominant feature and the most active agent of the age; but whether it was land-ice or sea-ice which played the most prominent part in the formation of the Glacial deposits is a matter of dispute. There are, however, two inferences deducible from the observed facts which are very generally accepted: these are (1) that the beginning of the period was a time of high elevation, when the whole of the British region stood several hundred feet higher out of the sea than it does now, in which case the greater part of the North Sea area would be dry land; (2) that subsidence ensued and carried the north-west of Britain more than 1500 feet below its present level, but did not affect southern England to a greater extent than 100 feet. This submergence allowed ice from Scandinavia to cross the North Sea and to drop its burden of Scandinavian rock in the shallow sea that lay over our eastern counties.

From this ice-laden sea the submerged areas gradually rose again, and though glaciers once more grew in the mountain valleys, the lowlands were free of ice, and the climate became gradually milder, permitting the country to be occupied by the primitive race of men and the many wild animals which then inhabited Europe. The

migration of these creatures into England implies that the country was united to the Continent, and their occurrence in the south of Ireland implies the union of Ireland to England. To accomplish the latter union an elevation of fifty fathoms (300 feet) would be necessary, and as we have no reason to suppose that western England subsequently sank more than the eastern counties, we must assume that after the Glacial Period the whole region came eventually to stand 300 feet higher than it does at the present time.

We may therefore conclude that when the Ice Age was passing away the whole bed of the North Sea was dry land, a broad rolling plain, over which travelled troops of elephants, rhinoceroses, wild cattle, deer, and horses, followed and preyed upon by Palæolithic man, as well as by lions, bears, leopards, hyænas, and wolves. Through this great plain ran the Rhine, of which all the rivers of eastern England became the tributaries, and along these rivers hippopotamuses, beavers, otters, and other creatures migrated into England.

The Dogger-Bank is a relic of this old land-surface which has never been buried by modern deposits. From this bank many hundred specimens of bones, teeth, and antlers have been dredged up, belonging to the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, horse, bison, urus, reindeer, Irish elk, stag, hyæna, bear, wolf, and beaver. These remains have doubtless been derived from the gravels deposited by the Rhine during its early wanderings over the North Sea plain, and the bank is probably a plateau left by the subsequent deepening of the river-channel during elevation.

We now reach the final phase of this long history—the time of the last subsidence which once more submerged the North Sea floor and filled the valley of the English Channel with water. The sea must gradually have advanced up the course of the Rhine and over the lower parts of the North Sea plain, isolating the Dogger-Bank, which must for a time have existed as an island. Slowly as depression continued the sea crept up the valleys of the English rivers, while its waves attacked the intervening coast-lines and cut them back toward their present positions.

It is this submergence that has led to the silting up of the English river-valleys, and to the formation of the modern delta of the Rhine. The rivers which flow into the North Sea are slow and sluggish, winding their way through broad alluvial levels; but the real valleys of these rivers are very much deeper than they appear to be. Thus the depth of the alluvium in the Thames valley at Tilbury is fifty-seven feet below high-water mark, and at Sheerness there is seventy-seven feet of alluvium; in the valley of the Yar below Norwich there is seventy feet, and at Yarmouth there is probably about 100 feet. These buried valley-floors are inland portions of the valleys



which opened into that of the Rhine, and they have been filled up by alluvium because subsidence has gradually brought them down below the level of the sea.

It was by this submergence also, as I believe, that England was severed from the Continent; there is no proof that a continuous sea separated England and France at any earlier Pleistocene epoch. A gap or bay certainly existed on the site of the present Straits of Dover, but there is no evidence that the raised beach of this bay was continuous with those near the mouth of the Somme, and there is much reason to think that when these were formed a continuous land-connection stretched across the head of the Channel from the Weald to the Boulonnais. When the sea once more reached this isthmus, after the intervening episode of upheaval, it entered the valleys which breached the barrier of the South Downs, and, aided by the continued sinking of the land, the waves of the Channel gulf soon effected a union with those of the North Sea.

From the subsidence which led to the isolation of Britain there has been no recovery; indeed, there are some indications both in England and Belgium that a slow subsidence is still going on, and there is no doubt that the area of the North Sea is being enlarged by the constant erosion of the eastern coast of England.

Such is a brief history of the North Sea, which may perhaps convey to my readers some idea of the immense length of time which passed and of the many changes which took place before the establishment of the existing geography of Europe.

A. J. JUKES-BROWNE.

## THE CONFERENCE OF COLONIAL MEMBERS.

NOT the least interesting and important feature of the last general election was the unprecedented fact that no less than fifteen returned colonists were sent to the House of Commons by British and Irish constituencies. Previous Parliaments, it is true, were not without a certain colonial element in their constitution, but never has Greater Britain had so large and influential a representation at Westminster as she enjoys at the present time. This representation, from the necessities of the case, must obviously be of an entirely unofficial and irresponsible character. It is composed of gentlemen who hold no mandate or commission from the colonies with which they were respectively associated in bygone years, who by the goodwill and pleasure of British and Irish constituencies occupy seats in the Imperial Parliament, and who, while primarily reflecting the wishes and views of their immediate constituents, conceive that they may also legitimately and beneficially utilise their parliamentary position in the governing centre of the Empire for the promotion and discussion of those great questions of imperial policy and practice that, from personal knowledge and practical experience in the colonies, they know to be intimately bound up with the well-being and consolidation of our imperial unity. No doubt it would be far better and much more satisfactory if the colonies were in a position to directly and constitutionally return their own members to the Imperial Parliament. Such representatives would be able to speak with a force and an authority that no returned colonists sitting for home constituencies, however brilliant, influential, and well-informed, could hope to command. But who is sanguine enough to say that we are within measurable distance of the direct representation of the colonies at Westminster? The man who can make good that proposition has solved the problem of

Imperial Federation—a problem that has baffled, and continues to baffle, not a few of the ablest and the keenest of our political intelligences. Nearly half a century has passed since a Sydney barrister, who was destined to dominate the House of Commons and to eclipse both Gladstone and Disraeli for a season, advocated in brilliant, eloquent, and convincing speeches from his place in the first Australian Legislature the direct representation of the colonies in the mother of Parliaments. But are we appreciably nearer to this most devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation than we were in 1846, when Robert Lowe (the late Lord Sherbrooke) contended in Sydney that

“a voice should be given to the colonies in imperial matters, a share in the government of which they were made to feel the effect? For if the colonies were to share in the results of imperial policy, it was fit and proper that they should have a voice in the discussion of that policy. If it was intended to carry out the principle that the colonies were integral parts of the British Empire, they had a right to be represented in the British Parliament. They would then be heard, and their interests would be cared for. If the representative of Middlesex claimed a right to control the destinies of New South Wales, the representative of New South Wales should have a corresponding influence on the destinies of Middlesex.”

Theoretically, this reasoning of Robert Lowe's is still sound and indisputable, but the practical difficulties in the way of translating theory into action also continue to be formidable and discouraging. No workable scheme by which the colonies can secure direct, adequate, and satisfactory representation at Westminster has yet been devised, nor can we entertain any well-grounded hope of such a desirable consummation until such time as the Australasian and South African colonies are federated on the Canadian model. With the Greater Britain beyond the seas organised and federated into three homogeneous, powerful, and well-defined groups, there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of allotting to each group its due and proportionate share of representation in a genuine Imperial Parliament assembled on the historic soil of the motherland, the place where, in Lord Rosebery's striking and suggestive phrase, “the title-deeds of the race are deposited.”

It follows from these considerations that the familiar expression, “Imperial Parliament,” must remain a misnomer for some time to come, that we cannot reasonably anticipate the early assembling of a Parliament at Westminster which will be directly and constitutionally representative of the Empire as a whole, and that, if colonial opinion is to appreciably affect and beneficially influence the current of imperial legislation, it can only be done by colonists seeking the suffrages of British and Irish electorates and thus obtaining admission to the House of Commons. That being so, no apology is necessary for the recent banding together into one non-party organisation of the fifteen residential colonists who have secured seats in the Imperial

Parliament, and the twelve additional members who, although they may not have qualified by residence, have familiarised themselves with one or more of the colonies, have important interests at stake in Greater Britain, and are patriotically desirous to draw the colonies closer to the mother-country, and to cement and consolidate our imperial unity. In this manner an organised body of colonial opinion at Westminster has been created and launched on the political waters. Our roll of membership—twenty-seven at the time of writing—will, I have no doubt, receive fresh accessions in the early future. Indeed, there is every probability of our being immediately joined by a valuable contingent of peers who have served as representatives of her Majesty in various parts of the Empire, and whose specialised knowledge and rich stores of colonial experience, acquired in that high and distinguished capacity, will render their co-operation exceedingly useful and suggestive. It will thus be seen that we bid fair to develop into an unofficial joint colonial committee of both Houses. The newspapers have, in rough-and-ready fashion, christened us "The Colonial Party," and will probably continue to do so as the most convenient and colloquial designation. But it is a title that we distinctly deprecate. We do not pretend to be a "party" in the generally recognised sense of the word. Our body is composed of men of all parties, some of them as wide asunder as the poles on the political controversies of the British Isles, but all of one mind on the great questions of imperial policy, and all absolutely agreed in the belief and the conviction that the interests of Greater Britain must receive their due share of attention and discussion in the Imperial Parliament. The name we have chosen for ourselves—"The Colonial Conference"—very faithfully typifies and reflects our policy and constitution. We, as colonists and colonial sympathisers, shall meet from time to time and confer as to the imperial matters and colonial questions that demand discussion and consideration at the hands of the House of Commons. No colony or colonies will be compromised by any words, decisions, or actions of ours. We shall claim no representative capacity in this connection. We shall not pretend or aspire to be more than we really are—colonists who have been honoured with seats in the Imperial Parliament, and who in that most influential sphere of usefulness desire to serve our brother-colonists to the best of our knowledge and ability.

In essaying a forecast of the lines on which we are likely to work, and the activities that in all probability will engage our attention, I desire to be distinctly understood as speaking for myself alone and not in my official secretarial capacity. It is, in point of fact, too early yet to write on the subject in other than general and guarded terms, as the two meetings we have held up to the present were necessarily of a preliminary character. But in my judgment the very

existence of our organisation, apart altogether from the extent or importance of its possible future achievements, is calculated to produce the most lasting, beneficial, and far-reaching results as the one visible symbol and vocal expression of imperial unity in the metropolis of our vast and populous Empire. That I hold to be the great cardinal factor of the situation, and the moral justification of our existence as an organised body. I maintain that the presence at Westminster of a strong and vigilant combination of colonial members will operate as a salutary check on Ministerial apathy and ignorance, and will tend to avert imperial disasters and Colonial Office blunders, such as have not been unfamiliar in our recent history. Had such a body been in existence ten years ago, a colossal blunder on the part of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the late Lord Derby, and a consequent imperial humiliation of the most aggravating description, would assuredly have been averted. In 1883 the large and important island of New Guinea, close to the northern coast of Australia, was annexed and proclaimed as British territory by Sir Thomas McIlwraith, then, as now, Premier of Queensland, the colony most immediately concerned in the prevention of the acquisition of any considerable portion of New Guinea by a foreign Power. This proceeding on the part of a colonial Prime Minister was undoubtedly novel, and might have resulted in some little embarrassment to the home authorities, but that Sir Thomas, in taking this unprecedented course, acted with knowledge and foresight and in the best interests of the Empire, subsequent events abundantly proved. What happened? Lord Derby not only definitely and obstinately declined to endorse the act of annexation, but he distinctly refused to do in the orthodox legal way what Sir Thomas McIlwraith had done in a summary and irregular fashion. The result was that Germany suddenly stepped in, seized and annexed the best half of New Guinea, and established a possible base of military operations in threatening proximity to the northern coasts of Australia. Then, when the mischief was done, after the steed had been stolen, Lord Derby humbly accepted what the Germans had been good enough to leave, and called it British New Guinea. This wretched and humiliating *fiasco* naturally produced the greatest anger and indignation amongst Australian colonists, who saw their highest interests sacrificed and a possible enemy planted at their doors by the blindness and incompetency of the imperial Minister in charge of colonial affairs. From this deplorable episode in the career of Lord Derby at the Colonial Office may be dated the rise and growth of Australian republicanism—a force that has permeated no small section of the native element of the population, and may have to be seriously reckoned with on a future day.

It is in bringing their combined knowledge, experience, and authority to bear on imperial Ministers and the Imperial Parliament,

with the object of preventing a repetition of such disastrous administrative blunders, and a recurrence of such dangerous friction between Downing Street and our fellow-subjects in Greater Britain, that the organised colonial members will find one of their most useful and congenial spheres of activity. At starting they have a case of the New Guinea type ready to their hands, that will demand the closest attention and the utmost vigilance they can bestow upon it. It is the case of the New Hebrides, a valuable and important group of islands in Australasian waters, now under the dual control of ourselves and our Gallic neighbours, but the complete possession and sole government of which are notoriously coveted by France. It is to that end that all the resources of French diplomacy in the Pacific have for years been directed, and if these efforts are to be defeated, if Australia is not to be again angered and alienated by the establishment of another menacing foreign foothold near her coasts, there must be a combination of strong statesmanship in Downing Street, with earnest determination and unsleeping vigilance on the part of the colonial contingent of the Imperial Parliament. It is certain that nothing could engender greater indignation or evoke a more dangerous popular excitement from end to end of the Australian continent than the acquisition of the New Hebrides by the French as the result of Downing Street weakness or ineptitude. The Australians have already suffered severely from the proximity to their shores of the island of New Caledonia, which was originally intended to be British soil as its name sufficiently denotes, but which for the last forty years has been occupied by the French and utilised by them as a penal settlement. But their supervision and discipline are, whether designedly or otherwise, so lax and inefficient that prisoners are repeatedly escaping to Queensland or New South Wales, where they not unfrequently recommence a career of crime and have to be re-imprisoned at the expense of British colonists. This state of things obviously constitutes a serious grievance which the colonial members would be well within their right in agitating on every suitable occasion, until such time as France ceased to connive at the introduction of her escaped and time-expired convicts into the British communities at the Antipodes

The situation in Samoa is another item of foreign policy calling for the close attention and earnest deliberation of the colonial members in conference. Samoa is the most important outpost of the Australasian Dominion, and its permanent occupation by a foreign Power could not be regarded by the well-wishers of our colonial Empire with other than feelings of deep disfavour and abiding apprehension. It is at present in a wofully disorganised condition, with an impoverished treasury, an unstable government, and a demoralised native population. It is in the unhappy position of the broth on which a

number of conflicting cooks have exercised their culinary skill. The triple control by England, Germany and the United States has proved an undeniable failure, and the sole hope of salvation for the group lies in annexation by one of the treaty Powers. As the British settlers are unquestionably the most important and substantial element of the European population, the line of policy on the Samoan question that is most likely to enlist the sympathies of the majority of the colonial members will at once suggest itself.

Turning from the southern to the northern hemisphere, we have in Newfoundland what Sir Charles Dilke has declared to be "the most pressing colonial question before us," and the long-standing grievances of our brethren in the oldest of our colonies certainly call for the exercise of all the influence and pressure we can bring to bear upon the imperial authorities. It is now some time since a direct and important delegation from Newfoundland formulated these grievances at the bar of both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, and still they remain practically unredressed. The situation there, brought about by the conflict between French treaty obligations and colonial rights, is unquestionably of the most complicated and delicate description. It will need the most careful handling and the most tactful treatment, but it may be taken for granted that the colonial members will do their best to arrive at a mutually satisfactory solution. Other subjects that may fairly claim consideration at the hands of the Colonial Conference are: a uniform penny postage throughout the Queen's dominions; improved cable communication with the colonies; the organisation of imperial defence; the legalisation of Colonial Government Stock for trustee investments; a more scientific and less haphazard system of appointing colonial governors; the assimilation of patent, copyright, and company law throughout the Empire, &c. At their second meeting the colonial members decided, in consequence of the numerous letters asking them to take up and prosecute personal grievances and pecuniary claims in connection with the colonies, not to identify themselves, as a general rule, with individual incidents of that sort. They are essentially an imperial organisation, taking cognisance rather of communities than of individuals, having colonies rather than colonists in their mental vision. There will, of course, arise from time to time exceptional cases in which the personal grievance may assume large, and almost international proportions. Such a case is that of the *Costa Rica Packet*, now and for some time past the subject of negotiations between Lord Rosebery and the Government of the Hague. Captain Carpenter, the master of this Australian whaler, had an unlooked-for and unwelcome experience on which Mr. Clark Russell might build up one of his stirring stories of the sea. Captain Carpenter, under what is now acknowledged to have been a wholly unfounded suspicion of piracy,

was summarily seized by the Dutch authorities of the Moluccas, taken a thousand miles away from his ship, imprisoned for some weeks in an underground dungeon, liberated without apology, and left to find his way back to his vessel as best he could. In Lord Palmerston's time the Dutch Government would have had to go down on its marrow-bones and humbly ask pardon for having made such an extraordinary mistake as this, and for having treated a British subject with such reckless contumely, but in our less assertive and more accommodating days the peculiar incident has merely given rise to a polite interchange of diplomatic notes. Lord Rosebery has suggested that Captain Carpenter should receive a *solatium* in the shape of a cheque for £2,500, and the Dutch Government has agreed. The claims of the crew, and of the owners of the *Costa Rica Packet*, who lost the profits of a whaling cruise in consequence of the forcible abduction of the captain, and the detention of the ship, are still engaging the attention of the British and Dutch Governments. I presume it will not be disputed that exceptional cases of this character, personal no doubt in their origin, but widening into large issues involving our imperial honour and responsibilities, constitute legitimate subjects for discussion, and, if necessary, motives for action, by the organisation of colonial members at Westminster.

In some quarters it is most gratuitously suggested that the organised colonial members may possibly come into collision with the Colonial Agents-General. No doubt they may, if either body wilfully and with malice aforethought should trespass on the domain of the other, a provocative proceeding of which neither is likely to be guilty. Normally, they will move in entirely different orbits, and the risk of unpleasantness or misunderstanding is very slight indeed, once reciprocal relations and a friendly working agreement are established. The Agents-General are the official representatives of their respective colonies in London; they are the ambassadorial mouthpieces of their distant Governments, and their activities and their opportunities are necessarily circumscribed and qualified by the sense of personal responsibility and a natural reluctance lest they should compromise the colonies they represent. They have not that freedom of discussing controversial colonial questions, that independence of thought and action, and that all-important arena for the ventilation of colonial grievances, that the colonial members of the House of Commons can command. Within their limited official sphere they have done excellent service for the colonies and the Empire during the past twenty years, but they themselves will be the first to admit that their capacity for usefulness would have been vastly increased had they been the fortunate possessors of seats in the Imperial Parliament. The Hon. Westby Perceval, the able and energetic Agent-General for New Zealand, has succinctly summarised the situation in these words:



"I wish the new party every success, and instead of being jealous that champions other than the Agents-General should arise to do battle for the cause of Greater Britain, I welcome this fresh evidence of growing sympathy with the colonies. An Agent-General cannot turn himself into an agitator, and whenever his colony has a grievance, he can do little more than evoke the assistance of the Colonial Office, assistance which is always readily given, but is not always successful, especially when other Government Departments are concerned. The Agents-General must always look to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as their friend and counsel, but the new party may be of service in ventilating and advocating colonial interests both on the platform and in Parliament. Whether they will stand the test of action remains to be seen, and, *qua* colonial representatives, they are in the peculiar and possibly happy position of being self-elected and irresponsible to any constituents who can make their power felt, an anomaly in Parliamentary representation. This, however, is their misfortune, not their fault, for at present no machinery exists for giving the colonies a voice in the Imperial Parliament, either in matters immediately affecting their weal or woe, or which concern the Empire as a whole. If the new party has a strong case in attempting to provide a representation which must be regarded as unconstitutional, the case for providing some form of representation which will be constitutional is much stronger."

These are statesmanlike sentiments, and I have no doubt that they are shared by most, if not all, of the Agents-General. The ideal "colonial party" would be composed of the Agents-General, if they all could secure and retain seats in the House of Commons, but, needless to say, that is an ideal impossible of realisation under existing political conditions. To secure election they would have to ally themselves with one or other of the great political parties, and nothing is more certain than that the colonies would never sanction their paid ambassadors openly and actively identifying themselves with the party politics of the mother-country. I take it, then, that the Agents-General as a body will practically recognise what Mr. Perceval has frankly acknowledged—that the organised colonial members are in a position to render valuable services to the colonies in an arena that the official representatives of Greater Britain cannot enter, and in which they cannot make their influence appreciably felt. That being so, there ought to be no difficulty whatever in establishing cordial and friendly relations between the two bodies, for the one is obviously the complement of the other, and by both working in harmonious unison for the common objects of benefiting the colonies and strengthening the Empire, their combined efforts will assuredly be fruitful and lasting. The colonial members will always welcome advice and suggestions prompted by the ripened wisdom, the matured judgment, and the accumulated experience of the Agents-General, and whenever the colonial Governments should see fit to invoke, through their London representatives, the good offices of the colonial members at Westminster for the promotion of sound imperial legislation or the averting of threatened imperial disasters, a ready, sympathetic, and practical response may be confidently predicted.

“With the reception of this new progressive movement at the hands of the colonial press and public, judging from articles and communications to hand from all quarters of Greater Britain, there are abundant grounds for satisfaction and encouragement. Indeed, the general approbation and the widespread interest that the movement has evoked throughout the principal sections of our world-wide Empire, constitute not the least important and significant evidence that colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, even if indirect, irregular, and irresponsible as it must necessarily be under existing conditions, is emphatically a step in the right direction, an appreciable approach to the realisation of a national ideal. It is generally recognised as a substantial contribution to the gratifying condition of things foreshadowed not long ago at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute by the Prince of Wales, when his Royal Highness looked forward to “a not distant day when the Briton residing in New South Wales will stand on a footing of perfect equality with his brother Briton of Kent or Sussex.” It needs no argument to show that a regular organisation of colonial members at Westminster—men who have graduated and spent some of the best years of their lives in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa—will materially promote the growth and development of this most laudable and valuable sentiment of national unity throughout the British dominions. As a matter of fact, our organisation, young, immature, and imperfect though it be, has already done good work in this direction, has brought the imperial ideal into proper and practical prominence, and has elicited aspirations for a genuine Imperial Parliament from several unexpected quarters. For example, it is no small achievement at the outset of our corporate career when we find the most powerful, influential, and widely circulated daily organ of the Australian democracy, the *Melbourne Age*—which has never yet been charged with the exhibition of pronounced imperialistic leanings or sympathies—writing in this welcome and significant strain: “The addition to the numerous parties in the House of Commons of a colonial party is but another indication of the growing necessity for a truly Imperial Parliament, which will deal with the great affairs of a Pan-Britannic Confederation, leaving local legislation to the Statutory Parliaments of the various sections of the Empire.” Sound and statesmanlike teaching of that sort in a great colonial journal that enters a hundred thousand homes every day cannot but exercise a healthy, far-reaching, and informing influence on the growth of opinion in Greater Britain. Other leading Australian journals are equally sympathetic in their references to the new departure, and the two or three instances where an uncertain or discordant note has been sounded are obviously the result of erroneous conceptions of our aims and objects, based on meagre and not very lucid cable messages.

from London—hasty impressions and misty generalisations that will be promptly dispelled in the light of full and accurate information. Perhaps the most ardent and enthusiastic of the colonies in greeting the advent of our organisation is New Zealand, whose press and public men are practically unanimous in applauding the new departure and predicting important and beneficent results from its inception and future operations. One of the oldest and most influential journals of that colony—the *Canterbury Times*—does not hesitate to say that “the formation of a colonial party in the House of Commons will be an immense advantage to the outlying portions of the Empire. It means practically colonial representation in the House.” The *Canterbury Times* proceeds to argue, from the names of the gentlemen who have associated themselves with the movement, that “we may be sure that the representation will be of the most effective character.” The *New Zealand Herald* entertains the hope that the time will come “when the colonies will have a direct representation in the Imperial Parliament. In the meantime we are grateful to those gentlemen who have formed the colonial party.”

A variety of similar approving expressions of colonial opinion might be quoted, but I hasten to make a few brief comments on what the home press has had to say about us. The *Times* contemplates the likelihood of our making our “influence felt as a collective force in imperial politics”; but if we are to succeed in that respect, it thinks we should regard ourselves rather as “the expression in Parliament of British opinion upon colonial matters” than as an informal representation of colonial opinion. In that peculiar view I am certainly not disposed to concur; neither, I think, will it be endorsed by any of my colonial colleagues. It seems to me that whatever weight or authority our discussions, decisions, and suggestions may command will be derived wholly and entirely from our character and record as colonists, from the knowledge that most of us have been actual colonial residents and have studied the conditions and requirements of Greater Britain on the spot, and from the consequent conviction that we are entitled to be heard as practical experienced colonists who speak of what they know. Besides, the suggestion of the *Times* is open to the strong and serious objection that it would in all probability produce strained relations at the outset between the new organisation and the self-governing colonies. The latter are always pleased and proud to see the men they trained taking a prominent place in the Parliament of the Empire, and bringing their colonial knowledge and experience to bear on the shaping of imperial legislation; but a “British party,” having for its avowed object the special supervision of colonial affairs, is a very different proposal. The idea is too reminiscent, too strongly suggestive of the old discarded Downing Street methods of government, to be viewed with any

other feelings than those of repugnance and resentment. *The Standard* was one of the first of the London dailies to extend us a cordial welcome.

"Whatever may be the ultimate results," it wrote on the day after we came into existence as an organised body, "the formation of the new party is on the whole a pleasant and interesting event, and one which should be welcomed by all who wish well to the colonies. The colonial members of Parliament are already an appreciable body in point of numbers, and, as a whole, they are among the best elements in Parliament. Politics apart, everybody is glad to see in the House such a representative statesman of the Empire as Mr. Blake, who once helped to rule Canada, just as an earlier generation was pleased to listen to Mr. Robert Lowe, and as a later one may perhaps be delighted to welcome Mr. Cecil Rhodes. We like to have such men as these in our councils; we like to know that the talents which have been trained in nursing young nations into maturity may be turned to account in legislating for the Empire."

Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other important provincial centres have not been behind London in expressing through their representative organs feelings of pleasure and satisfaction at the appearance of an organised body of colonial opinion in the Imperial Parliament; and we thus enter on our mission of national unification and imperial progress encouraged, justified, and fortified by a large and sympathetic consensus of home and colonial approbation. Too long has the noble and inspiring ideal of an Imperial Federation of Great Britain and her daughter-lands been suffered to remain obscure and intangible in the regions of nebulous sentimentality. We may fairly claim to have done something to bring it down from the clouds and convert it into a definite and concrete issue of practical politics. It has long been the reproach of the supporters and adherents of Imperial Federation that they systematically indulge in vague generalities, that they are impracticable visionaries unable to devise any satisfactory scheme for the translation of their theories into action. There may have been good grounds for such reproaches in the past, but I maintain that they must now be considerably modified. Now that we have at Westminster an organised body of colonial members drawn in the main from the three great sections of Greater Britain, we have thereby provided a striking and impressive object lesson in Imperial Federation that is sure to arrest the attention and to enlist the sympathies of thoughtful Britons in every land. We have, in fine, contributed something to the tardy fulfilment of the eloquent and patriotic prophecy uttered by Robert Lowe, on the 21st of August 1811, from his place in the first Australian Legislature:

"I hope and believe that the time is not remote when Great Britain will give up the idea of treating her dependencies as children who are to be cast adrift by their parent as soon as they arrive at manhood, and substitute for it the far wiser and nobler policy of knitting herself and her colonies into one mighty confederacy, girdling the earth in its whole circumference, and confident against the world in arms and arts."

J. F. HOGAN.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES.

**I**T is the aim of this article to give British readers an outline of the problem of the family as it now confronts the people of the United States. An eminent English scholar recently wrote, that "one might almost say that the family is the fundamental and permanent problem of human society." The part of the family in the development of the social order, its present universality and power, and its direct interest in every social change, fully justify this claim for it. Its peculiar importance to the people of the United States, and through them to the civilised world, will appear from what shall be said in the course of my account.

This problem has arisen more immediately from what is now well known as the divorce question, and it will be best understood if we begin with some account of the latter. This particular subject of divorce has disturbed us at times as far back as the colonial period. Indeed, our problem is of English origin, like many other of our social questions. For it grew out of the legal system and social conditions of the Puritans which led early New England to give considerable liberty of divorce, and place few restrictions upon marriage itself. The colonies were allowed by the mother-country to form their own laws touching the domestic relations, and when the federal system was established, all domestic affairs were still left to the several States. If it was so much as named in the discussion that attended the formation of the Constitution of the United States, it certainly was not considered as of any great importance in this work. But as early as 1787 it attracted some attention in Connecticut, especially from a sermon of the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, who was alarmed at the number of divorces in that colony. The first President Dwight, of Yale College, spoke of the danger twenty-five or thirty

years later. In 1866 a vigorous paper in the *New Englander* led President Woolsey, of Yale, to prepare some essays, which appeared in his well-known book in 1869, and in a revised edition in 1882. But neither the English Divorce Bill of 1857, nor the national legislation of Germany on marriage and of Switzerland on marriage and divorce in 1875, received attention in the United States.

Nothing, however, of a practical character immediately followed any of these discussions. The great abuses of the loose laws in Connecticut led to the transfer in 1819 of jurisdiction over divorce from the Legislature to courts held in the eight counties of this little State, in the hope of greater care in administration. The notorious "omnibus" clause, so called because it carried through the courts almost all who chose to use it, was added to the seven causes for which divorce could be granted. But divorce then increased more rapidly than before. The courts had only brought the facilities for divorce near the people. Some of the new States, notably Indiana, and the city of Chicago, in Illinois, obtained great notoriety in the business. South Carolina never had any divorce law, except for a short period after the war, and New York has always restricted absolute divorce to adultery of either husband or wife. The other States and Territories had from two to fourteen statutory causes for which divorce might be obtained, and several added the "omnibus" clause of Connecticut, which gave a general discretion to the courts to grant divorce for such reasons as they deemed best.

New Jersey alone puts the trial of divorce suits into the hands of three chancellors, who act under exceptionally careful rules. But everywhere else throughout the country the cases were and are heard in the several counties, of which there are more than 2700 in the United States, and the courts held their sessions at least once or twice a year. A few States have statutory provision for the representation of the Government in the trials, but the law is largely a dead letter. Most divorces were made absolute, with the privilege of immediate re-marriage for either party. New York, however, and in some degree several other States, put restrictions upon the re-marriage of the party guilty of adultery, or allow its courts to do so if deemed best. Suits generally could be brought at any time, and trials in many counties followed soon or immediately if the court happened to be in session, and the cases could be brought forward in some lull in the proceedings: Oral testimony of the slightest kind was frequently deemed sufficient, and a few minutes was all the time that a case seemed to require. Carefulness, of course, was the rule in many courts, for one-fifth or one-fourth of the petitions were denied. But the abuses were so numerous as to become a scandal.

These were greatly increased by the independent authority of each State and Territory. Each was a law unto itself, and in a measure to all

the rest if the citizens chose to avail themselves of the privilege afforded by it at the expense of a journey and a short residence. The required period for residence was ninety days in the case of Dakota, six months in several States, and one year in many more. The State of Maine until lately permitted her courts to try divorce suits in any case when the "parties were married in this State, or cohabited here after marriage." Sometimes even these regulations were avoided by the devices of attorneys, whose disreputable tricks made it possible to do so.

This was the condition of affairs until 1878, with scarcely a reformatory act to relieve the dark picture. The legislation was loose, or invariably tended downwards. Some interest was awakened in Vermont the year before, and that year in Connecticut the notorious "omnibus" clause was repealed. Vermont put restrictions upon the re-marriage of divorced persons, and closed her courts to parties from other States. This was the beginning of restrictive legislation, and of a systematic effort at reform that has been continued until the present time. The New England Divorce Reform League was organised in 1881. This became the National Divorce Reform League in 1884, and has always been a leading agency in the movement. The specific title of the organisation was due to the peculiar condition of its immediate origin. While, however, it has kept the original name, its declared purpose since 1884, and its real work from the first, have included the whole subject of the family.

Certain closely related problems were coming up for attention. Mormon polygamy had vexed Congress and the country for many years. When traced to its root, it was found to run into the general question of marriage and divorce, and some were not slow to turn upon us with charges of "Polygamy in New England," or "Polygamy *tantum*." The introduction of the Indians from savagery into civilisation involved questions of the family. The abolition of slavery brought the millions of former slaves under the marriage and divorce laws of the South, which had been framed for a very different class of people. Then our marriage laws, as a whole, were even more loose and diverse than our divorce laws. The rapid settlement of the extreme West, the growth of cities and the transfer of people from the farms to manufacturing centres, an enormous foreign immigration, increasingly easy means of communication, the great changes under these new social conditions in poverty, vice, and crime, have sprung upon us a series of problems which the more thoughtful are coming to see are intimately and profoundly related to the family.

But with all these problems and conditions before us, fifteen years ago there was neither anything like a general recognition of their concentration in the larger problem of the family nor any preparation to meet it. The Mormon question, and in some measure the condition

of the blacks in the South, stirred the public mind. But these were regarded as isolated questions. Neither public interest, nor the more thoughtful work of education, appeared to recognise the condition and the need. An article on marriage and divorce in even a religious newspaper or a review was almost never seen. Dr. Woolsey at Yale, and possibly one or two others elsewhere, devoted a lecture or two in their courses to the family. But such a thing as a course of lectures, either on the family or on social institutions, was wholly unknown. We rested on our traditional morality. Even the simplest facts regarding marriage and divorce lay beyond reach. Four or five States gave the bare number of divorces, or of marriages and divorces, and two or three reported the number of illegitimate births. Dr. Woolsey, with great pains, gathered the few statistics then accessible in his book in 1869 and was able to add to them a little in the recent edition of 1882, and to give some significant figures from a few European countries. Signor Bodio of Italy published a little pamphlet in 1882, and M. Bertillon of France issued two parts of a work in 1883, that gave enough European figures to excite great interest among students of the subject. But a dozen years ago we were in complete ignorance of the official facts concerning the great West, the South, and even most States in the North and East. Many intelligent Southerners did not think any considerable number of divorces were granted in their part of the country. Divorce was generally held to be a Protestant and especially an American social peculiarity of small magnitude and without serious danger compared with the evils incident to the stricter marriage laws of the Roman Catholic countries.

But back of these immediate conditions of the problem lay still other and more potent causes. We had just come out of a great war waged in the interests of human rights as applied to the individual on the one hand, and for the maintenance of the idea of organic national unity on the other. The moral and social philosophy, of Locke and his disciples, the working doctrine of the French Revolution in some instances, left their mark upon our people, affecting their social ethics. Our democratic suffrage has lent itself to the general drift towards individualism. The struggle for the completion of the separation of Church and State, the political theories that magnify rights, the temperance reformation, the industrial and legal emancipation of women, are examples of social movements that have rested to some extent upon the conception of society as an aggregation of units, the most of whose relations can be expressed in terms of the individual and contract rather than in those of the family and status. Indeed, probably the famous generalisation of Sir Henry S. Maine, regarding the movement of society from the family to the individual and from status to contract, nowhere finds more striking illustration



than in the social and legal history of the United States for the hundred years preceding the late war.

Some of our reforms have indirectly embarrassed us in our consideration of the problem of the family. The enthusiasms of moral sentiment intensely concentrated upon a single subject, with little care for inductions from scientifically collected facts or for study of broad relations, gave shape to their methods.

It was not an easy task in these circumstances to get popular attention for a subject whose real study and proper treatment demanded the largest use of scientific instruments, and for which our literary resources were altogether too meagre. We had no work on the family, and the title scarcely appeared in the library catalogues of fifteen years ago. Two or three small books on divorce as a subject of morals and legislation, the law-books, and a chapter or two in ethical text-books were about all the ordinary student could find. Maine, Spencer, Morgan, and Tylor afforded some resources as they became known. But the interest in these was in other directions than for their treatment of the family. The colleges, universities, and theological seminaries did absolutely nothing on the family or any of these connected problems. Sociology proper was not studied in any of them.

Such was our general condition until within a dozen or fifteen years. In some sense, this very state of affairs has hastened relief. The first to perceive the need were as a rule men of scholarship accustomed to scientific work, who would be the last to resort to the cheap methods of the reformer of the popular sort. And then the results of the war and the awakened sense of organic relationships in social life prepared the way for the greatly needed correction of our excessive individualism. The Divorce Reform League has never yielded to the popular clamour for reform by legislation chiefly, or been possessed by the mania for Constitutional amendment. The popular project for a transfer of the jurisdiction over marriage and divorce to Congress was laid aside by the League until the real condition of things upon which the demand rested could be better known. Little attention was paid to the general clamour for amendment which has continued until within two or three years.

After several years of persistent effort on the part of the friends of reform, Congress provided for the investigation, and the Report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, an accomplished statistician and the Commissioner of Labour, was made on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, with an Appendix relating to Canada and most European countries. This Report, of nearly 1100 pages, published in 1889, gives a digest of the marriage and divorce laws of all the States and Territories, and complete statistics for the twenty years 1867-1886 on certain fundamental points. These relate to divorce chiefly, because of the imperfect records of marriage. Much of the information contained in the

Appendix concerning Europe is also new to the public, having been collected from original sources for the first time. This work, as was intended, is a thesaurus of information upon the ground it attempts to cover, and it is hoped that it will lead to further investigation.

We now have the material for easy comparison of the marriage and divorce laws. The Report shows the highly suggestive movement of European law as a whole towards an essentially common system, in which civil marriage is obligatory, and a religious ceremony optional. The bigamies possible and alarmingly frequent under the American marriage laws are practically impossible under the present system of Germany and some other countries. The careful procedure of most European countries in divorce suits, a system of judicial separation for a definite period with the possible conversion into absolute divorce, the defence of the public interests by an official of the State, the combination of a generous range of causes for which divorce may be granted with abundant safeguards in administration, the experience of Germany with a uniform marriage law, and of Switzerland with her new divorce law, and, above all, the tendency in Europe, already noted, towards a scientific and uniform system, of which perhaps the beginnings of the German *Familienrecht* form the most interesting example, are full of instruction for us, notwithstanding the wide difference in social conditions which would render some of the European safeguards impracticable with us. The movements of law on these subjects in Australia and Japan, though not noted in the Report of Mr. Wright, are also highly suggestive.

I need not stop now to specify the particulars of the conflicting laws of our forty-seven States and Territories, or the mischief to which they have led. Every one is familiar with the possibilities under them. I have already referred to the great variety in the prescribed terms of residence, being all the way from ninety days to five years. It is also well known that a marriage to one person may be valid in one State, and a marriage to another at the same time is equally valid in some other State, while neither is legal in a third jurisdiction. But we did not know the actual extent of migration from State to State in evasion of the laws of proper domicile. As already intimated, popular feeling, even among persons of great intelligence, attributed the larger part of our divorces to the lack of uniformity. Some respectable authorities maintained that nine-tenths of the entire number of divorces in the country would be cut off at a single stroke by the enactment of a uniform law, for which a Constitutional amendment is necessary.

The obstacles in the way of such a measure seemed to the more thoughtful practically insuperable. Jealousy of the rights of the States and the radical change which the transference of power over marriage and divorce from them to the general Government would

make in our political system, have always impressed many jurists with the impracticable character of the proposal of Constitutional amendment. But the official investigation has now given us enough information to prove that the remedial value of a uniform national law is comparatively small. For it showed that, notwithstanding all the facilities for migration, and the migratory character of our present population, 80 per cent. of the divorces of the United States in the twenty years covered by the statistics had been granted in the very State where the parties had been married at an average of 9.17 years before the divorce had taken place. Perhaps one-half, if not more than one-half, of the remaining 20 per cent. should be deducted to cover the legitimate migration between marriage and divorce. This has put the project of amendment of the Federal Constitution aside, for a time at least, until other measures should be tried. It was shown that the reduction in the number of divorces under such a uniform system as we could get through Congress would be small.

Accordingly, the plan of State commissions, first suggested in 1881 by Dr. Woolsey, and proposed in New York about the time of the appearance of the Report of Mr. Wright, has been taken up and pressed for adoption by the State Legislatures. Eight States, some of which are among the most important in the country, like Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, have already created Commissions, which are to study the subject and report to their Legislatures. There is great probability that many others will do the same the present winter, especially as the American Bar Association and the National Board of Trade are also deeply interested in reducing the evils of our conflicting laws upon several other subjects as well as this one. It is possible that the immediate results of this plan may disappoint some of its sanguine friends. For its most valuable result will be in the preparation it will make for the reforms of the future, whatever they may be, and perhaps lead the way to an international co-operation looking to closer approach to uniformity among leading nations. Meanwhile the reforms in State legislation may again be taken up. It is gratifying to know that since 1876 the movement of legislation has been in the right direction. Scarcely a bad measure has become law in the last dozen years, while important and often great changes for the better have been made in several States, both in the marriage and divorce laws, leading to some decrease of divorces. But almost all thoughtful students now see that though bad legislation and facile administration have greatly increased the evil, its roots lie deep in the social soil. If we turn to the official statistics this will become clear enough. The figures given for the United States include a small percentage of cases of nullity, &c., and also a very small percentage of limited divorces, or judicial separations as these are now called in Europe. Reckoning in this way, there were

in all the United States 9937 divorces in 1867, and 25,535 in 1886. The increase was more than twice as great as the gain in population. Where the divorce-rate had long been high, as in New England and a few Western States, the increase was less marked; but in the South it has been much greater than in the country as a whole. As nothing else will bring out so clearly the wide reach of this movement, the figures for other countries are also given. They include separations as well as divorce:\*

Canada granted no divorce in 1867, but had 4 in 1868 and 12 in 1885. Austria granted 748 in 1882 and 760 in 1886. Hungary granted 910 in 1876, the number reaching 1249 in 1880, and falling to 845 in 1886. Belgium had 130 divorces and separations in 1867, and 354 in 1886. The divorces were one-half of the total at the former date, but steadily increased to four-fifths at the latter. Denmark reported 479 in 1871 and 577 in 1880, but the number was larger in each of the preceding five years. France granted 2181 separations in 1867 and 6211 divorces and separations in 1886. The law of 1884 greatly accelerated the movement. England and Wales granted 119 divorces and 11 separations in 1867, and 47 separations and 325 divorces in 1886. Ireland had a single divorce in 1867 and 3 divorces and 1 separation in 1871, the first year of the Irish Court for Matrimonial Causes, and five separations and 2 divorces in 1886. In Scotland the increase was from 32 in 1867 to 96 in 1886. The German Empire, as a whole, reports 3942 divorces in 1881 and 6078 in 1886. Prussian divorces increased from 2329 in 1881 to 3808 in 1886, and those in Hamburg from 145 to 287. In Berlin there were 326 divorces in 1866 and 845 in 1886. Between 1867 and 1886, Baden increased her divorces from 19 to 143; Hesse from 28 to 53; Saxony from 396 to 917; and Wurtemberg from 94 to 161; Bavarian divorces decreased from 270 to 238. Italy granted 723 separations in 1869 and 556 in 1885. The Netherlands granted 20 limited divorces in 1867 and 113 absolute divorces. These had increased to 103 and 315 respectively in 1886. Norway granted 33 judicial separations and absolute divorces in 1870 and 51 in 1884. Sweden shows 128 divorces in 1867 and 226 in 1886. Roumania granted 276 in 1871 and 132 in 1880. Russia decreed 810 divorces in 1866 and 1196 in 1885. One-fourth or more of these were for "exile or civil death"—145 in 1866 and 292 in 1885. Poland had 163 in 1867 and 345 in 1886. The six cantons of Switzerland reporting the figures from 1867 until 1886, had 190 divorces in the former year and 396 in 1886, reaching a maximum of 452 in 1877, the second year under the uniform federal law. For the whole country there were 1102 in 1876 and 1036 in each of the two following

\* Interesting details appear in the Report, which can be obtained on application. n. Carroll D. Wright, U.S. Commissioner of Labour, Washington, D.C.

years, and 899 in 1886, which is a little below the average of recent years.

The official investigation in the United States did not go back of the year 1867. But the statistics of two or three of the States for an earlier period run so closely parallel to those of former years in European countries that one can pretty safely say that the movement has apparently been going on during the entire century, that something like a marked impulse was given it about fifty years ago, and that it received another within the last twenty-five or thirty. One can hardly find anywhere a more significant or serious indication of profound social change than in these statistics. The social student will not easily find a more urgent and difficult problem than is disclosed by them.

English as well as American readers now frequently hear the direct challenge of long-accepted theories of marriage and divorce. Not only is society more disposed to tolerate divorced persons, and those who are known to live in adulterous relation, but it sometimes listens to suggestions of temporary union, "time marriages," and there are those who think that domestic life may yet rest on a better basis than monogamy affords. The Christian sentiment of the United States indicted slavery for its disregard of the family, and denounced Mormon polygamy with great zeal. But it has been slow to discover the insidious character of the licentiousness that corrupts life in city and country, or to perceive the risks of its loose marriage and divorce systems, or to look seriously at the widely prevalent vice that is repeating in some of our older States the story of the decrease of the French family. We have complacently consoled ourselves when pointed to the growth and volume of our divorces with the half-truth that this is an indication not so much of an increase of real evil as of unwillingness to make marriage a bondage. This has led us too often to regard marriage as a contract, and subject to the remedies of contracts. Some who fought the doctrine of Rousseau as applied to the state in a terrible war of four years have been content to see it applied at the very foundation of social order. Probably the most subtle foe of the American family lurks in this extreme individualism, which our peculiar position in the advance of Western civilisation, with its swift increase of material wealth and its attendant rapid growth of the modern law of property and contract, has developed.

But the hopeful conditions of the problem are great—greater, more potent in most, if not all, respects, than those we have been considering thus far in this sketch might lead the superficial observer to think. The war was the beginning of a clearer recognition of organic relations as something more than those which individualism can give us. The old stream, however, still flows on. Its actual volume may

even increase, just as a mighty river continues to rise long after the rain is over. But the causes which produce and control it are clearly changing. The old demand for rights is heard less frequently. And when made it misleads fewer people. Its own note is also changed. The idea of relations as something to be entered into and fulfilled grows upon us. The complexity and interdependence of human interests are telling upon the right side. Men see that individualism is morally and socially suicidal. The apologies for easy divorce, the disposition to belittle the home and its life, which were common twenty and thirty years ago among the advocates of the rights of women, are much less frequent now. It is now the fashion among this class to conjure with the family and the home as magical words with an American audience.

Our best educational institutions have done much in the last dozen years to begin the study of the family and of social institutions as such. The friends of this social reform have been met with eager cooperation from leading educators in their efforts to equip our universities, colleges, and theological seminaries for sociological work. These have seen, unfortunately faster than our men of wealth have been ready to meet the need, the importance of having a large class of trained sociologists, who should be thus prepared to take much broader views of the problem of the family and property than either the current popular opinion or the old ecclesiastical training could give. The questions of marriage and divorce lead so directly into those of the family, and these in turn are so intricately connected with most of the deep social problems of modern civilisation, that this broader educational work has become indispensable to social reform in this and other directions. For this reason much of the stores of learning upon the subject seems now to be useless rubbish, or at best the mere raw material of study, until it has been reduced to order and made more intelligible under the processes of modern scientific methods, and vitally united with the truths that the better understanding of our life is giving us. Indeed, one may say that even now we have reason to feel that we must study the family and its incident subjects almost *de novo*, or abandon the ground on which the Christian Church has stood for the defence of its doctrines concerning this institution.

The American conditions of the religious side of this subject are in some respects unlike those of Europe, as well as being more urgent. The state of affairs in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States gives us a good illustration of this half-felt need. No other Protestant body here has stood more firmly for the stricter view of marriage and divorce, or rendered greater service by its practice. But for many years the earnest attempts to make its canons still more conservative have failed. Perhaps the greater part of the clergy support the change, but they are unable to carry with them the lay

members of the House of Delegates, and a respectable portion of the clergy themselves resist the attempt. A part at least of the explanation lies in the attitude of many eminent jurists who are influential in its councils, and of whom their Church has an unusual number. The practical experience of these and other laymen, reinforced by their professional training, leads them to treat the subject in an entirely different way from that used by those whose education and life have been almost purely ecclesiastical. The two classes have had little in their education to bring them upon common ground. The lawyer thinks that the trend of legislation and the needs of society point to the necessity for a larger freedom in divorce than the ecclesiastical mind is willing to grant. The letter of Scripture appeals to him without much effect. And, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical mind is not much impressed with the arguments of the jurist. Many clergymen believe, others half suspect, something wrong in the common interpretation of Scripture and the traditional method of defence of the doctrine of marriage and divorce. The general change of attitude towards the Bible, and modern scientific methods of interpretation, doubtless have had their share in bringing about this state of uncertainty. Other Christian Churches have felt the same influence. And still other causes are at work. For the polity of some of them, especially among Independents of all kinds, forbids both ecclesiastical legislation and even authoritative utterances of any rules of marriage and divorce. Individual opinion and social toleration very largely shape these matters. Our complete separation of Church and State, and the fact that no one of several Churches has a commanding position above the rest, are important elements in our peculiar problem.

It is easy to see, when one takes such things into the account, that nothing short of a great educational work that shall cover the entire field of the family and sociology, past and present, will accomplish what is needed in America. The scrutiny of the old proof-texts of the Pentateuch and New Testament may be useful in its way, but such work will not do a great deal to help a member in Congress, or in our State Legislatures. Nor is this because our legislators do not respect the Holy Scriptures. They are politicians and statesmen, who cannot, under our American system, quote the Bible or the canons of the Church as authoritative in the treatment of a public question in our Legislature as Englishmen can in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone's famous essay on the Divorce Bill of 1857, though wonderfully impressive for its learning and ability, and the recent powerful attack of Sir Alfred Stephen,\* would slightly affect an average American statesman or jurist. This would be true, not so much because the latter distrusted the conclusions of exegetical study of

\* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of June 1891.

the Bible, but rather because he lived in another country and under very different social and political conditions.

We are asking for fresh answers to fundamental questions. What is marriage? What does it bring about? Is it merely a relation of man and woman in a contract whose precise terms measure all that comes after? Or is it the merging of one of the two persons in the being of the other? Or still again, does marriage create such a relation that it is neither a mere *modus vivendi* for two independent individuals, nor a simple contract, nor the losing of one in the personality of the other? In other words, does marriage bring into existence, potentially at least, a family from the very first? And then, are our problems of marriage and divorce simply those of the individual in certain relations purely and wholly of his own making; and so subject to his own caprice, except where they positively infringe upon the rights of others? Still farther. To what extent should the family have a place in our treatment of the questions of the individual? Has it claims and functions of its own which State, Church, School, and Industry, are bound to regard and encourage? In all the stir of our American religious life, in the development of our system of public schools with the consequent draft upon the members of the home, there has been serious neglect of the family as a distinctive social organ worthy of care and use. Our industries eager, like industry the world over, to get an individual labourer with no immediate thought except to get the most out of him for the object directly before it, and our system of manhood suffrage with an earnest demand in some quarters for adult suffrage for both sexes, each contribute to the movement which has raised these questions, some of which have now come to the front as issues of the times.

Many of these forces act wherever and in proportion as the spirit of modern civilisation is powerful. But every one will easily see that they must affect the people of the United States more deeply and more inclusively than those of any other country. They constitute our danger and they create our opportunity. I have been greatly impressed with the latter thought, which I believe to be true. For as one pursues the subject of the family, though it be with no great thoroughness, through its history in Aryan civilisation down to the present, I think he cannot fail to see that modern scholarship has never adequately dealt with the subject. Sir Henry S. Maine and others did a great work for many of their readers in America when they opened to us the influences of the Roman law upon the family and the individual, and pointed out the movement from status to contract. The history of marriage and divorce in canon and ecclesiastical law is hardly less suggestive. It rarely makes any distinct recognition of the family as an institution deserving of the foremost place in treating these subjects. The approach is almost invariably from



the consideration of the relations of individuals—men and women under the obligations of marriage. Our libraries, as already intimated, were, less than a score of years ago, almost barren of books under the title of the family. Yet the subject presses in this country, in the British Colonies, in Japan; while nearly all Europe shows signs of its presence. The tendency of jurisprudence, especially in Germany, to insist more upon being the science of relations rather than of rights, points towards modifications in the treatment of the law of the family. The whole bearing of the interest in sociology is in the direction of more consideration of the family. And religious life, as it is becoming more true, more sincere, is calling upon us to give to the family something of the service which has been rendered to the other institutions of religion through fresh study and careful exercise of its great social function.

In a word, our divorce question, as it is called, leads us directly into the fundamental problem of the family, and this in its turn opens in such a way as to take the student into the profoundest questions of our modern civilisation, in which the world has almost a common concern. Its full significance can be best apprehended by one who, like Professor Bryce, understands American life, and can bring the resources of a rich knowledge of the Roman law and European history to its interpretation.

SAMUEL W. DIKE.

## URGENCY IN SIAM.

THE time is past when urgent questions of foreign affairs were settled between a Secretary at home and a Minister abroad. A manager of the *Times* once remarked that he believed his readers cared more for a cab accident in Fleet Street than for a revolution in South America (a remark in which he was anticipated by a famous saying of the founder of the *Figaro*), but the British public knows more to-day of foreign matters than ever it knew before, and since it knows more it cares more. The foreign policy of the British Empire is directed by public opinion hardly less than its domestic policy. The Press, the Platform, and Parliament have robbed the diplomatist of the most influential and the most fascinating of his functions. It is no longer his to throne or dethrone monarchs, to wage wars, and to connive at the partition of kingdoms. The man in the street, who handles the rifle and pays the bill, has assumed those dangerous responsibilities. Any one, therefore, who knows the facts of a critical situation, and desires to influence the course of events, had best make his appeal to the only tribunal worth convincing. Whether a democracy can maintain an empire is a question which time will answer so quickly and so certainly that other verdicts are hardly worth either expressing or considering. The case of Siam is before this tribunal at the present moment—or it will be very soon—and as my own travel and studies have led me to take a great interest in that peculiar country, and in the future of my country in connection with that part of the world, I wish to lay before public opinion the facts of the Siamese situation so far as they have come to my knowledge. I am not presumptuous enough to think that my own view of what ought to be done is the only right one, and therefore I shall not, on the present occasion at least, trouble anybody with it. But there is cer-

tainly urgency in Siam, and the British public should know what it is and why.

### I. THE COLLAPSE OF THE SIAMESE.

For a good many years—in fact, ever since it had any intimate relations with foreign Powers—the Siamese Government has preserved its independence of action by playing off one foreign State and one Minister against another. During this time it has embarked upon reforms of various kinds, upon some with the perfectly honest and laudable intention of improving the condition of its subjects, and upon others to throw dust in the eyes of its critics. Such a state of affairs constituted a fool's paradise, which was obviously destined to come to an end as soon as any of Siam's powerful acquaintances reached the insisting point. France reached this point several months ago, with a result that all the world knows. The fool's paradise has thus been perforce evacuated and the Siamese Government has collapsed. All the world does not know, however, how complete and irretrievable this collapse is. On a certain Sunday night not many months ago England was on the very brink of a war with France—not about Siam, but upon a point of international relationship concerned with the etiquette of the measure of persuasion known as a blockade. This critical moment for us was equally critical for Siam.

For nine months the King had withdrawn himself entirely from participation in the functions of government. He had spent the time at his summer palace and at his seaside resort, devoting himself wholly to the conflicting, but presumably charming, interests of his multifarious domestic arrangements, and his Ministers had been unable to get his ear upon any matter of State, however pressing. It is almost literally true that he was aroused to a sense of his position by the thunder of the French cannon at the gate of his capital, and it is certainly a fact that he was called upon at a few hours' notice to face the appalling possibility of the extinction of his line and the absorption of his kingdom. Up to a year or so ago his Majesty had been accustomed to take an intelligent interest in the duties of his position, and himself to decide, not infrequently by personal observation, upon the merits of each question as it arose. Almost all Oriental potentates reaching middle life endeavour to restore their sapped vitality by the use of drugs—of European origin—and the King of Siam was no exception. Consequently, when the critical moment suddenly came upon him, and he was confronted with the most trying situation that can be presented to a reigning monarch, he was both mentally and physically unable to meet it. To the Oriental mind, again, one mode of egress from an impossible position is always present, and I was therefore not surprised to receive a telegram from Bangkok, telling

me that, unless the horizon, speedily became clearer for him, it was expected that his Majesty would commit suicide. The extraordinary chopping and changing of Siam, its feeble attempts at intrigue, its appeals for pity and postponement, its avowed determination upon a defence to the death, its pitiful expenditure of powder, and its subsequent abject humility, are all to be traced to the disordered and enfeebled mind of its ruler, following first one counsel and then another.

When it was once discovered by the *Sala luk khoo* that England would not interfere to save Siam from at any rate part of its fate, the collapse came. At the present moment hardly one brick of the trumpeted edifice of Siamese reform and progress is left standing upon another. Good and bad, honest and deceitful, have come down in the common crash. The foreign officers in the navy (there is only one foreign officer in the army—a Dane, whose functions have been only those of a drill-sergeant) were saved from the vengeance of the French by the intercession of the Tzar, but the futility of the national defence has robbed them of all their prestige and influence. The European legal adviser to the Siamese Foreign Office, M. Jacquemyns, who had not been permitted to say a word for six months, was suddenly called upon to solve a problem which would have puzzled Oedipus, and his natural failure to do so marks the end of foreign legal advice. The scheme of educational reform which attracted so much notice when Prince Damrong was making the round of our schools a year and a half ago, is a thing of the past. A number of English teachers of both sexes were imported into Siam, but they have been unable, with all the qualifications and the will in the world, to accomplish anything, and it is safe to say that they will soon be at home again. The Siamese Customs were administered for several years by a most capable and energetic English official, lent by the Inland Revenue Department to the Siamese Government, and, after heart-breaking struggles with the jealousies and corruption of his Siamese superiors and subordinates alike, he succeeded in organising the Customs service upon a sound and honest basis. This, too, has been completely submerged in the wreck. As for the Ministry of Justice and the reform of the prison system, nobody who knew Siam ever dreamed for a moment that anything would come of them. The failure of the attempt to educate the Crown Prince, made with the utmost personal devotion and absolute singleness and sincerity of intention by the Oxford man (Mr. Morant) to whom it was entrusted, is a much more serious matter. The effort to preserve this royal pupil from the deadly influences of the Oriental harem, and to implant in him some Western notions of the duties and responsibilities of a ruler of a people, can perhaps hardly yet be said to have completely failed, but it would be almost Quixotic to anticipate its success. Moreover, the intrigues

and jealousies of the royal household, always smouldering beneath the surface, have now burst into flame, and every royal mother in the palace is fighting unscrupulously, with the aid of her male relatives outside, to save from the wreck whatever she can for herself and her own offspring. To-day the Second Queen is to all intents the ruler of Siam. Under these circumstances it is perhaps not difficult to understand why the state of mind in Siamese official circles should be an alternation of abjectness and desperation. They have already exhibited symptoms of both, and the arrival of a new crisis is equally likely to find them grovelling once more, or committing some momentary excess of self-defence which will prove a sufficient warrant for any reprisals their enemies may be disposed to make.

Among the communications I have received from Bangkok during the last few weeks is one of sufficient interest to justify its publication here. The writer desires, for very obvious reasons, to remain anonymous. He is not personally known to me, but I am familiar with his name and position, which command respect. His letter does not contain the whole truth, for even among the Siamese "princes" there are some enlightened men who have long recognised the rottenness of Siamese administration and life, and would willingly have reformed them. But, so far as it goes, and from the writer's point of view, I can unhesitatingly say that the picture it presents is only too accurate. It seems to me a striking account of one aspect of the present condition of collapse :

"How has it come about that English people have persistently pictured Siam as a genius among nations, an exception to all the known laws of slow Oriental development? I believe the explanation lies as much in English thoughtlessness as in Siamese deceit. English readers have supposed that 'prince' and 'people' connote the same beings in Siam as they do in England; and, on the strength of a few judiciously selected photographs supplied to illustrated newspapers, have assumed for a country of effete plain-dwellers a progressive civilisation which is unparalleled even in the West.

"By a not difficult process—the process of newspaper advertisement and attentions to potent personages at home and abroad—Siam has cleverly contrived to convince Europe that her political affairs are under the effective direction of a Belgian statesman of some repute, and that her customs and revenue are wisely controlled by an exceptionally able Englishman. More recently, during the cleverly worked tour of Prince Damrong, an army of educators was brought out at large salaries, which the newspapers to the great fame of Siam—made considerably greater. Three English ladies were selected to initiate a girls' school, which was described as being 'founded by the Second Queen and supported by his Majesty the King personally.' The pupils were to be drawn 'from the royal household and possibly from the nobility.' Two Oxford graduates were chosen to assist in the education of the King's sons; and, as if to show that the 'people' were to share equally with their rulers in the general enlightenment, another Oxford graduate, with long experience in the work of elementary education, was charged with the initiation of a training college for native teachers. Finally,

that the hitherto unsuspected artistic faculties of the Siamese might be discovered and developed, a well-known artist was requested to organise an art school.

"After such a list as this, one naturally infers that Siam has practically handed over to European experts the guidance of her legislation, revenue, education, and arts. But now let us ask what this host of experts is being allowed to do. The Belgian legislator for six months—and until the Franco-Siamese crisis arrived—was politely but completely ignored. The Customs Director managed to get his department into a state of comparative efficiency, in spite of the jealousy of his native official superiors, but the latter have now gained the upper hand, and he is practically a cypher. The school, which was to be 'supported by his Majesty the King personally,' has been the cause of considerable envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness among the members of his Majesty's harem, but the ladies have at last agreed to a truce, which has involved the boycotting of the school. It now languishes with eight pupils, none of whom are 'from the royal household.' The education of the young princes has not escaped similar intrigues of a flagrantly polygamous Court, in which each mother fights other mothers for the worldly advancement of her children, and for the favours of the common father. The Director of the College for Native Teachers had to wait six months before school or teachers were forthcoming, and was finally consigned to a non-government school connected with a charitable institution which sustains a somewhat specious royal reputation. The Art Director has an average of seven pupils, who intermittently come to work in a room which lacks the most ordinary requirements as to light and space. These pupils were the whimsical selections of some influential personage, and would have done equally well as clerks or coolies.

"Not unaturally, you will ask why the superior servants of such indifferent masters do not *compel* results by sheer force of character and ability. I confess myself completely unable to answer this question to the satisfaction of those who know the East only from books, nor can I picture to myself any illustration from Western politics, which would adequately parallel the conditions here. Some vague conceptions of the truth may perhaps be gained from such facts as these :

"Every department of the Government service is under the immediate control of a native head, whose education is inferior to that of a child in the lower standards of your elementary schools, and whose experience is that of a semi-barbarian bewildered by a superficial acquaintance with the delicate political and social machinery of advanced Western civilisation. This curious 'Cabinet Minister' is almost inaccessible to his official subordinates, native or foreign, for he ignores all correspondence, and comes to his office generally at midnight— that being the time when his Majesty the King prefers to be awake.

"Towards the European members of his department the native head entertains a curious combination of feelings : jealousy of the alien, envy of the latter's superior will and ability, suspicious dread of appearing inferior in any respect, and an ever-present consciousness that the 'farang' is a dependent. Since the initiation and development of all schemes, as well as the money and men for them, are absolutely subject to the veto of the Minister, it requires a very extraordinary combination of cunning and audacity to elude all these obstacles to the permanence and progress of work nominally entrusted to the European.

"And yet to the experts enumerated above, the Siamese Government pays yearly salaries which total no less than £7000. The economic Englishman doubtless considers this the most inconceivable of all my Siamese curiosities. But a little thinking will soon suggest that this £7000 per annum is not an

utterly barren investment for Siam—all the aforementioned obstacles to work notwithstanding. To get a universal reputation—and all that the reputation involves—to get a reputation for zealous earnestness in politics, education, and art, is surely very valuable to a country like Siam, and cheaply purchased at £7000 a year; more especially when it is remembered that these thousands are wrung from a crushed and uncomplaining people, who accept oppression with the passivity of Buddhists and hereditary slaves. Becky Sharp did not live more effectively on her fabled wealth and social connections than has Siam on her reputed yearnings for progress. But for Siam, as for poor Becky, has come the retribution of persistent shams.”

To bring this part of the subject to an end, one more fact bears eloquent testimony to the breakdown of Siamese administration. Two years ago the Government determined to take up seriously the question of railway extension, and after much competition the contract for a railway from Bangkok to Khorat was given to the well-known contractor, Mr. Murray Campbell, who was understood to be financed by Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. This railway was to have two branches going north and east; the material was purchased, a small army of surveyors and engineers was engaged, and a considerable part of the preliminary work admirably done. The King had undertaken to bear the whole expense of the enterprise. Now, however, that the French have practically annexed the most important of the districts which the railway was to develop, and that the King and his Government have alike become paralysed, it has been officially announced that the railway is abandoned. This was the best and most important effort at real reform that Siam has ever made, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that she will ever make such another.

## II. THE ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH.

Side by side with the collapse of the Siamese has proceeded the advance of the French. The high-handed character of their military and naval operations and the humiliating conditions they have imposed upon the helpless monarch are matters of common knowledge. But many details which have not been published are even more significant than the clauses of the Treaty and Convention. For instance, when M. de Vilers desired audience of the King he flatly refused to proceed up the river to the King's summer palace at Bang-pa-in, where the latter was then staying, and insisted that the King should come down on purpose to give him audience in Bangkok. Such a request from a foreign representative had never been heard of before in Siam, nor probably anywhere else. As he insisted, however, the King travelled sixty miles for the purpose of expressing his humility. Another matter not generally appreciated is that France has not only annexed the territory on the left bank of the Mekong and the islands in the

river, but she has also practically annexed a strip of territory fifteen miles wide on the opposite bank, and the two chief southern provinces. The Siamese are forbidden to make any arrangements for trade on the river, or to convey soldiers or munition of war upon it; France is to control all the fiscal regulations and public works of the fifteen-mile zone; she forbids the Siamese to place any armed force on the Great Lake; to construct any fortified post in the two wealthy provinces of Battambang and Siam-rap; she reserves to herself the right to grant passports to her own subjects to travel and trade in these two provinces and the fifteen-mile zone; and to establish consulates where she likes, the Siamese Government furnishing the land for their sites. It would be difficult for actual and avowed annexation to confer many more privileges than these. Moreover, she has made a demand for a considerable extension of the grounds of the French consulate in Bangkok, and for the right to keep there an armed guard of Annamite soldiers. No other foreign Power has ever thought of such a step. The Treaty provides, of course, for the evacuation of Chantabun, the second part of the kingdom, but every day that passes makes the French hold upon it more firm and removes the date of evacuation. Fortifications have been thrown up, and if the French troops leave, this will probably be because of the malarial character of the place. In the meantime the French organ in Bangkok is engaged in explaining that the so-called fortifications are merely a series of drains constructed by the soldiers to render their residence more healthy! Perhaps the most striking of all the examples of the French attitude towards Siam is that afforded by the demand that the trial of the Siamese who were concerned in the attack upon the French posts beyond the Mekong shall be conducted in the presence of a French representative, and that if the verdict and punishment are not entirely satisfactory to the latter, the prisoners shall be tried again before a French tribunal. This is naturally regarded as a flagrant violation of treaty rights, and it certainly shows that whenever it suits their purpose to do so the French are already prepared to insist upon privileges which only an avowed protectorate could properly give them.

The above facts are sufficiently significant in themselves, but their real meaning is to be found in the basis they afford for re-opening at any moment the whole question of Franco-Siamese relations. Indeed, not only do they afford such a basis, but they render it practically certain that the necessity for thus re-opening the question will arise. Every clause of the original ultimatum, the moment it was granted by the Siamese, proved to include certain further developments which could not possibly have been foreseen. And there can be no doubt that when the time comes for ratifying the present treaty its clauses will again be found to have expanded in an astonishing manner. More-



over, the absence of Siamese armed authority from the two large provinces, the great river, and the fifteen-mile zone, will most infallibly result, sooner or later, in some anti-French incident which will call for further severe measures, and these, in their turn, will again render others necessary. The same thing is true of the establishment of French consulates all over the country. Each consul, after the events of the past six months, will have a very lofty notion of his rights and duties, and the moment these conflict with Siamese law or custom there will be an excuse for another French step in advance. This process will thus go on, if not *ad infinitum*, in all human probability until the end is in sight. There is a Bangkok newspaper called the *Siam Free Press*, which, so far as one can judge from its columns, is conducted in the interests of France. In the last issue of this which has reached me I find a paragraph which might have been written to justify all I have said above :

“ Whatever Siam may think of the terms offered to her is not the question to be now debated. She must submit to them, or risk the chance of all disappearing to repay the honest endeavours of her two good friends to arrange a settlement. Had we any animosity against this small and misguided kingdom, we should strongly advise that obstruction should be pursued to the end ; but as we wish to see what she has still left remain intact, and a highly dangerous dispute brought to a close without any further trimming of Siam, we would draw attention to the highly dangerous policy upon which Siam has already half made up her mind to embark. It is quite clear that for every display of obstinacy and obstruction by Siam, France will raise her price, and before the serious consequences of a conflict between two great European Powers the ‘ integrity ’ and ‘ independence ’ of Siam would be sacrificed without the least hesitation.”

That is the situation in a nutshell : “ for every display of obstinacy and obstruction by Siam, France will raise her price.” As I have tried to show, the occurrence of such “ obstruction ” is rendered inevitable.

In Bangkok the French do not hesitate to declare that a protectorate or annexation will soon be declared, and Europeans of other nationalities are so much impressed by the logic of the situation and the obvious determination of the French officials, who pay little attention to the engagements made on their behalf by superior authorities at home, that when the last mail left they were fixing the limit of French forbearance and Siamese independence at “ about six weeks, at the present rate.”

### III. THE MISSION OF PRINCE SWASTI.

The fact has not yet been published that a Siamese plenipotentiary is at this moment in Europe (or on the eve of arriving) for the pur-

pose of negotiating a treaty with both England and France, or if not with both, then with either. The Siamese Cabinet is at its wits' end with terror and conflicting counsels, and the King himself, when the last mail left, was "seriously indisposed." So far as the French representatives in the East are concerned, the Siamese know that nothing but fresh demands could result from further negotiations, and they have therefore, as a *pis-aller*, despatched a special envoy to treat in Paris and London. The person chosen for this difficult task has had no previous experience in diplomacy, but is far from being without knowledge of Europe and Europeans. It is H.R.H. Prince Swasti Sabhon, formerly student of Balliol and one of the many pets of the late Professor Jowett. He will be remembered by the Oxford society of about five years ago as a very pleasant and intelligent young Siamese, with advanced Radical and democratic notions. These he carried to such an extent as to deprecate any employment of his title, preferring to be styled plain "Mr." In due course he returned to Siam, and vital changes were expected to follow from his reforming influence. I believe he made one preposterous attempt, in alliance with the worthiest of the band of brother-princes, to inaugurate a sort of woman's rights movement, which came to the end easily to be prophesied for it in a country where the reigning monarch is married to his own sister, and where the royal harem sets an example which every subject imitates so far as his means permit. But Prince Swasti's enthusiasm for Western reforms went no further. On the contrary, he returned to the Buddhist fold in so orthodox a manner that he donned the yellow garments of the priest and made a pilgrimage in poverty—theoretically, at least, begging his way—which lasted nearly a year, and took him, I believe, as far as Chiengmai. This devout action was of course received with enthusiasm by the Conservative native element. Prince Swasti retained so little of the spirit of his Oxford days that he became the greatest opponent of foreign influence and foreigners themselves, and these sentiments occasionally led him to commit acts which resulted in unpleasantness and apologies. When the new Department of Justice was established, Prince Swasti was put at the head of it, but I have not heard of any change in the character of Siamese law or any alleviation of the lot of Siamese prisoners. Now he is specially commissioned to negotiate in Europe for the independence of Siam. What Siam desires is a tripartite agreement of England, France, and Siam, by which the independence of the latter shall be jointly and severally guaranteed by the former. This she is unlikely to get, for France will not wish to commit England to such a proposal by a new and formal treaty. The French Government, however, having ignored one treaty, will no doubt be very glad to conclude another with Siam, for if the independence of a country is to be destroyed at all, the deed is

done most easily by the Power which has guaranteed it. At any rate, Prince Swasti is here to make the best terms he can, and if he cannot get what he wants from one country, to try another. The inducements he is authorised to offer as *quid pro quo* remain a secret.

#### IV. THE POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

British residents in Siam are convinced that the Home Government is not well informed about the progress of affairs in Bangkok. They think that Captain Jones, V.C., her Majesty's Minister there, is deficient in knowledge of the Siamese in general, and of the facts of the present situation in particular. They point to news he officially disseminated during the late crisis on two occasions, which proved within a few hours to be inaccurate; and they naturally ask how should the Secretary of State at home be well-informed when his natural informant is so ignorant. They know Lord Rosebery to be a man who believes in the Empire and has the courage of Imperial responsibilities, and when they read answers in Parliament which seem to them woefully lacking in initiative, they attribute the fact to mere deficiency of information. They hardly realise that the government of the Empire is no longer in the hands of any Foreign Secretary, and that Lord Rosebery has to reckon with a Cabinet composed of men some of whom are publicly declared to differ *toto celo* from him on such questions.

The truth is, that Captain Jones, however well he may have carried out consular duties in Asia Minor, not to speak of how gallantly he may have fought in the Crimea, is the very last type of man to conduct diplomatic duties at this particular critical point. He is too simple and sincere, to begin with. He is straightforward himself, and cannot understand or fight against crooked methods in others. He is far from enthusiastic about the Empire he represents, and he says quite frankly, to both Europeans and Siamese, that the Siamese Government makes a great mistake in employing Englishmen at all. Such a course, he declares, can only lead to complications. The Siamese had much better confine themselves to Belgians or Danes. The effect of such advice upon the minds of his fellow-countrymen, in the presence of the determined French advance, need not be described. And the Siamese themselves do not pay him that heed of consideration which is the due of such disinterested advice. Captain Jones's time for retirement and pension is close at hand, and therefore the prayer, "Give peace in our time," seems natural on his lips; but without any expression of personal disrespect it may be said that the first step towards a better understanding with Siam, to say nothing of a better guardianship of British interests there, must be the

despatch of a different kind of man, even if a less personally estimable one, to represent this country at the Court of the White Elephant. When Captain Jones was sent there to finish his official service, recent events could not have been foreseen—at least, the Foreign Office could not have been expected to foresee them—or it is very unlikely that he would have been placed in a position for which his virtues constituted the chief disqualification. Our consul in Bangkok, on the other hand, Mr. French, suffers from no lack of knowledge of the Siamese. On the contrary, he knows them very well indeed, and is on terms of warm personal friendship with Prince Devawongse. The Bangkok community is sometimes inclined to wonder how far this intimacy conduces to the enlightenment of the Foreign Office, but the Siamese themselves have nothing but praise for Mr. French. "He is our friend really and truly," they say; "he never gives us bother about aggressive foreign interests, as other consuls do."

Now, four months ago I made in this REVIEW four definite forecasts. They were—first, that France was going on in Siam; second, that nothing but England could stop her; third, that the Siamese would make no resistance worth the name; fourth, that the proper geographical settlement between us and France would be to make no objection to the annexation of the east bank of the Mekong, provided that nothing was taken west of Chieng Kwang. As each of these opinions has been exactly borne out by events, I may perhaps be permitted once more to essay the risky rôle of prophet.

The situation, then, as I understand it, may be summarised as follows:

1. Nothing more in the way of reform, development, or defence is to be hoped for from Siam.
2. The French in Siam have carefully arranged matters so that further interference and extension on their part will soon be provoked.
3. They are openly expressing an intention to protect or annex the whole of Siam, and no platonically-declared care on the part of the French Government for her "independence and integrity" will stop them.
4. The mission of Prince Swasti brings matters to a crisis.
5. Ultimately—and before very long—the valley of the Menam must come under the dominion of England or of France. Which shall it be?

That is the question the British public has to decide. They have been told enough about the commercial and strategic value of Siam to enable them to come to a conclusion about it, and they know enough about how the British Empire has been built up in the past.

The question is a perfectly simple one, and I will not complicate it with my own notion of a possible solution. If they wish to settle it one way, it is probable that Lord Rosebery's pleasure in carrying out their wishes will not be less than his ability to do so, and they have only to strengthen his hands. If they wish to settle it the other way, they have but to range themselves on the side of politicians who would willingly thwart him. The only flagrantly unpatriotic and unpardonable course will be to let matters drift to a conclusion. The ship—most of all the ship of State—that drifts is lost.

HENRY NORMAN.

## THE MINERS' BATTLE—AND AFTER.

THE London Dock Strike, the South Metropolitan Gas Strike, the Scottish Railways Strike, the Welsh Railways Strike, the Durham Miners' Strike, the Lancashire Cotton Lock-out, the Hull Dock Strike, each involving directly many thousands of wage-earners, and the comforts, health, and lives of their families; each involving indirectly the earnings of hundreds of thousands in connected industries, and the expenditure of millions of consumers: these are the social portents of our time. And now, within four years of the first-named contest, has arisen the most gigantic and calamitous struggle of industrial history, which is still dragging grimly on as I write; a struggle deliberately provoked by a demand by the associated Coalowners, which more than one of them has publicly confessed to have been in no way justified by the pretexts put forward in declaring it; and of which the sordid actual significance did not begin to be generally realised till three hundred thousand miners had been wageless for weeks, and numbers of workers in trades dependent immediately on the coal-supply had been thrown on short time or locked out altogether.

We need not here attempt to evaluate closely the money-cost, the waste, the suffering, the permanent demoralisation and national damage this three months' warfare has involved. Every householder in the kingdom has felt something of it. One tenth, or more, of the breadwinners have been either totally or partially thrown out of work by it. What that has meant to our people throughout one quarter of England can only be realised, and that but faintly, by those who have been living and moving in the smitten districts. The impressions left on others by a general study of the reports of articulate spectators may be summarised in one word—Famine. As to the

money cost, say half a million a week (too low an estimate) in wages withdrawn from the workers, mining and other; coal withheld from supply at the rate of something like two million tons per week with the profits to the trade thereon; loss to the railways, in freight, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a week; loss to the metal and chemical trades, the shipping interests, and innumerable associated industries, at present altogether incalculable, but combining to a still increasing total that will run into scores of millions, and will be augmented by the inevitable shrinkage in consumption and by the check to foreign trade which this vast dislocation of production must entail, and from which we may take years to recover.

Statements and calculations such as these may, after all, be but tales of little meaning. Hurricane, earthquake, pestilence, war, any mere brutality of nature or delirium of insane rulers might work more serious mischief to a nation, and yet be of far less importance than this lock-out, the significance of which lies in its spirit. The material evil and suffering are doubtless great, and cry aloud for some remedy or future preventive. From all directions come proposals for the establishment of arbitration tribunals, of boards of conciliation, with or without Government assessors, for sliding scales of wages, for control by the Board of Trade, for control by combination of employers, by combination of the employed, or by a trust of associated coal owners and workers, for confiscation of mining royalties, for municipalisation of the coal supply, for nationalisation of the mines, and so on. The outcry is proportionate to the suffering, but it may not be according to understanding.

Unquestionably some expedient is most pressingly required to prevent the recurrence of the piteous scandal of these thirteen weeks. And it is the more important that some provisional arrangement or *modus vivendi* should, if possible, be speedily arrived at because, in the opinion of most witnesses well qualified to judge, it appears very probable that even should the collapse of the coal-owners' combination now in progress result in the resumption of work by all the men still locked out, at their old rate of wages, we shall be confronted by a recrudescence of the struggle which seems now ending before this winter is over. It is no use blinking this consideration. As Mr. John Burns, speaking in Hyde Park at the demonstration of the 15th of October pointed out, unless great prudence is exercised, and the output carefully watched by the federated unions of the miners, they may very soon place their masters once more in the position which encouraged and was used to justify the recent onslaught of the latter on their wages. The management of every pit that opens will be keen to take advantage to the utmost of the higher price of coal, which the vanishing of stocks has produced. They will force their output, to make profits whilst high profits are to be made. And

the men employed will be tempted to make up for lost time by excessive labour, to drive up the day's winnings, to work long weeks and extra shifts. Taking the normal week as of three to five days in the Midlands, it is obvious that there is a possibility of an increase in production which, when arrears have been worked off and orders fall slack after the New Year, might begin to swell stocks at the pit's mouth or encourage the coal-owners to a renewal of competitive tenders at ruinous prices, which can only be made good by encroachments on wages, or evaded under the strike clauses in contracts by a repetition of the murderous tactics which produced the disaster of this summer. This feature in the situation will give force to the public demand that some step shall be taken with all possible despatch to avert a recurrence of a crisis so calamitous to the nation.

The expedients most commonly suggested we shall presently briefly consider. At this point it is only relevant to observe that the remedy does not lie in the hands of those who are the first to demand that "something should be done," but must be a growth of the industrial world itself, and that there is no short cut or royal road to the prevention of coal strikes or any others. There is, indeed, no form of industrial dislocation that is more generally or more immediately felt by all consumers; and there is on this account, perhaps, a more general disposition throughout the articulate public to call out through the press and on the platform for State intervention in the control of the mining industry and coal trade, as the source of a prime requisite of life, than is shown when other services are interrupted, of which at this moment the State could much more easily, promptly, and effectively assume the direction. (By "the State," I mean, of course, any delegated representative authority, national or local, as distinguished from the authority of capital in individual private ownership.) For example, looking back to the great contests which were named at the commencement of this article, we see that all but one (the Cotton lock-out) occurred in industries much more amenable to and ripe for assumption by the State than is at present our national coal supply. Yet, although the "Progressives" in London, and the New Unionists, the Collectivist Radicals, and the Socialists throughout the country have been and are proceeding with clear purpose towards establishing public ownership and control in gasworks, docks, and railways, it is notable that the middle-class consumer, represented by the bulk of the daily and weekly press and its amateur correspondents, has shown much more disposition to advocate or approve, however vaguely, intervention by the State in connection with the present struggle than it has done during former similar contests. The public has felt more generally the inconvenience resulting from that "subjection of labour to capital"



which John Stuart Mill declared to be the chief cause of the evils and iniquities which distract the industrial world. But although more widely spread, the evil has not in itself been essentially greater or more serious in this instance than in the other disputes referred to, and in many another now forgotten; and although more individuals have suffered, the sufferings of individuals have not been more severe. The evil, in the one case and in all, lies in the constitution of the system of the industry and the situations to which it inevitably gives rise; and only modifications of the system will assist towards a remedy. The system itself is not modified by the establishment of Conciliation Boards or Courts of Arbitration, but only by some essential re-adjustment of the economic interests and dynamic relations of the parties concerned—the workers, the owners, and the consuming public. Such a scheme, therefore, as that propounded by Sir George Elliot for the formation of a comprehensive Coal Trust, under which these interests and relations should be adjusted on deliberate principles, is very much more relevant to the problem which calls for treatment than any schemes for tribunals to pronounce what it is that competition prescribes as between masters and men (for it is really competition that creates the data upon which all such tribunals decide) or than vague demands for protection to the pockets of the public, or proposals (such as that just adopted by a Special Committee of the Senate of the State of New York) to fix maximum coal prices by law.

The importance and significance, then, of this vast contest lies not chiefly in its mere enormity or in the acuteness of the suffering it has caused; not in the colossal disingenuousness of the associated employers and their callousness\* to the misery of millions whilst they netted famine prices for their stocks, and shunted the bad bargains they had made at impossible quotations; not in the invincible doggedness of the locked-out miners and the women their comrades during weeks of starvation; but rather in the fact that this resistance was inspired by an idea and a principle, the same that was asserted in the majority of those other great strikes of the last four years, and that it did aim at introducing a deliberate new adjustment and essential modification of those said relations and interests of the parties concerned in production. The miners, like the workers in those other contests, have been fighting for the basic principle of a minimum wage: of a decent standard of living for human workers as the first charge on the product and the condition of any production at all. In other strikes and lock-outs the workers have been forced to give way, to fall back under a "competition wage" insufficient for the support of a household in tolerable poverty. Twenty years of the Education Acts have raised up a generation that will less and less

\* Joint-stock enterprise (between the match girls' strike and the Liberator Society) has of late years kept us well inured to this.

consent on any terms to this. Two hundred and seventy thousand miners have elected starvation in preference. "Their work has got to keep them living at a standard at which life is worth enduring, or their work and they together may cease out of the land. They know, too, that although their masters will compete—must under present conditions compete—amongst themselves till there come periods when prices leave no profit, yet the coal industry of Great Britain could be so ordered by rational organisation and economy as to yield both owner's profits and worker's living wage continuously, and this without such prices to consumers as would hurt either our home or export trade. They, or at least their chosen representatives and the vast majority of the more intelligent amongst them, have it in mind to bring about such organisation; by methods indeed perhaps not yet very clearly conceived, but already declared to involve not only the legal limitation of working hours but the transfer of all proprietary interests, in royalties and the like, to the State, and the administration of the mine in the joint interest of the public and the workers, instead of, as at present, in the interests of mere profit-eating shareholders. In a word, the Midland and Western miners are of the economic and political school of industrial democracy; and their battle has been not merely a vast "higgling of the market," but an engagement in the Collectivist campaign, a demonstration of the vigour in England of that Socialist movement one chief aim of which is to supersede the relations out of which such battles arise.

The main facts of the story of this lock-out must be already too familiar to most readers to require more than summary rehearsal. The account by Mr. Woods, M.P., in the September number of the *New Review* may be referred to for the early details. Briefly, on the 30th of last June 271,000 miners were given two weeks' notice of a reduction of 18 per cent. on their actual rates of payment. It has appeared from the statistics which the controversies of this struggle have forced under the notice of all readers of the daily press that have cared to inform themselves impartially upon the question, that these rates, at the number of days per week habitually worked, gave the miners an average net wage which varied according to the districts affected from 16s. or 17s. to 24s. or 25s. a week, and that the average throughout the whole area was not more than 20s. throughout the year. I have examined a comprehensive return of gross average wages drawn up for the employers in these districts, which therefore does not err by understatement, and, corrected by the necessary deductions, and adjusted to the number of days of work, it does not discredit this estimate, though no doubt some few coal-hewers may do rather better.

Whenever a dispute in the coal trade lays a tax upon the pockets of the public, you may always expect with perfect confidence to hear (as of the sea serpent in August) of the pianos, the champagne, and

the bull pups' mutton chops. The public of the afternoon tea-table, the dinner party, and the club have recorded and registered these monstrous orgies as the disposing and discrediting causes of all mining strikes. The tradition of them dates from 1873, but they served last August to make many reputations for "knowing all about these things—you know." Three months of starvation for the sake of prime vintages and the "poop"! The strain of this hypothesis must, we fear, have done something to depreciate these venerable fictions. At any rate, the miners should in future have credit for a disposition to die like gentlemen. Yet within this last fortnight there comes up smiling the belated (and, of course, anonymous) correspondent to the *Times* with his tale of the Chesterfield pitmen and their average wage throughout the year of £3 a week, "30s. of which they spend regularly in drinking and betting." And the *Times* hawks this venomous rubbish as though there were either truth or relevance in the statement.

The public, then, as usual, cursed "the miners" for their "strike," and the coal-owners for their immediate raid of extortionate prices and profits, and waited till the men should "come to reason," as it remembered vaguely they had generally done on former like occasions after three or four weeks of stoppage.

The situation was aggravated by a strike of more miners in Wales and the Forest of Dean, to repudiate the sliding scale under which their wages were regulated. This did the men no good in the estimation of the outside public, unskilled in industrial questions, to whom a "sliding scale," that specious but discredited expedient, still appears an unexceptional and equitable device for combining the interests of masters and men. But this was a side issue; the strike was on the whole unsuccessful, and this element was withdrawn from the main battle.

The Miners' Federation stood out steadfastly and made no explanation of its position in reply to the misunderstandings of its critics. The men knew what they were about, if the lookers-on did not. This vastest of industrial wars was inaugurated and continued with proportionally less intimidation and violence than any other great recent struggle. Indeed, these have been almost wholly absent throughout most of the area affected; and the most conspicuous instance has been the killing at Featherstone by troops requisitioned by coalowners to assist in defeating the men, and precipitated into firing on the crowd through the apprehensions of a colliery manager. The reason of this great absence of intimidation is the extensive organisation of the miners and their very clear general understanding of the issue and the principles involved. Curiously, too, from the point of view of those who still believe in the "pestilent agitator," the local disturbances have been in inverse ratio to the numbers of delegates sent to the Federation Council by the several districts. Yorkshire sends five; Lanca-

shire twenty-four. Curiously, too, from the same point of view, Lancashire, the best educated and most intelligent district, would appear to be most "ridden" by these "agitators," whom, so many correspondents to the newspapers tell us, the men follow blindly and without understanding. The fact is that for two years past the organisers of the Federation have foreseen that this blow would be struck by the employers when a suitable occasion should arise; and the result was that the miners were prepared, and knew, when at length the blow fell, that they must act as one man or be lost.

By degrees the disquiet of the public, the increasing disorganisation of industry, and the revolt of individual employers began to elicit the true facts of the situation; and the miners' case grew clearer. Thanks chiefly to the London *Daily Chronicle*, it began to be recognised that the pretext of the masters' demand was not beyond suspicion; and that the men's wages were not at a figure at which that demand could be conceded without plunging many thousands of families into grinding and demoralising penury. The economic issue, whether prices should rule wages or wages prices, we may consider anon; what now appeared was a question whether the masters' contention and action was adopted *bonâ fide*, and whether the men were justified in resisting at all costs any reduction.

There was plenty of criticism of the men, from the point of view implied in that word "justified." For however much the miners might disdain to explain their position in a conflict which had been forced upon them, and in which they had no alternative to resisting the attack upon their livelihood, the fact that so many outsiders were affected inevitably provoked moral judgments. In the first place it was asked, why did they not resolve that those who could return to work at the former rates should do so at the earliest opportunity? They voted the contrary. Was not this, even from their own point of view, a mistake in tactics? Such a return, with a levy on those returning, would have proved six weeks earlier that the master's case was not all sound, and their financial position would have been strengthened. They have since then adopted this tactic. There was, perhaps, too much passive doggedness and too little generalship here. Then, again, it was asked, why not go to arbitration? There seems much virtue to many in that "blessed word" arbitration. But what was the question to be arbitrated on? The masters' contention that current prices required a reduction? With contracts for gas-coal accepted at 5s. 3d. a ton there would be little doubt as to the answer. The men's position was that such prices should never have been touched. Arbitrate on that? Conceive the comments of the *Economist* or the *Times* on such a suggestion. Unquestionably the men would have lost, upon grounds they judged irrelevant to the issue, in any arbitration conducted on the lines on which arbitrators usually proceed.

The parties could scarcely have agreed on the terms of a reference. The only point which the men could consistently have submitted was the question of their actual average earnings, and of the effect of a reduction on their standard of living. But this, though its discussion might have helped them in public opinion and obtained for them earlier support, would no doubt have seemed irrelevant to the employers, whose position was that the rates could not possibly be maintained, and who therefore could not commit themselves to be guided by a verdict on these issues. But after all the men were nowise bound, under current competitive principles, to take counsel of or satisfy the public as to what rate of wages they should put up with.

The attitude of the employers, on the other hand, was more open to condemnatory criticism, and has been convicted on at least some damaging charges. It has, for instance, been admitted through the press by various coal-owners that the state of ruling prices did not, except possibly in the case of particular businesses, warrant the demand of an eighteen per cent. reduction of wages. It is admitted that the lock-out has resulted in enormous profits on stocks in hand to some of its most determined promoters. It is admitted that it has enabled large firms to get rid of engagements to sell coal at cut-throat rates, and has given them, through famine prices to the public, that profit which they could only have hoped otherwise to reap by forcing famine wages on the men. It is an admissible inference, and it has been more than hinted by certain seceders from the ranks of the Associated Owners that the reason why the notice of a reduction so unnecessarily large was so suddenly sprung upon the men, when the need—if it existed—for reduction could have long been foreseen and the change effected, if at all, by more moderate steps, was that it was known that so excessive a demand would not, and could not, be acceded to by any section of the men concerned, and that a general suspension would result, to the immediate advantage of the holders of large stocks and rotten contracts, and with the prospect that the men would meanwhile be starved out into accepting an abatement of, say, half the amount first demanded—for the “fifteen per cent.” reduction at which the owners that still hold out have expressed themselves willing to re-open will no doubt soon be lowered a few points more. And, finally, owners have made no secret of their design to use this crisis to destroy the organisation of the men.

But excursions into moral reprobation might seem out of place in a critical survey of these facts. The policy of the owners, if the worst that has been said of it be true, is no more than an ordinary business transaction. It is the scale of it that rivets our attention; but in kind or in essential cruelty it does not differ from innumerable daily interpretations of the principle that “business is business.” Setting feeling aside, then, we may glance briefly at the economic determin-

ants of the situation. Assuming the most honourable intentions on both sides, and dealing again in the first place with the men, it is asked: Are they not fighting against the inevitable? If, as the masters allege—and as we will for the sake of argument suppose to be the case—the pits cannot be worked to pay expenses at ruling prices, there is actually less money available for wages, to say nothing of interest and profits, without which, it may be assumed, production would not long be maintained at its present amount. Either, then, all wages must be reduced, or the worst paying pits, at any rate, must fall out of working; for of course some pits do, and always will, yield high profits at any conceivable rate of wages. This argument appears convincing to many; and the miners' reply that the prices must be adjusted to pay their minimum wage is scouted as a paradox of puzzle-headed mob-economics.

Now it must be confessed that the new theory, that prices are the arbiters of wages, which has been quoted as a kind of Holy Writ by the official apologists for the masters, and officious advisers of the men, is too new for some slow-witted survivors from the period of the old economics. We that were nurtured on the milk of Mrs. Fawcett, and the stronger meat of John Stuart Mill, were taught to believe that the basis of Exchange Value was Cost of Production, and that the first element in cost of production was a wage determined by the standard of life of the worker. That, after this, for increase of efficiency, came interest or profit upon capital, and last of all, out of the surplus of most favoured sites or mines, came a balance of rent which equalised wages throughout the country, and averaged the interest on investments. No doubt this analysis is effete; we should not now teach any one in that way; but it passes my understanding to conceive on what ground it is assumed that an exact extroversion of that analysis, and the statement of all its terms in an order precisely the reverse is now the orthodox pronouncement of economics. I suggest, with timidity, that this portentous dogma owes its rampancy in the present dispute to the fact that in the coal industry the last term of the old Ricardian series is patently and unquestionably the first. The first charge on production, the first element in the exchange value of coal, is Rent, in the form of rent, royalties and wayleaves, and of fines on renewal of leases. Every ton raised must first pay from threepence to fifteen pence to the landlord. This, possibly, I say, may explain the remarkable notion that price comes first, then rent, then profit and interest (on watered stock if need be), and last of all, wages to share the available balance: which I take to be a fair statement of this position. Neither version may be true or adequate, but we may surely have leave to consider that the old is as sound as the new, and the old is the doctrine of the men.

In mentioning royalties, we have touched upon a factor in the problem presented by our coal industry which, although important in itself, may, as regards this present controversy, be eliminated as a constant quantity. We are concerned with the variables between the masters, the men, and the public; profits, wages, and prices. The £4,200,000 paid in royalties is a direct tax on the miners and the whole community which only nationalisation can restore to them. But in this regard they need not be distinguished from Rent in general.

To come a little nearer to the concrete. The miner's economic theory is supported by the argument that if the price of coal has fallen to a rate at which employers cannot carry on their businesses without cutting down wages, that is the employers' own fault. Parenthetically, it is not the fact that many collieries are working at a loss. The dividends declared by the joint-stock companies prove this. No doubt many joint-stock collieries have been bought too dear from the private vendor, and the nominal capital over which dividends must be spread is far too large. But if prices have been driven down to such a level, it is because lessees, believing they could force reductions on the men, have gone into the market and sold coal at lower rates than the public demanded or desired, most buyers having been satisfied with things as they were for some time past. Before the Durham strike of 1892, one firm in Durham is stated to have offered coal to the London Gas Light Company at 2s. 6d. per ton lower than any Yorkshire firm could or would offer to sell at. This firm got the order, for 280,000 tons. And are we then to say that the Durham men were to yield to "economic necessity"? The gas companies are amongst the largest customers of the collieries, and it is with them that the most ruinous bargains are made. The gas companies pay dividends which range from 8 to 13 per cent. and more on their exaggerated and dropsical capitals. Will any one maintain that to keep up prices against them would cause any hardship to the consumer? Are the profits of the railway companies cut so low that they must reduce either their coal bills or their wages? There is good reason for alleging that in many instances these low sales have been made to other businesses in which the coal proprietors were directly interested; so that the profits of both concerns were to be screwed out of the miners' stomachs. If the coal-owners combined to keep prices at a reasonable level, as they can combine to beat down wages and break up the federation of the unions, they could, without extortion against the public, keep their businesses going and their workers properly paid. That is the men's contention, and Sir George Elliot's calculations in his scheme for a combined Coal Interests Trust entirely bear it out.

I may here incidentally observe that among the various reasons

why the sliding scale system has been condemned after trial by most miners' associations, one is that a scale leaves wages directly at the mercy of prices, and that prices are wrecked by the methods and for the reasons explained above. Further, the colliery business is one in which periods of high profit are habitually interleaved with periods of no profit at all, and a standard struck at an unfavourable period may operate most unfairly against the men during the whole of the currency of that particular scale. Moreover, there is no sound reason why wages and profits should vary together on any of the principles usually followed in sliding scales; and their interpretation gives rise to endless controversy. Nor need the public desire to see profits increased out of its necessities, and wage-earners sharing the tainted spoil. But I do not think it necessary to discuss at any length this one amongst the remedies proposed, because, though scales have some advantages in the averting of strikes and lock-outs (assuming that both parties abide by them, which they often do not), they are off the line of development of industrial policy in these matters; and there is not the slightest probability of the Miners' Federation making any permanent arrangement with the masters on any such basis. If anything of the kind should be agreed to at any pit for the sake of concluding this contest, it will only be as a temporary expedient for gaining time and breath; and it will certainly be thrown over on the earliest suitable opportunity.

But, it is answered for the owners, they are not combined; they cannot keep up prices against the public; they would if they could. They must compete and cut each other's throats to live. Prices, therefore, do go down—you must deal with the facts—they are driven down by competition; and when they are down full wages cannot be paid. The men must suffer; it is regrettable, but cannot be avoided. Now this is a conclusive answer to the men. If prices had not gone up, or if they fall again after work is now resumed, wages must be cut or mines be closed. It is conclusive in more senses than this. The argument, to a Socialist, has a curiously familiar ring. Now one thinks of it, it is the argument of Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*. Capitalist employers *must* compete, the big ones *must* strive to swamp and swallow the little ones, and consolidate their own supremacy over the market on ever-narrowing lines. This competition *must* incessantly cut money prices and drive down the wages of the worker. That is his argument briefly, and it leads, by another road than Ricardo's, to that thesis of the iron law of wages which is the basis of the Marxian conclusions. It appears to be also the argument of the *Times* and other spokesmen of the coal-owners in the press. I would urge those who honour and who stand by our competitive industrial system, to be very, very careful of uncovering its nakedness in this ingenuous fashion. If they will appeal to Cæsar, to Cæsar they must go.



If the masters appeal to Socialist premises, the men will not be slow to follow with the Socialist conclusion. This as a fact they have done; and the Miners' Federation delegates voted with the majority at the Belfast Trades' Union Congress for the creation of a Parliamentary fund for the election expenses of candidates pledged to promote the establishment of collective ownership in the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange. If private employers, they say, cannot organise and regulate production, if the workers are to pay them half their product with no better results than starvation to themselves and a shortage of a quarter of a year's supply of coal to the nation, and all that this has involved, the sooner industrial democracy takes such responsibilities off these impotent shoulders the better. If the coal-owners cannot keep prices at a level which will guard us from such cataclysms, the organised workers must do it for them—and, indeed, they alone can do it. The workers, as trade unionists on the one hand, must maintain the living wage as the bed-rock basis of price; on the other, as citizens, they must effect through State action the regulation of the industry which individual ownership has failed to control. The loss by this battle has been already at least £25,000,000 in three months—the rate of our national taxation. It would be childish for belated Individualists to attempt any longer to pretend that any wages that could have possibly been fixed for the mining population of the country, or any conceivable stiffening of the price of coal to the consumer, could have left a balance of economy against this to the credit of “free competition” in the conduct of our coal trade.

The miners' perception and acceptance of these views is the most important factor in the present situation; and it may safely be prophesied that such views will determine more and more in the future the conditions of equilibrium in the coal industry, and not in that industry alone. Considering the immediate prospect, and the possible steps to forestall the near recurrence of the death-struggle now raging, we may hope, and it seems almost certain, that at least there will be formed a board of conciliation, and perhaps subordinate district boards on which delegates of masters and men may meet for discussion and for the removal of any possible misunderstandings. It is conceivable, though not very comfortingly probable, that acute industrial warfare might at times be averted through the operation of such a board. It is much more doubtful, for reasons, amongst others, already referred to, whether any arbitratative tribunal can be formed to give decisions that would be respected upon serious points of difference that may arise. We are forced to this discouraging anticipation by the fact that employers and men do not meet on common ground. As regards lesser details of the conduct of work in the mines, interpretations of accepted rules and principles and similar matters, joint boards and

arbitration by experts may often be exceedingly useful; but on the fundamental and all-important questions of wages and (pending legislation) of hours, there is no permanent basis for arguing towards consent, except so far as an appeal to mere force may be postponed by a convincing demonstration that one side is overwhelmingly the stronger. But in such a case the force is only veiled, and a reduction of wages by consent under such conditions does not signify any real agreement or conciliation, but indeed very much the reverse.

During the recent lock-out of cotton workers in Lancashire (when the masters were trying to force a reduction of 5 per cent. in wages) there appeared in the *Times* a letter very precious in its old-fashioned simplicity. "A Capitalist" wrote, in the course of it, as follows: "*This combat is really meant, not to enforce this paltry reduction, but to determine who is to have the management of our mills—our workpeople, or we who own the mills and supply the capital.*" This is, in a nutshell, the real issue involved in every one of these great fights of the last five years. At the date when this letter appeared the Shipping Federation had just entered on an attempt to cripple the organisation of the Hull dock-workers, and to smash up the Seamen and Firemen's Union—the latter an aim which they have since then steadily pursued by every despicable and pettifogging device that their money could command. The coal-owners are on the same road.

The Hull dock strike was an ill-advised struggle. The ramification of interests involved in dock business is so vast that no sectional trade union could control it. But trade unionism is barren if it remains a mere device for raising wages, and does not go on to the organisation and regulation of production. Yet no trade union—certainly not the Hull Dockers, not the Miners' Federation, not even that of the Cotton Operatives, which, perhaps, comes nearest to ability to do so—is in a position at once to assume irresponsible control of its own industry. Nor would it be tolerable that it should do so. We do not want "the mine for the miner," any more than "the sewer for the sewer-men." The great engines of our national subsistence are not to be run as the property and for the profit of the engineers, any more than for that of private capitalist owners. This the "New Unionists" see clearly enough, and it is this that inspires their policy of industrial democracy.

The Zurich International Socialist Congress declared that the establishment of Social Democracy must be worked for along two main lines—trade union organisation, and political organisation of the workers. This programme needs to be filled by the definition of a third line of advance. Besides trade unionism to assert the standard of living and the limits of work, besides legislation to control the general principles and conditions of industry, there must be built up

a social tissue of citizen-workers actually conducting and directing industry as public servants. This is the road of national and municipal ownership in the means of production. It is nonsense to talk of a central Government in London directing all the industries of the country. No Socialist ever does so. But he recognises that the system of competitive capitalism can only be ousted by the substitution of organisation to do the work it does, but does so ill, and that this organisation must be built up by trade unionism, legislation, and between the two Collectivism, national and local.

In the face of such a movement as this the employer—the coal-owner—has no permanent place of abiding. There can be, and will be, no lasting adjustment of the interests of masters and men. The workers of the country, as their organisation and understanding advance, must inevitably claim more and more. The “master” is, indeed, effacing himself daily in the impersonal capitalism of limited companies. The men have caught the Socialist idea, and must and will go forward. They intend to absorb the capitalist. They have declared it at the Belfast Congress. And all who desire to avoid a recurrence of this year’s experience will work with them, along their lines, to do this. Coal-owners cannot compromise with such a movement; they can only fight, and fight with the weapon of starvation. They say there are too many men in the mines; but they resist the eight hours’ day, which would absorb any excess there may really be. Their system, and their whole economic theory, requires this reserve. They cannot keep up prices: they must needs have a surplus of workers to keep down wages, and prevent the men from determining prices themselves.

Because this is the essence of the situation we cannot yet prophesy peace—not even if Sir George Elliot’s very notable scheme is carried out. This scheme proposes, briefly, to consolidate all coal properties into a Trust, allotting to present owners the estimated value of their interests in one-third five per cent. debentures and two-thirds ordinary shares; to establish a pension fund for the men; to fix uniform wages at a fair minimum rate, and to raise them according to profits; to fix the prices of coal to the public at a figure which will be low, because of the immense economy of working which the consolidation will unquestionably permit, and to reduce the price, under control of a State Board, whenever a fifteen per cent. dividend is reached. In short, it undertakes to do most things which the coal-owners have said cannot be done. It is understood that most owners have agreed to co-operate in the carrying out of this scheme, and it is strongly to be hoped it may go through. Properly controlled by Government, it can do nothing but good; and if successful it will set at rest the question whether the coal supply can ever be administered as a single national concern. For if this can be done by the paid officers of a corporation of shareholders, it can be done

by the paid officers of a corporation of citizens, and the profits returned to the public. To talk of nationalisation as an immediate remedy is idle. Expropriation, by purchase or otherwise, is no measure for this Parliament or the next. We can tax mining royalties and profits, as we can tax all unearned incomes; but we could not in a moment command the organic tissue for carrying on the functions required. We can build up that tissue locally, as we are building it up in other industries, by the extension of municipal enterprise; but for the speedy establishment of a national organisation, to adjust the innumerable special problems of particular pits and districts, a trust is the most practicable expedient. It would organise the whole business, distinguish the capitalist interest from that of the workers' over the whole field, and hand over the destined victims with but one neck for their ultimate execution. With profits duly taxed, and the conditions of work and prices prescribed by State control, the result would be similar to that of the leasing of mines by the State. If the scheme goes through it will probably improve matters all round for a time; and whether the inevitable assault on it will come from within, by a strike once more disorganising production, or from without, through political action by the workers at large, can hardly be guessed.

But we must not reckon on the success of private schemes, however heroic. No lasting help can come to men except out of their own intelligent action; and we must consider what in any case might be done towards nationally safeguarding this most vital of our national industries. The unions, at least, know their business in the matter. Sir George Elliot agrees with them as to the minimum standard of wages. So do the Collectivists and Progressive Radicals all over the country. They have to set the standard of living according to the conditions of their industry. The workers, as citizens, must strengthen the unions, and stay the feeble hands of the employers by insisting on the eight hours' day in mines. This will do much to steady production and prices. And they must get power for municipal and local authorities, not only to organise the distribution of coal in towns and villages, but to own their own collieries and coal-ships for their supply of gas and household coal, for the supply of the engines of their works departments, for consumption in their schools and institutions, and for all other services that may pass into public management. Colliery towns might advantageously own and work their local pits. In any case public bodies should get their supplies from those mines only where the standard wage is paid. Such measures will not "nationalise" the coal supply in the full sense intended by the superficial use of that word—they will not, for instance, touch the export trade, or much of the supply to manufacturers—but they would be the opening of the road towards that end, and are capable of indefinite extension.

Meanwhile, any developments of this kind bring us forward towards the substance of "nationalisation." They set the national standard of wages determined by the workers, and thereby they steady and improve the condition of all workers still in private employment. They thus win back something from rent and profits over and above that portion of them saved by the public ownership of industrial concerns. They tend to equalise wages—or rather the net advantages of different employments—as Sir G. Elliot's scheme proposes to equalise them throughout the coal industry, and as every advance of Democratic Collectivism tends to equalise them throughout the nation. They tend to steady production, for whilst miners in private employment, fighting for their lives against shareholders fighting for profit, gain sympathy and public support, public servants, with an assured subsistence, and a rate of wage that the wage-earners themselves have settled, become mutineers if they strike, and get little countenance in a struggle against the commonwealth.

The miners' claim to a living wage, then, is identical in significance with the whole of the Collectivist programme as it appears in contemporary politics, and every advance attained on every item of that programme strengthens the position both of the miners and of the wage-earners in every other industry. One question may by anticipation be answered. How, it is often asked, can you possibly raise wages all round? There need be no mistake or ambiguity as to the reply. Mostly out of rent and interest—at any rate, as far as they will go—by combination, taxation, regulation of industry, and extension of public ownership. The miners' battle means no less than that, and the miners' leaders know it.

This conflict, then, is the outcome of a new constructive idea, encountering the forms of an old system. It is part of the awakening of the working class to self-consciousness and deliberate common purpose. A movement of this kind is not turned back by reverses; it destroys both its instruments and their opponents rather. The tyranny of the idea is inexorable, as has been seen in the sufferings of the miners in this contest. It is quite conceivable that such a movement, if it cannot build up the executive organisation for its ends, might ruin in the attempt the trade of a country (the coal trade, at any rate, is safe from this), just as the revolutionary idea in France has been too strong for the executive capacity of her citizens and has left her in political impotence for nearly a hundred years. But there is no need to fear this in England if the lesson of this bad business be laid to heart, and it be clearly realised that such industrial struggles are not mere casual illustrations of inflexible economic laws, but the prophetic mirror of constructive democratic statesmanship.

## THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR.

IT was inevitable that the Fabian Society's lively impeachment of the present Administration in its relations to labour\* should have been welcomed only in those quarters which care nothing for labour and a good deal for the destruction of the Government. As the Fabians are intelligent men, it is fair to assume that such a result was anticipated by them when they chose to blazon the shortcomings of a Liberal Government, because in sixteen months it has failed to idealise the conditions under which its 200,000 workers live, and to pass over in silence the fact that in six years its Tory predecessors did virtually nothing at all towards that end. This presentment of the case is all the more remarkable because, a few months ago, the Fabian demand was reasonable enough. Mr. Sidney Webb, one of the authors of the manifesto, made some suggestions in the *Fortnightly*, a number of which have now become law or history. He suggested that "Welsh disestablishment, London unification, and the municipalisation of the village" should be "pressed forward." This has been done, and Mr. Mundella has also been able to disappoint the fears of the Fabians that the railway servants would be neglected, while Mr. Asquith has afforded the "sweated workers of the East End" some degree, at all events, of the protection that the Fabians thought they would not obtain. Mr. Webb added :

"Mr. Asquith's projected reconstruction and extension of the Factory Department, so as to make possible the thorough application of the existing law, might, of itself, change the face of Sheffield and East London, if only the Treasury sanction could be obtained for the very moderate expense involved. The extremely popular step of the establishment of a special

\* "To your Tents, O Israel," A Manifesto of the Fabian Society. *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1893.

Labour Department, which should bring an adequate staff of trained statisticians, investigators, medical officers, and experts of all kinds to the aid of the Factory Department and Mr. Burnett, needs only a vote in Committee of Ways and Means."\*

As it happens, both these reforms have been "made and provided," and there has also been a concession, though an inadequate one, of the Fabian suggestion that the State as an employer should make it its business to raise the standard of life for its workers. The day after the issue of the Fabian manifesto, Parliament met—to consider two great labour Bills, one of them backed by an unanimous mandate from trade-unionism. A fortnight later the Government had, by an intervention unique in the history of English politics, settled the coal strike. The Fabian is an apt generaliser, and he will doubtless link his manifesto with these two latter events in the ingenious sequence of cause and effect. To the student of politics, however, they have a meaning separable from the laudable efforts of Mr. Webb and Mr. Bernard Shaw to administer electropathic thrills to the economic conscience of Camberwell and Crouch End. They are part of an evolutionary process which is, to quote the Fabians again, converting the Liberal party "into a working-class organisation on a frankly collectivist basis."

What, therefore, was the point of the Fabian manifesto? The effect of its suggestion that the trade-unions should supply fifty independent labour candidates by means of a special election fund of £30,000 is obvious enough. The idea is, I need not say, out of harmony with the steady resolve of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress to steer clear of election funds, and to put all its force into the movement for democratising Parliament, as the Colonial assemblies and foreign legislatures have been democratised, by payment of members. This trade-union policy has unquestionable reference to Mr. Champion's old squalid intrigue with Toryism. Trade-unionists know well that until you have payment of members and second ballots, independent labour candidatures on a large scale can have only one effect—the building up of a Tory Government. That may be necessary as a labour *pis-aller*, that is to say, when the retrogressive tail of the Liberal party is strong enough to make it worth labour's while to give a trial to the progressive tail of the Tories. But the contingency has not yet arisen. As I propose to show, the Liberal tail is more nerveless than ever. It has been beaten over Eight Hours and over Employers' Liability. On the other hand, the Tory progressives count for nothing in the balance of party forces. Neither Sir John Gorst nor Sir Albert Rollit is likely to sit in the next Tory Cabinet, which will proceed straightway to exchange Mr. Matthews for Mr. Asquith, and Lord George Hamilton or Mr. Stanhope (those

\* *Fortnightly Review*, February 1903.

interchangeable politicians) for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman. But the Liberals have at least four or five Cabinet Ministers who may be trusted to keep fairly in touch with the labour movement, and to prevent the Whig drones from going to sleep as soon as they have settled down in their latest descent on the public service.

Another consideration is also present in the mind of the workers. If they are to join the Fabian wreckers, they must surrender the prospect of progress on the political side of the labour movement. They cannot themselves hope for years to come to constitute a turning force in Parliament, and they cannot exact any terms with Tory allies which would cover either payment of members—the key of the democratic situation—or manhood suffrage, or electoral reform, or even the abolition of the property vote. As far as I can ascertain, *two* Tory candidates at the last election were in favour of payment of members, the principle of which was carried in the House of Commons this session by all but the solid vote of the Liberal and Irish parties, and by a majority larger than that for the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. And on the administrative side the workers have practically no Tory record since Lord Cross left the Home Office. Mr. Matthews simply did not administer the Factory Acts at all, and as for the prison side of his department I do not suppose that he devoted a day's serious thought to it.\* Sir William Hart-Dyke was too disagreeably surprised at the electioneering stroke which was responsible for free education to give it any real administrative effect.

Indeed, if the industrial education of the Liberals is incomplete, that of the Tories has not even begun. Conservatism did not supply a man or a principle to the progressive movement in municipal affairs which in four years has swept all through England.† Its show labour-advocate and Friend of Man, Sir John Gorst, did not, while he was at the Treasury, establish a single one of the small ameliorations of the workers' lot that the State employee owes to the present Cabinet. Its official leaders are the habitual spokesmen of political ideas—a competition wage, voluntarism in Employers' Liability, the "freedom" of the adult worker, both as against trade-unionism and industrial law, the rich man's Parliament, the hereditary veto—which are no longer heard on Liberal platforms, and against which practically the whole Parliamentary force of the Liberal party has, during the last eighteen months, been repeatedly marshalled.

It is Mr. Chamberlain, however, who is usually selected as the person to over-trump the Liberals in a labour policy. I would

\* In this instance I am afraid his successor has hardly bettered matters. The local prisons system has been made over by successive Administrations to the almost uncontrolled management of Sir Edmund Du Cane. Not a single reform has been introduced in this department since it was transferred from the magistrates in 1878.

† A recent Parliamentary return, moved for by Mr. Burns states that, outside the large towns, 140 urban authorities have adopted the fair wage resolution or modifications of it, which is the basis of the London County Council's labour policy.



suggest, however, that Socialists invoke his name in vain, and that trade-unionists in particular have every reason to look askance at it. Mr. Chamberlain's habit is to found his politics on the simple human principle of "paying out" the people who oppose or slight him. He has applied this method to Irish politics, and he is applying it to-day to the trade-unionists of Birmingham, who alone threaten his supremacy over the unorganised workers of the great Midland town.\* His line on Employers' Liability was characteristic. He tried to wreck it by having it referred to a Select Committee. He induced the Unionist members of the Grand Committee to stay away, and when it returned to the House he suggested its re-committal. Action of this kind hardly constitutes a set-off against a pensions scheme, strongly individualist in conception, which was shipwrecked by the united opposition of the Friendly Societies. Mr. Chamberlain, indeed, is what Birmingham—the most backward of all the industrial centres in England—has made him, and that is as keen an individualist as Mr. Carnegie. His one excursion into Socialism consists of a purely speculative support of an Eight Hours Bill to which every responsible Conservative leader and four-fifths of the Conservative party are opposed. Nor, failing Mr. Chamberlain, can the trade-unionists look to the Conservative press, which "boomed" the Fabian manifesto, and would have nothing to say to the "living wage," or to Mr. Balfour, who has threatened the London Radicals with the re-closing of Trafalgar Square; or to Lord Salisbury, who will have no administration of free education which betters the standard of the Church of England schools.

In the absence, therefore, of complete treachery to the workers by the Liberal party, I imagine that the bulk of the trade-unionists will do what they have previously done with perfect consistency—give their votes to those Radical candidates who are with them on vital points and withhold them from the capitalist "tail." The question is, has there been any such treachery? Admittedly the Tories have done nothing; are the Liberals any better? The Fabians say they are not, and they proceed to prove it by reference mainly to the Government's administrative record. In order that I may put their case with perfect fairness, I reproduce the catalogue of Bills and administrative acts which they set down more or less to the Government's credit.

#### BILLS.

I. Employers' Liability which gives trades-union leaders "everything they have for thirty years been fighting for"—absolute com-

\* In Mr. Chamberlain's eyes, the chief defect of the Bill would seem to be its adherence to trade-unionist views. In a recent interview, published in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, Mr. Chamberlain said: "Mr. Asquith, who is responsible for the Bill, has absolutely no commercial experience, and it appears to me that he has accepted this measure just as it stood from the trade-unions without revision, criticism or amendment."

pulsion, no contracting out, universal application to Government workmen, to seamen, to domestic servants, and the draughting of an entirely new industrial charter, sweeping in the whole range of unhealthy employments.

II. The Parish Councils Bill which now deserves the larger title of a "London and Local Government Reform Bill," "which is the most serious attempt yet proposed to provide the agricultural labourer with means of escape from his dreary serfdom," and which in its amended form adequately embodies the Land Programme laid down at Newcastle.

III. The Equalisation of London Rates.

IV. Registration (admittedly incomplete and defective).

#### ADMINISTRATIVE WORK.

I. The restoration of Trafalgar Square to London workmen.

II. An "able and spirited" administration of the Factory Acts.

III. The appointment of workmen as factory sub-inspectors and of women as factory inspectors "dead in the teeth of permanent officialism."

IV. "A vigorous inquiry into unhealthy trades."

V. The appointment of working-men J.P.'s in Lancashire and elsewhere. (About seventy were appointed in one administrative year.)

VI. The reduction of the qualification for Guardians to £5—the lowest limit possible without a change in the law.

VII. The appointment of a Royal Commission on the aged poor.

VIII. The recognition of the right of combination to Post-office servants.

IX. The re-instatement of the mass of the trades-unionist postmen and telegraphists dismissed by Mr. Raikes.

X. "An excellent administration of the Free Schools Act."

XI. The issue of the Code for evening schools which the Fabians describe as "a startling new departure"—embodying an elaborate plan for the instruction of young citizens in their duties to the State.

XII. The payment of trades-union wages and the establishment of trades-union hours for the employees at South Kensington and Bethnal Green.

XIII. Raising the minimum wage for Admiralty labourers from 17s. to 19s. and of the workers at Woolwich and Deptford from 17s. to 20s.

XIV. Several minor increases of wages in various Government departments.

XV. The starting of an "excellent labour department" officered by the "right local correspondents in every town."

XVI. The "nomination of a sailor, usually an official of the National Seaman and Firemen's Union, to every Local Marine Board in the country."

To these must be added the changes, of which the Fabian Society is either unaware, or which it does not trouble itself to enumerate. The Society has educational reformers in its ranks, who might fairly take account of the raising of the age for half-timers from ten to eleven, and of the fixing of Standard V. as the standard of proficiency for half-timers. Nothing is said of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's two administrative changes in the labour interest (he is said to have done nothing), the raising of the minimum wage of the labourers in the Ordnance Stores at Woolwich, and the experimental adoption of the eight-hours day in the cartridge factory. If the Government adheres to its private pledges, this change is a prelude to a general introduction of the eight-hours day. Smaller, but in their way useful, improvements are the establishment of a five-days week at Enfield, so as to tide over the slack time, and avert the necessity of reductions, and the removal of the bar on unionist labour at Messrs. McCorquodale's country establishment. Mr. Fowler, with a slenderer administrative record than his colleagues, has suggested to Boards of Guardians some small ameliorations of the aged paupers' lot, and in his two circulars on the unemployed question (1892 and 1893) he makes a fairly sound, if narrow, enumeration of the powers of the local authorities. Through the Parish Councils Bill, he and the Government are committed to the democratisation of the Poor Law, which, *pace* the Fabians, can only come about by way of a Bill. The Fabians gratify Mr. Mundella with an equivocal embrace, but they have nothing to say of the establishment of the *Labour Gazette*, under the editorship of the expert in labour statistics who has revived our industrial reports, and who has been the most notable personal factor in the settlement of the coal strike. The critics of modern Socialism in English politics have taken no account of the Act for the regulation of the hours of labour of servants—a small but useful concession to the movement for the State control of adult labour.

On the London programme it is useless to disguise the fact that Mr. Fowler, as Minister for London, has been but an equivocal success. But it is hardly accurate to describe the relations with the County Council with the remark that whenever the Council has approached him it has got a snub for its pains. It is Mr. Fowler's misfortune that he regards Wolverhampton much as Mr. Chamberlain regards Birmingham, and is unaware of the fact that the modern Radical movement dates from London. However, in regard to one of the two great London problems Mr. Fowler has done fairly well. The first London question is taxation, the second is the position of

the City, and other antiquated bodies as an Alesia outside the ordered bounds of representative government. On the first point the Government has been in very partial touch with the situation; on the second it has achieved a notable success. Unhappily the Council was unable last spring to present to Mr. Fowler a case for the taxation of the owners of London land bearing on it the stamp of a united mandate from the Progressive party. That is no excuse for an enlightened Minister; but, as a matter of fact, there were two plans in the air, one feasible, the other not. The better of the two was put before Mr. Fowler, and Mr. Fowler let it go by. On the other hand, the principle of Betterment was supported by the whole force both of the Government and of the Liberal party, and its rejection was due purely to the action of the House of Lords. On the question of the equalisation of London rates the Government has a clearer record. The measure is a compromise, but it is the mere disingenuousness of special pleading to refer to it as a Bill for the relief of one ratepayer at the expense of another. As a relief to County Council finance the Bill possesses no value; as a rope thrown to save East London from shipwreck it is useful enough.\* In that sense it is almost as clearly taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor as a graduated income-tax could be. On the question of the unification of London the Government stands in no need of apology. The Commission for the absorption of the City in greater London was a Commission appointed not to inquire but to work out a plan of unification. The disestablishment and disendowment of the City has been carried forward step by step with the transformation of the Thames Conservancy Board into a River Trust, on which the representatives of London dock labour ought at no distant date to find a seat. The County Council has secured the double purpose of representation on the Board itself and of a lever for turning its constitution upside down. Add to this the transformation of the Parish Councils Bill into a measure for the election of the London vestries by constituencies rather more popular than those who choose either London members or London County Councillors, and you have, as the result of less than two years' work, at least the framework of a reformed London. On the whole, therefore, Mr.

\* Dickens's "Uncommercial Traveller" contains a curious testimony to the importance of equalisation. Describing a visit to the workhouse of St. George's-in-the-East, he says:

"One poor parish in this very union is rated to the amount of five and sixpence in the pound, at the very same time when the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, is rated at about sevenpence in the pound, Paddington at about fourpence, St. James's Westminster, at about tenpence. *It is only through the equalisation of poor-rates that what is left undone in this wise can be done.* 'The wise men of the East—alluding to the remarks of a certain Solomon among the magistrates—must look to the north and south and west, and ask themselves, 'How much more can these poor people—many of whom keep themselves with difficulty enough out of the workhouse bear?'"

Fowler has not worsened but slightly bettered Mr. Ritchie's record. He has given the Council the control of London lodging-houses, which was refused it by Lord Salisbury's Government, and he and the Government have backed it with tolerable steadiness against the outside ring of unprogressive Councils and the pressure of private monopolists within.

So much for the accuracy of the Fabian record. The general relations of the Government to labour merit a word. Mr. Gladstone's Government was not elected on a programme which, save by ingenious reading-in, can be called Socialist. But it does happen to be the fact that the line of demarcation between Socialism and Individualism has during the last session coincided with fair accuracy with that separating the two political parties. Take two questions—Employers' Liability and the Eight Hours Bill for Miners. 187 Liberals voted for the second reading of the Miners' Bill, 29 Conservatives and 10 Liberal Unionists. On the other hand, 35 Liberals voted against it, 152 Conservatives and 15 Liberal Unionists. These proportions apply more sharply to the party division on Mr. McLaren's clause in favour of contracting out under the Employers' Liability Bill. Only 3 Tories voted against contracting out, while 212 Tories and Unionists voted in favour of it, with the score Liberal capitalists and members for the London and North-Western Railway who disobeyed the official whip against Mr. McLaren. What is the point, therefore, of the Fabian observation that the Employers' Liability Bill "could only fail to pass the House of Commons by Liberal defections"? The basis for the statement is the undoubted fact that the capitalist tail of the Liberals is able to count on the almost undivided assistance of the Conservative and Unionist party. The Fabians are good enough to inform the English worker that he does "not care a dump" for Home Rule, and to place that amiable bomb at the disposal of the seventy Irish members who, during an Irish session, have put their entire voting force at the command of Mr. John Burns, as the representative not of official Liberalism or of political Radicalism, but of the left wing of the English labour movement. Mischief-making may dissolve the alliance, and bring back Lord Salisbury to the Premiership, with the pleasing accompaniments of clericalism at the Education Office, *laissez-faire* at the Home Office, the closing of Trafalgar Square, the rehabilitation of the City at the expense of the County Council, and the coercion of Ireland. But I shall be glad to hear from the labour leader who wants to bring these things about.

I come now to the question of the whole relations of the Government to its directly and indirectly employed labour. The matter was commended to the Government in a report from the Labour Department which was not, as the Fabians infer, in the nature of suggestions as to what the Government should do, but rather a statistical survey of the

whole field of public employment. The manifesto dismisses the rearrangements of the wages of the Admiralty Labourers with the remark that Lord Spencer has deliberately put them a shilling a week below Mr. Charles Booth's minimum of a guinea, or four shillings below the County Council minimum, while it dismisses the case of the employees at the Ordinance Stores, who have had a similar rise, with the remark that Mr. Campbell-Bannerman has done nothing. The facts are that a rise of three shillings has been given to the unskilled labourers at Woolwich and Deptford, and that this represents a rather larger proportional increase than that made by the County Council. The comparison, however, is not complete. Of the whole number employed at Woolwich Arsenal nearly one-third are old soldiers. 60 per cent. of these are rated at 21s. per week, 28 per cent. at 19s., which since 1889 has been the minimum rating. In the gun factory, there are very few men indeed of the lowest rating, the largest proportion of them being engaged in the carriage department. Over a shilling a week must be added to this sum in consideration of the allowance for holidays and medical attendance, while in the case of the established men, the whole scale of privileges, such as sick and injury pay, gratuities, and compassionate allowances, represent, as between public and private labour, an advantage in favour of the former of at least half-a-crown a week. However, the minimum here as elsewhere is probably a trifle below the outside minimum rate, though the small privileges to which I have referred, coupled with the greater security of employment, bring the State and the average private adventurer fairly on a level. But it is doubtful whether all the labour at Woolwich is organised as efficiently as that to which the Council has assigned the minimum, not so much of 24s. a week, as of 6d. an hour, and whether the establishment of an eight-hours day, and of a high minimum wage, would not have to be balanced by the readjustment of the unskilled staff.

But here arises the one vital question of policy with which the Fabian manifesto, occupied mainly with the ingenious manipulation of facts to serve an obvious end, does not deal. On what principle are the wages of State employees to be regulated? Are we to follow the language of Sir John Gorst's resolution, and afford "an example" to private employers throughout the country, or, in Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's exegesis, is the Government to be "among the best employers in the country," and to take rank "in the first flight" of employers? Or are we to go a step further, and to use the whole moral force of the Government, in its capacity of employer, as a lever to heighten the living wage and raise the standard of remuneration for the entire body of unskilled and skilled labour? I think there can be no doubt that it would pay a State organised on democratic lines to give its workers 10 per cent. above the level of the best

kind of private employment. The Government, however, have set themselves a much more moderate level of achievement, and I think there can be no doubt whatever that they have not achieved it. The only sound interpretation of a model employer is a man who pays trade-union rates of wages, observes the trade-union limit of hours, and deals with "fair," as opposed to "unfair," houses. Apply all these tests, and the Government unquestionably breaks down on every one of them. The eight-hours day, or forty-eight-hours week, has not been accepted by the Admiralty, and, according to Mr. Robertson, it has no immediate chance of being adopted. The standard rates of wages have not been proclaimed in the case of the coopers and shipwrights, and the result is that the £30,000 odd which has been added to the Admiralty wages-list, as the result of a careful but still inadequate revision, stands for no clear principle, and does not represent the moral leverage of which the industrial reformer stands in need.\*

Still clearer is the case for the eight-hours day. The results of the experiments in the cartridge factory at Woolwich coincide with those which the great majority of private adherents of the eight-hours day have put on record. There has been no reduction, but rather an increase, of output, and there has been a perceptible increase of efficiency. If the Government, therefore, are to rank in Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's "first flight" of employers, the least they can do is to follow the example of Liberal capitalists like Mr. Mather, Mr. Brunner, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Keith, and Mr. William Allan. Against these shining records we have still to place such absolutely indefensible tyranny as that involved in the treatment of the Thames water guards, whose tale of twenty-four hours' work is now and then extended to forty hours; we have the fact that the Treasury has discouraged the process of turning the Queen's Government into a "fair house"; that the Stationery Office has done nothing; that the sub-contractor has not been abolished; that fifty-four hours a week are worked in many Government factories where the forty-eight hours' rule could very well be substituted, and that large printing jobs are given to the non-unionist houses which have been properly barred out of the contract for the *Labour Gazette*.

Practically the same moral applies to the general situation. The Government, while it has admitted the principle of the fair house, has given it a far too timid and tentative embodiment in its daily practice.

\* The inferiority of the Government's scale of wages, as compared with that prevailing on the London County Council, is decisively shown by a comparison of the sums paid to park and open spaces' employees. Thus a Government inspector gets 6 to 14 per cent. less wages with more hours' work than a County Council inspector; park constables get 10 per cent. less; park foremen 23 per cent. less; propagators 7½ to 12 per cent. less; garden labourers 25 per cent. less and longer hours; men in greenhouses 16 per cent. less.

And on one point there has been something very like betrayal. The Newcastle programme cannot be carried out in one or even two Sessions, but a Budget comes once a year; and every year, whether of leanness or of plenty, the entire problem of the distribution of the national burdens presents itself afresh. The Government has committed itself, both by a recent vote of the House and the Newcastle programme, to payment of members and it has missed its chance both on that root question of Radical policy and on the kindred subject of the reform of taxation. The Budget of 1892 did not, as the Fabian manifesto informs us in one of the polite asides designed to assure us that the Fabian ear has been continuously at Cabinet keyholes, contain simply a plan for equalising the death-duties as between the leaseholder and the freeholder. If Sir William Harcourt had been permitted, he would have introduced, instead of an act of vulgar oppression of the poorer taxpayer, an equalisation of the death duties, steeply graduated against the larger estates, and he would also have provided for payment of members. The veto on the project unquestionably came from Mr. Gladstone, and was urged partly on a constitutional plea, partly on the ground of want of time. Equally unanswerable is the case against Mr. Fowler in relation to the London County Council. The Council still waits for its rent duty on London land, its municipal death-duty, and its batch of Provisional Orders. Above everything payment of members and election expenses looms up as the one inevitable climax to the labour record of a Government which has, by the one stroke of downright genius in its career, settled one of the greatest industrial wars of the century and definitely closed the reign of the Manchester school in politics. The extraordinary length and severity of the Session, the increasing number of poor men in the Liberal Party who owe their election to party subventions, the Irish alliance, the defection of the Whig capitalists, are signs of the times that Mr. Gladstone cannot and dare not ignore. Nor need he fear on the eight-hours question the waning influence of the individualist ring that has its centre in Newcastle and that answers to the dying cause of Whiggery in the Cabinet. On the administrative side the Government has an equal opportunity. It has nothing to gain by making things smooth for the phalanx of Tory officials who, to take one flagrant example among many, contrive that the accounts of denominational schools shall pass unaudited. Even Sir William Harcourt must by this time be aware that mere economical (*i.e.* sweated) administration is not a modern Radical ideal. In a word, Mr. Gladstone's Government, in place of the betrayal of labour interests with which it is charged, may put those interests in the forefront of the modern State, and its rule, brief though it may be, may be quoted as the point of departure of the new era.



“Nothing,” said Lassalle, “is more suited to stamp on a class a worthy and deeply moral impress than the consciousness that it is appointed to raise its principle to be the principle of an entire epoch, to make its idea the ruling idea of the whole society and so again to mould society after its own pattern.”

These words were written in 1862. In 1893 the working man—the Uncrowned King of the modern State—is still liable to the incidental disadvantages of dying for a “living wage” and of exposing his person to the practice of magazine rifles.

But the State, as an emp'oyer, can, at least, offer him a standard of life compatible with modern citizenship, and, as a Government, his full place in Parliament. In other words, the Government must reorganise itself as a “fair house,” and we must have payment of members. If these things are not done—if the full sympathies of the workers, attracted by the earlier promise of this Administration, are in the end withheld—if, thanks to the Whigs in the Cabinet who spoil their colleagues' record, the Government proves, after all, “over bad for blessing”—it will be swept off its feet by that encroaching tide of Conservatism which, not in England only but all over Europe, has almost eaten away the old Liberal movement, and may, for a time, submerge the new Radicalism.

H. W. MASSINGHAM.

## PARISH COUNCILS AND PARISH CHARITIES.

SO much excitement has been exhibited over the Charity clauses of the Parish Councils Bill that it may be worth while to consider dispassionately what their real import is: what it is they deal with and how they deal with it. It will be seen that there has been a great cry over remarkably little wool.

Information with regard to charities is very hard to get, at least information which is up to date. Up to a certain date the information at the disposal of the public is full, exact, and accessible. Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiries concerning Charities went exhaustively into the history and the condition of all the endowed charities in the country (with a few exceptions, which do not concern the present purpose) in the years 1819 to 1840, and the results are printed in some forty portly folios to be seen on the shelves of our public libraries. These results were digested and brought up to date in an analytical Digest compiled in 1863 to 1875, contained in Parliamentary Papers up to 1877, and filling three more portly folios. This Digest suffers under the trifling defect that from one-fourth to one-third of the parishes which were supposed to send in accounts to the Charity Commissioners who compiled it, had failed to do so, but whether because they had no charities, or because they did not love the light does not appear. For present purposes the general result would probably not be much affected, as those charities which are omitted would certainly be of the nature of those minute things for which the law has no regard.

The total gross income of charities shown in the Digest is in round figures £2,200,000. But of this we can at once cut off nearly half—namely, over £600,000 of general charities, £230,000 of charities in the cities of London and Westminster, £64,000 of charities in Bristol

and Coventry (which for some inscrutable reason are separately given), £30,000 Quaker charities, and £10,000 diocesan charities. The charity total is thus reduced to £1,150,000.

For the purpose of a Rural Parish Councils Bill this total is still further and largely reducible. We have to put out of view all the charities in municipal boroughs and urban sanitary districts. It would be a Herculean task to ascertain exactly what the extent of this reduction should be. In the county of Essex it would mean taking out of a total of £30,000 some £10,000 a year. Thus the borough of Colchester alone accounts for £1900 a year, West Ham £900 a year, Saffron Walden £1700 a year, Walthamstow £900 a year. In Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, owing to the complete annexation of the country by the manufacturing and mining industries, and in Middlesex owing to the growth of London, and consequent increase of urban sanitary districts, the proportion of charities unaffected by the Bill would be very much larger. When in Lancashire, out of a total charity income of £58,000, we find £15,000 monopolised by Manchester and Salford, £5000 by Liverpool, including West Derby, £2500 by Oldham, £1600 by Bolton, £1500 by Wigan, £1200 more by Lancaster, and so on with all the large towns, considerably less than half of £58,000 is left for the rural parishes. In Middlesex, where out of £50,000 a year, St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, takes £5000, and nearly every London parish has from £500 to £2000 a year or more, and even Isleworth has £2000 a year, there is barely £5000 a year left for the parishes affected by the Parochial Councils Bill, and they are such as Ruislip with its £43 and South Mimms with £25 a year. Even in a purely rural county like Dorset the boroughs and Local Board districts take all the plums out of the charity pudding. Thus Sherborne with its school takes £2800 a year, Blandford £1300, Dorchester £750, Shaftesbury £700. In all, the boroughs and urban districts of Dorset account for over £6600 a year out of a total charity income of £13,500.

If, therefore, we carry on our process of dichotomy and divide the million a year to which we have already reduced the total charity income into two halves, and allot one-half to the rural parishes we shall be dealing liberally by them. The half-million remaining we must again dichotomise. The Bill deals only with parochial charities, but it does not condescend to define what a parochial charity is; nor, we believe, does any other Act of Parliament; nor is it an expression known to the law in the sense of being ascertained in text-books or decided cases. The only indication Parliament has vouchsafed of what it means is contained in the Act which requires trustees of parochial charities to send a copy of their accounts to the "churchwardens or overseers"—an alternative in the nature of a dilemma which many, perhaps most, trustees evade by sending to neither

—“of the parish or parishes with which the objects of such charities are identified.” If Mr. Ruskin reasonably objected to Mill’s definition of capital as “wealth fixed and embodied in a material object” as tautological or unmeaning or both, we may fairly object, on similar grounds, to this description—definition it cannot be called. How the objects of a charity, which are ordinarily, unless in the case of a college of cats or a lost dogs’ home, human beings, can be identified with a parish, which is a division of land, probably only the draughtsman of this wonderful clause could explain; and, as the Act was passed in 1855, he is probably still more ‘out of reach of human intelligence,’ than he was then. Presumably it means a charity the objects of which must be sought in a single parish or a definite group of parishes, and not in some bigger area such as a diocese or the kingdom at large, or an indeterminate area such as “a parish and the parts adjacent” In the absence of a definition some very nice questions may arise, particularly in the largest and most important class of charities—namely, those for education.\* For instance, the school at Evershott in Dorset was founded in 1628 to be “a Free School for reading, writing, and grammar within the town of Eversholt, for the instruction and breeding of men-children born in the same town, and in the parish of Frome St. Quentin, and for any other that the founder should nominate and appoint there to be taught, not exceeding the number of four.” Is this a parochial charity? It is not confined to one parish nor even to two.

It is possible, in view of the fact that “the principal men, inhabitants of the said town of Evershott, had agreed to employ and grant the then town-house or church-house, together with one acre of land thereto belonging, for a school-house,”—thus devoting parish property to the school, that it might be held that the school was a parochial school. It appears from the Parliamentary Return made in 1892 as to the progress made in the reorganisation of schools under the Endowed Schools Acts, that the Endowed Schools Commissioners made a scheme for this school in 1872.

If the scheme for this school is in the form usually adopted by that body, it is very unlikely that it constitutes it, or leaves it parochial, in the sense that its objects or its managers are necessarily to be sought in any particular parish or parishes.

If the grammar schools are not parochial charities, then, as the Greek Tyrant of Syracuse told the Greeks when they lost his alliance, the Spring is taken out of the year. For as in the whole country so in each county, and in almost every parish, the educational charities are by far the largest charities. Out of the total charity income of two millions, £650,000 are educational. Out of the total charity income of £58,000 in Lancashire, £28,000 is educational. Out of a charity income of £5600 in Cumberland, £4000 is educational. In

Dorset out of £13,600, £5000 is educational. And of the educational portion the bulk of the endowments are subject to and have been dealt with by schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts, including in Dorset even Toller Porcorum, or Toller of the Pigs, with its poor little £16 a year school endowment. Of the places in Dorsetshire which are not urban districts, and which alone have endowments of £100 a year and upwards, amounting to £1900 a year in all, no less than £1100 a year is educational, leaving only £800 a year for other purposes. Even that amount has been since diminished by the appropriation by schemes of large slices of the other charity income to school purposes. Thus at Gillingham the Feoffee Charity had, according to the Digest, £279 a year, of which only £90 was applicable to the grammar school. It would seem that by the scheme all was taken for that purpose, diminishing the poor residue of £800 non-educational charities by nearly £200 a year.

It is notorious that the same thing is being done continually by schemes of the Charity Commissioners, and that the educational fund has since the Digest increased, and is increasing, at the expense of the non-educational fund; whether rightly or wrongly this is not the place to discuss. We may only observe *en passant* that money spent to equip the young for the battle of life is at least as well spent as money spent on the failures in life: the one is productive, the other unproductive expenditure.

It is clear, therefore, that our rural charitable half-million is reduced to a quarter of a million, if not less. In our type-county of Dorset, the rural charity income of £6900 sinks to £3450, probably to less.

Again, we must deduct from that for the purposes of the Bill. All charities for the endowment of the clergy or the Church are, as will be seen, excluded, and it may be taken that all endowments for Dissenting ministers are also excluded. Away goes £85,000 a year more from the half-million, for Church and clergy, and £15,000 for the Dissenting ministers, or £100,000 in all. In Dorset, £1500 comes off for Church and clergy, nothing for Dissenters, presumably because the latter did not send in returns. In the county at large £400,000 a year spread over fifty-two counties is all that is touchable by the Bill; in Dorset, £2650 a year. This gives an average of about £7700 per county; and of less than £10 a parish in Dorset. Of this touchable amount very much less is actually touched. As a general rule, every charity of any value is outside the Bill altogether. It only touches the waifs and strays. The rich go free, the poor and needy alone are within the scope of the Parish Council.

Let us now pass on to see how this happens by considering the terms of the Bill.

The clauses bearing on the subject are few and simple, being just

two—viz., clause 13, and the definition of ecclesiastical charity in the interpretation clause, 58.

As the first sub-clause of clause 13 is merely permissive, enabling trustees of parochial property to transfer it to the Parish Council, we need not linger over it. If the clause is to remain permissive it will remain in nine cases out of ten a dead letter. Such is human nature; and such is the experience of permissive Agricultural Holdings Acts and permissive Allotment Acts. In this case the natural unwillingness of people in power and trust to part with their power and trust is aggravated by interposing the additional obstacle of obtaining the consent of the Charity Commission to the transfer.

The next sub-clause is the main cause of excitement. It enacts that "where the overseers of a rural parish, or some of them, are, either alone or jointly with other persons, trustees of any parochial charity" the Parish Council shall appoint some of its members in their place not exceeding the number of the overseers displaced. The same thing is to happen where churchwardens are trustees, "when the charity is not an ecclesiastical charity." The next sub-clause provides that "where the vestry of a rural parish are entitled to appoint any trustees, or beneficiaries of a charity, other than an ecclesiastical charity," the Parish Council shall take the vestry's place. Ecclesiastical charity is defined as one, "the income whereof is either wholly or partly applicable for (i.) any spiritual purpose which is now a legal purpose; or (ii.) for the benefit of any spiritual person as such; or (iii.) for the erection, maintenance, or repair of any ecclesiastical buildings; or (iv.) for the maintenance of divine service therein, whether such purpose has or has not now failed."

Every one knows the extraordinary excitement which was developed against this clause at the Church Congress, in Convocation, in Diocesan Conferences, and all the other places in which the Church militant can make its voice heard in no measured tones. Disendowment by a side wind, robbery, spoliation, plunder, and so forth and so on, were proclaimed to be the intention of the framers of the Bill. It was to deprive the parson of the control of Church charities, of Church schools, of the church-house, and almost of the church itself.

We have already shown the very small amount of endowed charities which would, in any case, have fallen under the Bill as parochial charities in rural parishes. The Bill as drawn will not touch any of the important charities which remain. It only operates at all on charities in which the churchwardens or the overseers are the whole, or part, of the governing body. These charities are the exception, and even if they were numerically a majority of charities they are financially very small. They fall into three classes.

1. Those of which statute law has constituted churchwardens and overseers trustees.

2. Those of which the founder has appointed them trustees.  
 3. Those of which they have been constituted trustees by scheme of the Court of Chancery or the Charity Commissioners.

By an Act of 1819, passed for Poor relief purposes, the buildings and lands to be acquired for the purposes of that Act in any parish were vested in the churchwardens and overseers "in the nature of a body corporate." By a side-wind, in the same clauses, all other buildings and lands "belonging to such parish" were also vested in them. At first this Act was interpreted to make this quasi-corporate body the general trustee of all parochial charities, whether there had been special trustees appointed or not, with the result of dethroning the parson as such from the administration of doles and all other charities in the parish. So simple a result, however, was found to be too simple for the law. Subsequent decisions cut down the operation of the Act to very few cases—practically, indeed, to those only where a charity was, as the Americans say, lying around loose. There being no "divesting" words in the Act it was held not to operate where special trustees were appointed, or where any discretion was demanded in administration, as *e.g.* in the case of a bread dole—the very last form of charity, by the way, which any one but a lawyer would connect with the idea of discretion. The founder of an important charity hardly ever left his charity without appointing special trustees. Consequently there are very few charities with an income of £50 a year and upwards which come within the scope of that well-intentioned but abortive Act.

Of course, in many cases, both before and after this Act, founders of charities vested them in the churchwardens or overseers, or churchwardens and overseers, which two expressions are identical, as the churchwardens are *ex-officio* overseers. But, as a rule, the parson is joined with them: and often they only come in as administrators of a dole the property from which it is derived being managed by special trustees.

In schemes made by the Charity Commissioners, it is common that churchwardens and overseers should be made part of a governing body, or that they or the vestry should appoint part of the governing body. As has already been pointed out, the most important charities for which schemes have been made are educational, and probably not technically parochial charities. Therefore in regard to them, even though churchwardens and overseers are a part of the governing body, the Parish Council would have no right to substitute its member for them. As to non-educational charities for which schemes have been made, as no return has apparently ever been made to Parliament of the number or nature of the cases in which schemes have been made, it is impossible to form an even approximate estimate of the extent of the charities which would fall under the Bill.

It could only be ascertained by application in each case to the trustees or to the Charity Commissioners, whether any given charity is or is not subject to a scheme, which, by the presence of churchwardens and overseers on the governing body, would admit members of the Parish Council under the Bill.

There is, however, one flagrant absurdity and palpable omission in the clause as it stands. While the statute of George III. and individual founders made the churchwardens and overseers as trustees; in schemes under recent Acts it has been more usual that the incumbent and churchwardens, or the churchwardens and overseers, should nominate one or more trustees, than that they should be such *ex-officio*. The Bill would transfer the rights of the churchwardens and overseers to the Parish Council in the first case, but not in the latter. It would oust the churchwardens and overseers where they were the sole governing body, or on it by personal right *ex-officio*, but would not affect their lesser right of alone, or jointly with others, appointing a member of the governing body. That is to say, it affects them most where they would personally feel it most. It does not touch them where they would feel it least. And on the other hand, it gives the Parish Council an interest in the petty charities, and none in the great and important ones.

To show how the Bill would work in detail, let us, still adhering to our county of Dorset, take the first six parishes in the Digest, and see how the Bill would affect them. Abbotsbury comes first. Its population is 979; total charity income, £66; number of charities, 7. £20 of this is educational and apparently applied to a National school, therefore that is outside the Bill. Another £20 is for the vicar, also outside the Bill. A charity of £7 10s. is for an infants' school, also outside the Bill, being part of the National school. The other four charities, £22 10s. a year in all, are distributed by the overseers, and therefore the Parish Council would appoint the trustees in future. But as the Church has no voice as such now, it would lose nothing by the Bill.

The next parish is Aff-piddle, population 477; charities, two. One it shares with two other parishes, for apprenticing, its right being contingent on the first parish not needing all the money, some £170 a year. As this charity is vested in special trustees, the Parish Council would have no interest in it in any of the three parishes. The other charity is one of £4 10s. a year for a schoolmaster, and as he was to teach the Catechism, it is probably outside the Bill.

Askerswell has a population of 194; two charities with a united income of £5 10s., of which £5 is Church land, and outside the Bill. The Parish Council would in virtue of the overseers enter on the administration of 10s. Beaminster, population 2150—six charities with united income of £341—is one of the richest of rural parishes in the



county. But of the whole £210 is educational, and is outside the Bill, being in a special body of governors, so that even the non-educational part of it is not touched. Stead's charity for almshouse, income £41, is untouched, being under special trustees. So is Adam's charity, income £31, used for the same purpose, for the same reason. Hillary's charity for a dole, £55, is under special trustees, but the dole is distributed by churchwardens and overseers with the trustees. To that extent, therefore, the Parish Council would have a say. Keate's charity, a rent-charge of £2 8s. for a bread dole, is excluded, as the owner of the property from which it comes is apparently the trustee. But the Parish Council would have sole nomination of trustees for the 15s. dole called Champion's. That is, out of £341 a year, the Parish Council would control 15s. wholly, and have a voice in the disposal of £55 more.

In the next parish, Belchalwall, there is the simple entry, "Poor's money, 12s. 6d., lost." The Parish Council might presumably have it, if they could find it.

Bere Regis, population 1144, succeeds. Four charities produce £40 a year. £29 a year is for a school teaching the Church Catechism, therefore excluded; £10 10s. is for a charity to be distributed by the vicar alone to two poor men and two poor women of the Established Church, and therefore excluded. The Parish Council might enter into the management of the other two charities; Poor's Stock, £4 10s. a year, and a rent charge, Mitchell's, of £1 a year—if they could find them—as they were distributed by churchwardens. But the Digest says both are several years in arrear, and they are very probably now lost.

The net result, therefore, in six parishes would be that out of £420 a year, the Parish Councils would have complete control of six charities producing £29 18s., of which £6 2s. 6d. is probably irrecoverable, and a voice in another charity of £55 a year. Altogether, the Parish Councils would have a voice in one-fifth and control in one-fourteenth of the charities.

Nor is this first half-dozen parishes on the list exceptional. In the next half-dozen, excluding educational charities, the Parish Council would be interested solely as to £3 8s. a year, and, conjointly with the incumbent, in £10. As to the rest, £32 a year, they would have no interest.

It is sad to think of the waste of energy that has taken place in the whole army of black-coats going on the war-path for such a twopenny-halfpenny matter as this clause turns out to be. It is the more striking, because, while the 13th clause gave to the Parish Council so very little, the definition of ecclesiastical charity stamped as Church property what had never been the Church's before.

So far from touching the National schools or the church-houses,

the result of the definition given to ecclesiastical charity would be to ear-mark for all time as the property of the Church some of the most important charities in the country; that is, if they are to be found in the rural districts. Perhaps in days when every one was supposed to belong to the Established Church, and the struggle was not whether the Church should be disestablished, but which part of the nation should force its own doctrines down the throat of the rest under plea of uniformity inside the Church, a founder had said that, out of several hundreds a year, ten shillings should go to the parson for preaching a sermon, or for doing nothing. Then the whole of the hundreds, whether they were for doles, for alms-houses, for apprenticing, or for education, would be stamped as ecclesiastical. A single example will suffice. In Corfe Mullen in Dorsetshire, one Philipps gave sixty-two acres of land to pay £10 to the curate or incumbent, the rest for poor children at the discretion of the trustees, churchwardens, and overseers. The land had increased in value at the time of the Digest to £90 a year. The incumbent's portion had been raised to £30 a year, and this one-third would have stamped as ecclesiastical the whole £90, though the incumbent had by the foundation nothing at all to do with the other two-thirds.

It would be interesting to know how it was that the clause came to be drawn in this way. A marginal note in it says, "see 46 & 47 Vict. c. 36, s. 5." This is the City of London Parochial Charities Act, under which, in regard to the charities of the old and depopulated parishes of the "sacred square mile called the City," the Charity Commissioners were to apportion the ecclesiastical and the general charity income, and make schemes for them accordingly. But in that Act the definition of ecclesiastical charity did not contain the words "wholly or partially." In the present Bill the two little words, "or partially," are the grass in which the snake lies hid. How did they get in? The chances are that some young man in the Government draft-man's office, or perhaps the draftsman himself, thought the phrase "wholly or partially"—which, to prevent quibbles, has been introduced into many Acts of Parliament—was a mighty fine legal phrase, the introduction of which had a great look of skill, care, and ingenuity, and so down it went without a thought of the facts of the case, and without a notion that in scores of the most important charities he was making a halfpenny worth of bread govern the destination of gallons of sack.

By Mr. Fowler's proposed amendments the words "wholly or partially" will disappear, and a provision for apportionment between the ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical portions of a mixed charity is inserted. On the other hand, the definition of "ecclesiastical charity" has been extended so as to include not only a charity for

the benefit of a spiritual person, namely, a parson or a curate, but also for the benefit of any "ecclesiastical officer." These be dangerous words. What are ecclesiastical officers? The sexton is an ecclesiastical officer. The parish clerk is an ecclesiastical officer. The churchwarden is an ecclesiastical officer. But all of them are also civil officers. The chief part of their duties are civil duties. Digging graves, keeping public documents, keeping parish rooms or parish schools in repair, administering parish doles, are all civil duties. A churchwarden, even a sexton or a parish clerk, is given 5s. at a dole; or the churchwardens are given £2 to have a dinner—is that a charity for them as "ecclesiastical officers," or as civil officers? Why provoke endless questions by inserting such a clause as this?

When a man gives a payment to a parson he may be presumed to desire to support the Church by it; but when he gives something to a parish officer there is no reason to suppose that he is thinking of his ecclesiastical position rather than of his civil position. In a Bill for extending local self-government the presumption is in favour of the introduction of popular control, not against it, and a charity for a parish officer ought to be dealt with like any other parochial charity.

Still more question-raising is the new clause proposed by Mr. Fowler for the exemption of denominational elementary schools from the Act. Assuming though it is a very large assumption—that this Bill is not the one in which the question of public control over schools, supported by public money ought to be determined, it must equally be assumed that this Bill is not one in which the question ought to be treated in a way which gives those who claim exemption a Parliamentary title. Mr. Fowler wishes to exclude in terms from the Bill, the National schools and schools *quodam generis*. Under his proposed clause, one of two things must happen: either it does not exclude National schools in receipt of a Parliamentary grant, or it excludes a great many schools which it ought not. The clause is: "Nothing in this Act shall affect the trusteeship, management, or control of any elementary school for education in the principles of any particular Church or denomination."

Two questions arise at first sight of this clause. One is represented by the phrase, *mal-a-propos* in the definition clause but not so here, "wholly or partially"; the other is contained in the words "founded or maintained." The natural meaning of a school "for education in the principles of a particular Church" is a school for such education only, from which anybody not willing to receive instruction in such principles would be excluded, whether such school was either founded or used for such education. If this be the meaning, then every National school and every ancient elementary school, which by foundation is denominational, but which to earn a Parlia-

mentary grant has waived its denominationalism and accepted a conscience clause, is excluded from the exemption; and when any churchwardens or overseers are trustees of such school, the Parish Council will be represented on the trust, and very properly too. On the other hand, where there is a school in which the founder said nothing about the boys going to church, or learning the Catechism, which has been always in the hands of Church people, and is rich enough to dispense with a Parliamentary grant, then such school is to be stamped as a Church school and excluded from the Act.

In strictness the words, "school for education in the principles of any particular Church" have no application except, perhaps, to a theological college, as no school was ever founded merely for religious instruction. The clause, to be exact, and at the same time just, should run, after the word "school," "the scholars educated in which were by the foundation, and up to the passing of this Act, required to be instructed in the principles of any particular Church or religious denomination." If the terms of the foundation have not been complied with, either for the sake of attracting scholars and making the foundation more efficient educationally, or for the sake of a grant, the trustees could not reasonably complain that those who pay the piper should have a voice in calling the tune.

But if, either to please the clergy or for the sake of keeping educational institutions distinct from other charities, the Government wish to exclude all National schools and the like, it would be far better to exclude from the Act all educational institutions whatever. As we have seen, many difficult questions would arise as to what schools were affected by the Act and what not. The best thing would be to bring in all schools not founded and used as exclusively denominational schools. The next best thing is to leave all out, as a matter to be dealt with at some future time.

Really, in regard to charities, the Bill is such a very small affair that it is difficult to conceive how any one with a due regard to proportion can get up the smallest enthusiasm either for or against it. If Mr. Fowler had said that the Parish Councils were to appoint a certain proportion of representatives on every parochial charity not strictly ecclesiastical, at least there would have been something tangible to struggle for. As it is, one does not see that they will do much good, or what harm they could possibly do anybody.

JOHN DARFIELD.

## MACMAHON AND HIS FORBEARS.

**I**F judged by the homely standard, "handsome is that handsome does," Marshal MacMahon was in some respects a great man. He was free from discrepancies. So unswerving was his rectitude that any one who knew him well could say what course he was sure to take under given circumstances. It would have been hard to find a man more healthy in body, mind, or moral sense. Along with native honesty, he had a keen perception, inherited and cultivated, of the social duties implied in the word "honour." He understood that word in a wider sense than is generally given to it in France: he failed to see how honour could ever clash with duty. Fond of magnificence in discharging high public functions, he was in private life the simplest of mortals, and the least vain or egotistical. It might be said of him that he never fished for praise, though he fired up at censures which he thought undeserved or pronounced in bad faith. MacMahon's submission to what he deemed the law of duty was absolute, and he took no credit to himself when he obeyed that law at great personal sacrifice. His obedience was prompt and almost cheerful. It is to be regretted that the moral instinct which shaped his conduct was in a degree warped by the law of military obedience, in which he was trained from infancy, and that by the pressure of circumstances over which he had no control, his heroism was devoted almost entirely to military exploits. On two historical occasions he showed himself a hero without meaning to do so. One was in the debate in 1857 in the French Senate on the Public Safety Bill, framed by General l'Espinasse, who was appointed Minister of the Interior after the Orsini attempt to assassinate Napoleon III. with explosive bombs. The other was when he voluntarily descended from power, as he thought, to face

poverty. He had spent far more than his official salary as President of the Republic, and disdained to touch the allowance of £12,000 a year for travelling expenses, voted to him by the Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on Gambetta's motion, in 1876. The money accumulated, and the £36,000 which MacMahon would have been justified in taking, if he had not thought it was meant to be a sop, went back to the Treasury after he left the Elysée. This supplemental allowance was drawn regularly by M. Grévy, who never travelled anywhere, except once a year to Mont Sens Vaudrey, and then on a free pass from a railway company.

MacMahon's military exploits were performed in the service of Louis Philippe, Napoleon III., and, worst of all, the Versailles Assembly—a body in which responsibility was so divided that practically there was none, nor any restraint, except the fear of Prussia and the wire-pulling cleverness of Thiers. It was a great misfortune for the world that MacMahon never had the opportunity to be the soldier of a great cause. Had such an occasion been given him, he must have gone down to future generations as a shining example. He was not below his time, or the general standard of his country, in any single respect, and he was above it in many respects. Licentiousness was rife at a time when the means for indulging in luxurious profligacy were heaped upon him; but his life remained pure. MacMahon hated impurity, and could not endure his fellow-marshal Canrobert, because his talk smacked of guard-room ribaldry. His repugnance to the low tone of French officers under the Empire often made him feel like an alien among them. After he became a father, his conscience grew to be an ever-watchful monitor. He once said that if it accused him of a base action he would not dare to embrace his children.

MacMahon lived in a time at once corrupt and hypocritical. The catchword of government was order; but disorder was in all its members. They had lusted for power in order to satisfy the lust for wealth and the material enjoyments which are to be bought with money. Every party that had risen to the top since 1830 had fomented revolution to get there, and, being there, had kicked away the ladder by which they climbed, and let their promises be protested. Revolts ensued, and were put down by military massacres. MacMahon saw the government massacres of the early years of Louis Philippe's reign, in Lyons and Paris, and the massacres undertaken in the name of the Republican Executive Committee by General Cavaignac in the days of June 1848. In 1852 came the proscriptions of the Mixed Committees—so called because made up of judges, officers, and prefects—which condemned thousands to the "dry guillotine," as transportation to Cayenne was called. MacMahon, as a soldier of the Versailles Assembly, waged a street war

against the Commune of Paris, in which 20,000 of the Parisians were killed behind barricades; and there were not ships enough to take the prisoners who escaped execution to the penal settlements. He was one of the few at Versailles who advocated the application of the laws of war and of humanity to the defeated Communists. While it was generally deemed treason to show any feeling of pity for them, he maintained that they must have regarded their cause as sacred, for men and women had defended it with the heroic constancy of martyrs. The Marshal was, so far as the rules of military obedience allowed, a Legitimist from youth to old age. But as President he would be no party to any plan for a Legitimist restoration, and refused to receive a visit from the Comte de Chambord. His one motive was "the danger of civil war, of which there had been too much in France." Muskets would go off of themselves, he said, if the Comte de Chambord's programme became the government one. Horror of military massacres, which former Governments had undertaken with so much levity, prevented him from listening in 1877 to those councillors who urged a *coup d'état*. When he had to choose between governing against his principles, or rather against the political ideas in which he was nurtured, and a government based on force, he retired without any fuss, and unostentatiously set about smoothing away difficulties that lay in his successor's path, and which he thought he could remove.

MacMahon's heart constantly influenced his head, and he had never reason to be sorry for letting it do so. He taught his children that the best guardian angel under all circumstances was a heart in the right place. In his moral complexion and his physical constitution and appearance he was distinctly Irish. Though a generous man, he could be resentful and harbour hatred, without, however, letting it direct his conduct. But when beaten he had a soldierly way of admitting it, and banishing all anger from his mind. Admiral Pothuan, who was Minister of Marine in the Dufaure Cabinet that came into office after the elections of 1877, told me that he accepted the defeat more frankly than a civilian in his place would have done. The Admiral felt certain that all danger of his governing against Republican principles was at an end, and that if Ministers went as far as Gambetta wanted, the Marshal would resign.

MacMahon was not so remotely Irish as most French people suppose. His grandfather was born in Ireland, but his grandmother and mother were French; the grandmother, Charlotte de Belin d'Equilly, was a Burgundian, and the mother, a distant cousin of Mirabeau, was a Riquet de Caraman, or a Riquetti, whose father had married a Belgian heiress, and obtained the right to call himself Prince de Caraman de Chimay. The grandfather, John MacMahon, became a naturalised subject of Louis XV. in 1750, and the proofs he gave of "noble lineage" were in that year acknowledged by Royal Letters

Patent. When MacMahon was President of the Republic and engaged in his 16th of May struggle, M. Edmond About lent me officially authenticated copies of certain pleadings before different provincial courts, which contained a biography of John MacMahon. This John emigrated from Limerick to France to join relatives already in that country. He was encouraged to do so by an uncle, who, after being a veterinary surgeon, took a diploma of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, and was named physician to the École Militaire. He was an eminent man in his way. It was his desire that John should be a priest, the Church at that time leading to wealth and the highest positions. Cardinal Fleury was then ruling France. But John broke loose from the Divinity School, and became a doctor. In 1745 he obtained his degree at Rheims, where there was then a Faculty of Medicine. An elder brother, Maurice, emigrated earlier to France. Other MacMahons came over to serve the first Pretender, whom they followed into Brittany; but he let himself there be turned from his purpose, and they were lost sight of at Le Mans. There is the record of the death of two MacMahons in the north of France, soon after the battle of Fontenoy, where they possibly fought in the Irish Brigade, and were wounded. The conduct of that Brigade is said to have excited the admiration of George II., who is credited with saying, "Cursed be those penal laws which have deprived me of such splendid soldiers." Was it, one may ask, the penal laws which placed every Irishman who fought at Fontenoy on the French side?

The MacMahons, at the time of Fontenoy, were probably Protestants like their kinsmen, the Fitzgeralds of Clare. In the departmental archives of Laon, on the high-road to Fontenoy, there is found the following suggestive document, taken with other papers a hundred years ago from the Abbey of St. Martin, then secularised: "On 17th September, 1745, Patrick MacMahon, John Watson, Daniel MacDaniel, William Mahon, William Parker, and James MacHugh publicly adjured their heresies in this royal Abboy of St. Martin de Laon." There were worse penal ordinances in France than penal laws in Ireland, and Irish Protestants could not possibly have risen even to be corporals, if allowed to serve at all in the French army. That kind of Catholicism tinged with Protestantism, and known as Jansenism, was being violently persecuted in the diocese of Paris. It was about that time that a cemetery was locked up, because miracles were worked on the grave of a persecuted Jansenist, and a wag wrote over the gate:

"De par le Roy défense à Dieu,  
De faire miracle dans ce lieu."

Another entry in the registry book of the Abbey of St. Martin records the death and burial of "John Claudius MacMahon, aged



thirteen, and son of an Irish officer." The father of the doctor to the *École Militaire* was naturalised in 1691. Maurice MacMahon, the elder brother of John, the Marshal's grandfather, followed the second Pretender to Scotland. On his return to France he entered Fitz James's regiment. Men of noble birth only could then serve as officers in the French army. Maurice satisfied the Court genealogist that his lineage was noble, which was not quite the same thing as aristocratic. He was known as Comte MacMahon; but why does not appear. Perhaps Charles Edward created him an earl, or the rank he was supposed to have filled in Ireland may have been deemed equivalent to that of Comte. The widow doubtless of one of his descendants, the Comtesse de MacMahon, used to keep a literary salon in the reign of Louis Philippe. She and that prolific novelist, the Comtesse Dash, were like sisters. Madame O'Connell, the portrait-painter, a native of Berlin, but the wife of a man of Irish ancestry, belonged to their set.

We left John MacMahon with his medical diploma at Rheims. He did not long stay there, but went to practise at Autun in Burgundy. He must have been a handsome, high-spirited, enterprising person. It is certain that when he became wealthy he lived in a generous style, was good to the poor, and won by his charitable beneficence the esteem of the clergy. Dr. John had rich as well as poor patients. One of the former was the Marquis Jean de Morey, Governor of Vézelay, and head of a family of great territorial wealth. This nobleman had collaterals, but no direct heir. He married in old age a beautiful young girl, Charlotte de Belin d'Equilly. It was a moot point whether his estates were closely entailed or not. He was advised that they were not, and executed a will in which he bequeathed them all to his wife. His constitution breaking down, Dr. MacMahon was called in to attend him, but failed to do him any good. The Marquise, giving him credit for having done his best, was deeply grateful, as she was attached to the Marquis notwithstanding the great disparity of their ages. Her husband died, and at the end of a year of mourning she married the physician. But the legend that she did so without settling her fortune is untrue. The settlement was in her favour, and granted to the husband, in case he survived her, a life estate in certain lands. She retained the right to make settlements on future children. The titles of Marquis and Comte went with some of her fiefs. It is to John's honour that he kept his own name, and had his sons called by it, instead of by the fiefs they eventually inherited. Custom would have justified him in dropping the name of MacMahon for names well backed up with real estate.

The collaterals of the Marquis de Morey went to law with John MacMahon and his wife in a blackmailing spirit, and endeavoured to

make him out a regular legacy-hunter and a long-headed quack, who used undue influence over his patient to bring him to execute the will. According to French ideas, nobody has a right to leave property away from his family. Society is up in arms against the successful legacy-hunter. But Dr. John does not appear to have suffered socially from the attacks of those who strove to get the will set aside. The different tribunals before which the suitors went to blacken him, decided in favour of him and his wife, and were not able to sequestrate the income derived from the estates. A suit was pending when the Revolution broke out. During the tempest the MacMahons somehow got more firmly rooted in the broad lands of Jean de Morey. They were notwithstanding staunch to the Royal Family, and did not shrink from staking life and fortune for the cause of monarchy.

Whether John MacMahon had originally been a Protestant or a Catholic, it is certain that he did not bring up his sons in religious bigotry. There is in the Public Library of Strasburg a rare book, "The Autobiography of an Alsatian Pastor," which relates the tenour of the author's life before, during, and for some years subsequent to the Revolution. Who the pastor was the title-page does not mention, but it would be easy to find out from the date at which he says he had a cure at Albertweiler, in Alsace. He relates that on Sunday, December 31, 1787, he and his neighbours were surprised to see a carriage drawn by eight horses drive up to his manse. Two gentlemen alighted. They entered the house and presented a letter from M. Shea, or Shée, afterwards, in Napoleon's time, Prefect of the Lower Rhine and Governor of Strasburg. Shea was an Irishman's son, and married an Irishman's daughter, Mdlle. d'Alton. He was uncle of a former Irish pupil of the pastor, Clarke, the future Minister of War of Napoleon, and Duc de Feltre. Shea's letter of introduction stated that the two gentlemen were the Marquis Louis de MacMahon, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Chasseurs de Gavandin, and his brother, Comte Maurice de MacMahon, Major in the King's Cuirassiers. The Marquis had fought in the American War of Independence under Rochambeau. He and the Comte wished to learn German. Could the pastor take them in, as he had received Clarke, and teach them that language? Clarke had told them that they would do better to stay with him than to go to Berlin or Leipsic. "But Clarke," the pastor modestly remarked, "was an exceptionally good pupil. He had a retentive memory, a bright and receptive mind, and he was diligent. In seven months he had learned to speak and write German well." The MacMahons worked harder than Clarke, but not as successfully. They were rather old to begin to learn German, the Marquis being thirty-two and the Comte thirty. They told the pastor that their father was an Irishman. He had brought them up to respect and love religion and good morals. Their mother was the richest woman in

Burgundy, and she and their father lived at the *Château* of Sully, near Autun.

The pastor and his family became deeply attached to the two officers. Their conduct was exemplary, and their goodness of heart, their sweetness, simplicity, and wish to oblige made them truly worthy of their fortune and high station. Nothing could equal their kindness and indeed the tenderness of heart they showed to the family with which they stayed. But the pastor, finding they talked in French to each other when alone, advised them to separate. Louis, by his advice, went to Landau, in the Palatinate, to board and lodge with one Hoffmann, a friend of the pastor, and a Protestant. He received tuition from a Catholic named Zinke, a Bavarian, who intended to take Holy Orders, but had meanwhile to live by giving lessons. He followed his pupil to his regiment, and became his secretary. The MacMahons paid the pastor for their board and tuition 120 fr. a month. He had scruples about accepting so much. When the Marquis left, Maurice declared that he must leave too, if his reverend "coach" did not agree to go on receiving the 120 fr. a month, and would not hear of any reduction being made. This was not the only advantage that accrued to the good man from having the Comte as a pupil. He insisted on the pastor and his wife using his carriage and horses as if they were their own. They were thus able to make pleasure trips to places they had often longed to see, going to Landau and Bergzheim, and to visit their relatives at Annweiler. On Sundays the pastor rode, instead of walking, to a distant chapel where he celebrated divine service in the afternoon. He was also able to make trips to Heidelberg and Zweibrucken, where the Comte bought horses to replace those taken away by his brother; to Mannheim, Schweitzenberg, Spires, and Gershenheim. The Marquis quitted Landau at the end of May. But before he returned to his regiment he came to pay his duty to the pastor and his wife, and to take leave of them. He accepted an invitation to join the families of both at a pic-nic at the old Castle of Trifels on the anniversary of their wedding. In the following month the Comte was recalled to his regiment, but got his leave of absence extended to July 20. On the Comte's pressing invitation, the pastor, with his friend Hoffmann, went on a visit to him at Landau, and then to Haguenau, where they were asked to stay as guests of the Marquis and the colonel of his regiment.

"The brothers were kindness itself [says the pastor]. They brought us to Strasburg on St. John's Eve. They there took us to the theatre to see Ifland's 'Joeger,' and we returned with them to their quarters at Haguenau. The good and amiable Comte Maurice came back to visit us at Albertweiler in 1788. He had purchased at the price of 60,000 fr. the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Lauzan's regiment, and had been made a Knight of St. Louis. One of our own children could not be more glad to be with us again than he was. The Comte brought Zinke with him as a secretary, but sent him to lodge

at the Swan Inn. My guest often took me out riding. We went to Mannheim to see Ifland in Schiller's 'Don Carlos.' On May 11 he bade us farewell, and on going took Zincke with him. I never had the happiness to meet him since, but I heard in 1791 how he nearly lost his life in the Bouillé affair at Nancy. His horse, peppered with bullets, was killed under him. The Marquis, I heard, was killed in Flanders in or about 1794."

Comte Maurice was Marshal MacMahon's father. It seems a grim freak of the Fates that he should have entered the regiment of the dissolute Lauzan, whose autobiographical accounts of his amours with the aristocratic belles of his time would alone justify the Revolution. Snowflake and soot-black could not be more ill-matched than the cynical rake Lauzan and the honourable, pure-minded semi-Irishman, Maurice Francis MacMahon.

Comte MacMahon was taken prisoner at Nancy by the people and narrowly escaped being massacred. He got away to Paris, and was offered by the Duc d'Orléans (Égalité), for whom Lauzan was busy recruiting military partisans, the full colonelcy of his regiment of Hussars, and by Marshal de Rochambeau a place on his staff. But Bouillé had gone to Coblenz, where an army of *émigrés* was being formed. Maurice de MacMahon, in a letter written to the War Minister of Louis XVIII. to explain why he did not accept the offer either of the Duc d'Orléans or of de Rochambeau, says: "I was going to place myself under Rochambeau, in whose corps in America my brother served. But my legitimate sovereign, Louis XVI., sent me word by his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, to join his brothers abroad. I had commanded the 250 Hussars as a household guard at Versailles. They were so well conducted that the queen had deigned to admit them to her presence and called them 'her own good Hussars.' I had won good opinions at Nancy. The king therefore thought that I could not but be more useful with his brothers than in France. I therefore emigrated by the order of my sovereign, and because I owed him loyal duty was engaged in the campaign of 1792." This campaign was against the first French Republic.

Thus we see that Maurice MacMahon re-entered France with the troops of the allied sovereigns and was one of the provoking causes of that tumultuous outburst of Republican patriotism which found musical and lyrical expression in the *Marseillaise*. What he says of having commanded the 250 Hussars whom the queen admitted to her presence and called "her own good Hussars," suggests here a few remarks. The banquet given to these men in the Palace Theatre of Versailles, at the dessert stage of which she appeared with her ladies and children, and walked round the tables to say gracious things, was one of the events which brought down thunderbolts in the autumn of 1789. It was represented by the club orators, by Camille Desmoulins and Mirabeau, as the proof of a conspiracy against the new-won liberties. The Hussars, following the lead of

their commander, whose name no historian gives, swore to die for the queen and her son. May not this impulse be explained simply by a generous and very Irish emotion? Irish gallantry is different from French gallantry, being really chivalrous and disinterested. Burke expressed it eloquently when, in his famous speech on the French Revolution, he spoke of the radiant beauty and the misfortunes of the queen of France as being enough to make the swords of all chivalrous men jump from their scabbards. When Maurice MacMahon is looked at through the eyes of the Alsatian pastor, one can understand the queen cleaving to him and his 250 Hussars for protection for herself and children. But the honest Comte is a strong, albeit unconscious, witness in support of the charge made against Louis XVI. of conspiring, in 1792, with the head of the Coblenz coalition to snuff out the Revolution by means of a foreign invasion. He was planning how to escape to Coblenz when, through his sister, he ordered MacMahon to go there. Her intervention shows that the Revolutionists were not altogether wrong in carting her into prison for being privy to conspiracies, and that the charges made against the Royal Family of being in communication with "the enemies of the nation" were not unfounded. Maurice MacMahon, acting on the orders he received from his "lawful sovereign," attached himself to the Anglo-Dutch army, of which the Duke of York was *generalissimo*. He was under the immediate orders of the Belgian Riquet de Caraman and of Marshal de Broglie who had, in 1798, been charged to gather troops round Versailles, and, hemming in the National Assembly, take it prisoner, or transport it to deliberate at Compiègne out of the reach of the Paris Revolutionists. Riquet de Caraman was great-grandson of the Italian Riquetti who made the canal of Languedoc, the great-grandfather also of Mirabeau, whose family retained the Italian pronunciation of their name. A sister of Marshal de Broglie was married to Riquet de Caraman. MacMahon fell in love with their daughter and married her. In this marriage originated the close connection of the late Marshal with the Duc de Broglie, and the choice made by the Orleanists at the Versailles Assembly in 1873 when they offered MacMahon the Presidency of the Republic.

Maurice MacMahon remained attached to the Anglo-Dutch army until 1795, and did not return to France until 1803. He was no doubt helped at Paris by Madame Tallien, an old friend of Josephine, and *ex-avant* wife of Tallien, the author of the Thermidor *coup d'état*. This lady was one of the fast beauties of the Revolution and the soul of the Thermidor reaction against Robespierre's terrorist methods, but still more against his austere virtues and incorruptible integrity. She had divorced Tallien to become the wife of Prince de Caraman, and her friendly support would have been valuable to

MacMahon at a time when Napoleon was thinking of making himself Emperor and of drawing the Royalists about him to form a Court on the Versailles model. Maurice MacMahon, however, lived altogether in the country at Sully in Burgundy, and was never seen or heard of at the Court of Napoleon. Between 1793 and 1812 he became the father of seventeen children, of whom the late Marshal was the sixteenth. He remained silently hostile to the Empire, and in 1815, between the return of the Emperor from Elba and his defeat at Waterloo, tried to stir up Burgundy against him and to bring it to demonstrate for Louis XVIII. Marshal Davoust was sent to quell the disturbance, and the Marquis Maurice was arrested and was to be sent for trial before a military commission.

Davoust, not being sure that Napoleon would be able to withstand a European coalition, delayed the trial. The Comtesse hastened to Dijon to intercede for her husband, who, if tried, was sure to be condemned and shot. She was in poor health when the shock of her husband's arrest was received. As no hope was afforded her of his escape, she nearly died from despair. The future Marshal was seven years old, and retained to the last a vivid recollection of the dark days of 1815. Waterloo opened the doors of the military prison at Dijon, and the Marquis Maurice returned to Sully. His wife lingered until 1819. She was a woman of a strong, generous character, and cast aside all Royalist prejudice and feeling when her charitable sentiments and principles were appealed to. When Couthon the regicide was banished she received his two motherless daughters into her family, and was as much a mother to them as to any of her own children. They were penniless, and she set them up in life. This was done when the White Terror, or reaction which followed the second restoration of Louis XVIII., was at its height. Couthon had a fancy for collecting historical documents of the Revolution. In 1793 he got hold of the will of Marie Antoinette, which was found among his papers, and sent to the State archives.

The Comtesse de MacMahon survived eight of her seventeen children. Of those she left, four were sons and five daughters. Her moral courage was the heritage she left to Maurice Patrick. He was not sent to school young, but had private tuition at home. He was then placed at a seminary taught by priests at Autun, from which he was removed to a coaching establishment for the military school of St. Cyr at Versailles. His two elder brothers were already officers in Hussar regiments. All the family were fond of horses and were daring riders. Charles, the eldest, broke his neck in 1845 while competing for a steeple-chase prize for gentlemen riders at Autun. They were all fanciers of English thoroughbreds. The Marshal was never without a few in his stables. He owed his life on many occasions, when acting as an aide-de-camp, to the fleetness and cleverness

of an English or an Irish horse. At the exhibition of equestrian art, which was held eight years ago at the Rue de Sèze, a family portrait was shown of Charles, Joseph and Maurice Patrick de MacMahon (the future Marshal), in their uniforms, cantering in a glade. It was a spirited painting, and gave the impression of the elation and freshness of youth. Another sketchy picture, by Horace Vernet, represented the MacMahon family at a hunting meet in front of the château of Sully (a kind of Burgundian Warwick Castle) with their friends, who had come to hunt in the woods round them. The material conditions and the company are aristocratic. Still, there is a sweet, genial, friendly air, common to all the MacMahons, which excludes the idea of "the cold shade of aristocracy." The servants seem as well off as the horses. Maurice Patrick (the Marshal), a gentlemanly, elegantly built young fellow, of a fair, beaming, and ruddy countenance, pats the neck of his thoroughbred. The horse, pleased and proud at this mark of affection, paws the ground with his fore-foot.

All the three MacMahon brothers of the second generation, born at Sully, were loyal, in the old romantic Jacobite sense, to the Bourbons. They were officers, the two elder in Hussar regiments, and Maurice Patrick in a line regiment in active service in Algeria, when the Revolution of 1830 broke out, and Louis Philippe picked up the crown which fell from the head of his cousin and benefactor. Each of the three young officers at once asked the general over him to forward his resignation to the Minister of War. Maurice's was not accepted, for his general thought him too valuable an officer in war time to let him retire from the army without giving him time to reflect on the course he proposed taking. Some days after his resignation had, as he thought, been sent on, he received a letter from his father, the old Marquis, conjuring him not to throw up his commission, but to keep out of political partisanship by making the rule of military obedience the law of his life. He himself had known what it was to be torn up by the roots and cast abroad to serve in an army which, though forward to fight for the lawful sovereign, had to march against the nation that he claimed the right to rule. Once in the thick of a campaign it was a clear duty not to leave; indeed, to leave would be to desert. The king (Charles X.) had not asked him for any such sacrifice as the two other brothers had made.

Maurice Patrick MacMahon went to his general to ask if the letter of resignation would have reached Paris. "No, for it was never forwarded. It is in a pigeon-hole there. I can't spare you. Take it and burn it."

If that letter had not been detained the French army, in all probability, would have been taken prisoners at Magenta, and the chapter of European events, and of great changes in political geography, which began in 1859, would never have been commenced. An Italian Sedan

must have secured to Austria the upper hand across the Rhine and in Italy, nipped in the bud the unitary movement in the latter country, led to a great overturning and upheaval in Paris, and, in short, have given a trend to European events quite different from the one they have been taking since MacMahon rode into Milan, his horse knee-deep in the flowers that were cast at him from the windows, and with a child he saved from being run over on the bow of his saddle.

No act of the Marshal's life became him better than his retirement from power. He was determined not to provoke civil war, not to go with the tide of Gambettist republicanism, not to expose himself in any degree to the suspicion of being a party to the Union Générale bubble which the political men about him and their sons were financing. He agreed with Dufaure in thinking that a new situation required new men. As he had lived far beyond his salary and private means at the Elysée, he had no fortune to fall back upon. But honour and duty pointed out the course he should take. He followed it with his usual straightforward simplicity, was the first to congratulate M. Grévy when he was elected President, and volunteered to smooth away any difficulties that might be raised by foreign Courts and French Royalist diplomatists. He lent the plate he had at the Elysée to his successor until a sufficient quantity for the exercise of hospitality on a large scale could be procured—of course, at the cost of the State, on the back of which M. Grévy threw all expenses. The Marshal devoted himself in retirement to humane enterprises connected with the army. No word of recrimination or harsh criticism escaped his lips. He refused the splendid sinecure of Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour. After being head of the State, he thought he could not with dignity, for the sake of a salary, discharge a lower function. He felt that the retirement of private life best befitted him.

EMILY CRAWFORD.



## TATIAN AND THE DATE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

IT is sixteen years, almost to a moon (which is the unit of measurement of time to the readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW), since Bishop Lightfoot concluded in this magazine the series of articles in which he examined the claims of the anonymous work entitled "Supernatural Religion." These essays have since been reprinted in book-form; and amongst those, of all schools of belief or of non-belief, who value exactness of thought and accuracy of expression in matters relating to Biblical and Patristic science, they have already attained the dignity of a position amongst the classical works of modern theology.

It is, however, interesting to observe that, although no serious error has been detected in Lightfoot's reasonings, nor any fault been pointed out in the foundation of facts on which he built, there are some portions of his argument which, while not invalidated, are, in view of the progress which Patristic studies have been quietly making, inadequate in their statements, needing at least amplification and, in one or two minor points, a slight revision. I do not think that any articles written by Lightfoot will ever come under the designation of "back numbers" which is popularly used by a great people on the other side of the Atlantic to describe the dead or dying past. There is very little in his writings over which a literary *Requiescat in pace* has to be said; his books will be as long-lived as those of the great masters of English theological learning, to which they stand in the relation of a carved capital to a column; they will remain the delight and the despair of critics and controversialists. At the same time, so large has been the increment to the materials for our knowledge of the early centuries of the Christian Church in the last few years that it becomes a proper question to ask, whether, in view of

the new documents and inscriptions which have come to light, and the investigations of the sixteen intervening years to which we have alluded, the positions which Lightfoot took up are perfectly defensible. If, for example, he were alive to-day, would he be able to say as decidedly as he did that no case had been made out for assigning the Gospel of John to the latter half of the second century, or to any period of time except that defined by the early and almost unbroken tradition of the Church? Was Lightfoot's defence of the Fourth Gospel the last despairing effort of a dying orthodoxy? or was it a timely protest, made in harmony with the traditions of the finest English scholarship, against an inundation of mere German hypothesis?

Some of these questions are answered almost as soon as they are stated. The footnotes to the collected volume of Essays show that Lightfoot did not die without knowing that he had neither run in vain nor spent his strength for nought; he lived to see the learned world hard at work upon the greatest Patristic discovery of the century, the lost Harmony of Tatian, for the existence of which he had so zealously contended; and he did not live long enough to attend the literary funeral of St. John, which has, in consequence of the recovery of the Harmony, as well as for other reasons, been postponed indefinitely. He must have felt before he died that he had occupied the place of honour in a memorable conflict; and he, who probably least of all men cared for the fluctuations of popular opinion, was with us long enough to know that the flowing tide was with him. Readers of this Review will recall an article by Professor Schürer in September 1891 in which the following significant call to retreat was sounded to those who are named by compliment the advanced critics (chiefly so named, I imagine, because they have a tendency to run ahead of the facts of the case which they discuss). Professor Schürer told us that "those who dispute the genuineness of St. John's Gospel have given up a number of Baur's untenable assertions. It is recognised that the Gospel is *at least* some thirty or forty years older than Baur admitted, that it arose not 160-170 A.D. but *at latest* about 130 A.D." (I have used some italics in the transcription of the sentence). Schürer's article was meant as an olive-branch to the opposite critical schools.

Professor Sanday followed Dr. Schürer in an article which maintained strongly the case for the antiquity of the Fourth Gospel, and declared the admission as to the date to be insufficient. I hope I do not express myself too strongly in saying that Professor Sanday's article, done into brief English, almost amounted to this: "Take back your olive-branch and bring a flag of surrender instead."

But I only refer to these articles in order to confirm what was said above in regard to the change which has come over the critical world in the matter of the Johannine question. I do not

wish to build any further conclusions than this on the arguments or admissions of the two distinguished scholars cited. They occupied themselves chiefly with the discussion of the internal probabilities of the genuineness of St. John's Gospel, to the exclusion, almost entirely, of the external evidence and the ecclesiastical tradition. It would have been better to stay a while longer by these latter, which constitute the real facts of the case, at all events in regard to the antiquity of the book. Let it be noted then that there seems to be a change of opinion abroad on the question of the Fourth Gospel, and that the new conclusions suggest that Lightfoot's defence was a successful one.

To a good chess-player the interest of the game does not lie in the opening or closing moves; the former are usually conventional, the latter are self-evident; the "gameness" of the game is centred in a limited number of moves which do not attract the attention of an unskilled bystander; the moderate player is most interested in the selection and development of the opening gambit, and the tyro finds his joy in the closing passages which enable him to say which of the two sides has won. And the Johannine question is something like a game of chess in this respect; a certain number of objections have been, from time to time, urged against the supposed antiquity of the book; it is said to be ill-attested, or the actual attestations are said to be themselves spurious in character or wrongly assigned as to date. A large part of the literature of the second century has met with similar treatment: this is the conventional opening of the critical game. To one who is conversant with the literature of modern criticism, such statements produce no more excitement than to be told that one's adversary in a game of chess has moved his pawn to the king's fourth. The supreme interest of Lightfoot's work, on the other hand, consists in the fact that his moves constitute the turning-point of the struggle. All the rest of the controversy is either mere preliminary or foregone conclusion. I propose to point out, however, where he somewhat understated his case, and that the game might in reality have been much shorter; and I shall also draw attention briefly to some curious critical conclusions which follow from the conjunction of Lightfoot's work with the documents that have been discovered, and the discussions that have taken place upon them, since the publication of his memorable articles.

I begin by reconstructing the critical question into the shape in which it stood when Lightfoot began to take part in it. An extract or two will show which way the wind was blowing at that time. In the year before the appearance of Lightfoot's first article there was issued the fifth edition of Reuss' "History of the New Testament." No one will object, I hope, if I speak of Reuss as a temperate as well as a careful writer. In his preface to the edition in question he

omplains of those critics who decorate him with the title of "petty apologist," because he is unable to see all the seams which modern criticism has detected in the patchwork of the Apostolic writings; yet this is the way in which Reuss expressed himself on the important question of the external evidence for St. John's Gospel :

"The positive testimony [says he] does not begin, as the history of the Canon shows, until Theophilus of Antioch, after 170 A.D. But the universal recognition of the book by the Church immediately thereafter, sufficiently attested, would be inexplicable did it not reach back much farther. . . . The unspeakable pains that have been taken to collect external evidence only shows that there is none in the proper sense of the term."

For a companion sentence to Reuss's decided language we will take a few words from Dr. S. Davidson's "Canon of the Bible," the second edition of which appeared in 1877 synchronously with Lightfoot's concluding article on Tatian. The book to which I refer is stated to be a revision of an essay prepared for the new edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," and so may fairly be taken to represent the sincere milk of the word for the sustenance of the coming generation. Dr. Davidson says (p. 99) :

"Whatever may be said about Justin's acquaintance with this Gospel (*i.e.*, the Fourth Gospel), its existence before 140 A.D. is incapable either of decisive or probable showing. The Johannine authorship has receded before the tide of modern criticism; and, though this tide is arbitrary at times, it is here irresistible. Apologists should abstain from strong assertions, &c."

The metaphorical language of the passage is a little obscure; one does not at first see what is meant by St. John's Gospel receding before modern criticism; but it is clear that the conservative critics must have been in an evil case if they had to deal with irresistible tides, or to stand, like Horace's countryman, by the banks of the mighty stream which flowed by the walls of Tübingen, and to wait until it should have dried up :

"Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis : at ille  
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."

It will be observed that while Reuss had only ventured to fix an inferior limit for the date of St. John's Gospel (a proceeding which left the whole question at issue still open), Dr. Davidson went so far as to fix a superior limit (which would be necessarily the death-blow to the Johannine authorship), and even to intimate that the tide of critical knowledge would not be permitted to "turn again home." At the same time he warned apologists against strong assertions, from which it is at least fair to conclude that he was not conscious of having overstated his own case!

It will hardly need to be said that, of the statements which I have quoted, neither will bear repetition in view of the additions that have been made to our documentary knowledge; the only thing

that will bear repeating is Reuß's admission that the "universal recognition of the book by the Church immediately" after the time of Theophilus "would be inexplicable did it not reach back much further." The external testimony to St. John's Gospel does not begin with Theophilus, nor even with Tatian, who is historically his senior; it is no longer lawful to say that, anterior to Theophilus, the external evidence is practically non-existent; and it is extremely doubtful whether any person, who is even moderately acquainted with the subject, would to-day fix the lower limit for St. John's Gospel at the year 140, to say nothing of turning the lower limit into an upper limit. And now let us come to Lightfoot, and see how far his statements with regard to the antiquity of the Gospel of John are susceptible of verification, especially in the matter, so hotly contested, of the existence of a Harmony of the four Gospels, made by Tatian in the second century, which gave the story of the Gospels in the form of a mosaic made by alternate extracts from one Gospel or another, and known in the early Church by the name of the Diatessaron or Quaternary Gospel.\*

It is well known that this Diatessaron of Tatian has come to light in two leading forms, which are obviously derived from a lost primitive—the first is the Armenian translation of Ephrem-Syrus's Commentary on the Diatessaron, in which a large part of the Diatessaron is embedded; the second, the Diatessaron itself, has appeared in an Arabic translation made from a ninth-century copy of a lost Syriac text. Over and above these two leading authorities, a mass of references and quotations, whose number is constantly increasing, have been unearthed in the extant literature of the early Syrian Church and elsewhere.

Now, while Lightfoot was writing, the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus, which had been published by the Armenian Fathers at Venice as early as 1836, was actually on his shelves. He has himself confessed as much in a foot-note at the close of the "Collected Essays":

"I had for some years possessed a copy of this work in four volumes,

\* Readers to whom the literature of the subject is unfamiliar will perhaps care to be reminded that the existence of this Gospel Harmony, which contained nearly the whole of the Fourth Gospel, was denied in the strongest terms. M. Renan said, in 1870 (three years after the publication of Ephrem's "Commentary on the Harmony" in its Latin form):

"Tatien ne connaissait pas ou n'admettait pas l'Évangile de Jean. C'est à tort qu'on a cru que le Diatessaron commençait par 'Au commencement était le Verbe.' C'est à tort aussi qu'on a cru que le titre *Διά τεσσάρων* impliquait les quatre Évangiles canoniques. Le mot *διὰ τεσσάρων* est emprunté à la musique grecque et signifie en général l'accord parlant."—"l'Église Chrétienne," p. 503, n.

The author of "Supernatural Religion" said: "No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, probably for the very simple reason that there was no such work, and the real Gospel used by him was that according to the Hebrews. . . . As we have clearly seen, there is not up to the time of Tatian any evidence even of the existence of three of our Gospels, and much less of the four in a collected form."

Dr. S. Davidson was not much better; he told us: "It is now impossible to ascertain the nature of his Harmony. . . . It may have been made out of the four canonical Gospels. But the testimony of one that did not see the book is little worth. . . . The accounts of the Syrian writers furnish no proof that Tatian's work began with John i. 1."—"Introduction to New Testament," ii. 396.

and the thought had more than once crossed my mind that possibly it might throw light on Ephrem's mode of dealing with the Gospel. I did not, however, then possess sufficient knowledge of Armenian to sift its contents."

Moreover, this Armenian text had been translated into Latin and published by Dr. Mösinger, of Salzburg, in the year before this article of Lightfoot was written. Mösinger's book would have told the whole tale about the Diatessaron, but, unhappily, it remained practically unnoticed until the great American scholar, Dr. Ezra Abbot, brought it to the front in a masterly essay on the Fourth Gospel.

It must be admitted that if Lightfoot had been able to quote Ephrem's text, or to refer to Mösinger's translation of it, and to extract the elements of the Gospel on which Ephrem was commenting, he would have made his case much stronger. To take a single point, the production of a text of the Gospels, which was obviously harmonistic and began with John i. 1 ("In the beginning was the Word"), would have been a fact of more weight than fifty arguments on the question as to whether Dionysius Bar-Salibi spoke the truth when he said that Mar Ephrem had written an exposition of the Diatessaron, and that its commencement was "In the beginning was the Word." It appears, therefore, that Lightfoot defended his case from a weaker position than was accessible to him.

What is true of Ephrem's Commentary is also true in a lesser degree of the Arabic version of the Harmony, which was published at Rome in 1888, accompanied by a Latin translation. It is well known now that, as far back as the middle of the last century, this copy of the Diatessaron had been announced in the printed catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Not only was it announced, but announced as Tatian's Diatessaron. I do not mean to imply that Lightfoot was to blame more than other people in not having noticed or followed up the entry which Assemani had made of this precious MS. ; but I do say that it is much to be regretted that so much valuable time had to be spent in unfruitful disputes which ought to have been settled long ago by a little printer's ink applied to non-controversial ends. And certainly it must be allowed that Lightfoot's defence of Tatian, however adequate in other respects, was, in consequence of the non-publication of an extant and catalogued document, much under-stated.

The third point to which I wish to call attention, is an instance in which Lightfoot threw away an important piece of testimony which lay at hand. I refer to the evidence of Victor of Capua, who had, somewhere about the year 545 A.D., found an anonymous Harmony of the Gospels, which he decided, on comparison with Eusebius, to be the Harmony made by Tatian in the second century, and which he used as the basis of a Latin Harmony of his own, which has come

down to us in the famous Codex Fuldensis. On this identification of Victor's, Lightfoot remarks :

"There can be no doubt that Victor was mistaken about the authorship ; for, though the work is constructed on the same general plan as Tatian's, it does not begin with John i. 1, but with Luke i. 1, and it does contain the genealogies" (which tradition affirms to have been absent from the original work of Tatian).

It was strange that Lightfoot did not notice or suspect that there had been an alteration in the Harmony by its passage through the hands of Victor of Capua. But Victor, though he had re-arranged the harmonised Gospel, preserved the original table of chapters, which he prefixed to his own work, though it did not exactly correspond thereto. In this table of chapters it is seen at a glance that the original Harmony, upon which he worked in framing his Latin-Vulgate Harmony, did begin with John i. 1, and contained, as far as we can judge, no genealogies. We are justified, then, in saying that Lightfoot understated the existing evidence for the Harmony of Tatian (and the Gospel of John which is contained in it); I make this statement, not with the idea of depreciating, on mere points of detail, the splendid vindication of the early Christian writings which Lightfoot so successfully accomplished, but simply in order to enunciate the following proposition, which may be of value in coming days :

*It is possible for a professed apologist, acting in defence of a certain portion of the Christian literature, the genuineness of which has been attached, to seriously understate a winning case.*

I hope that Dr. Davidson, who has been so free in his warnings to the apologists, will not consider this too strong a statement.

Let me now pass on to consider a little more generally what is likely to be the effect of the recovery of Tatian's Harmony upon the Johannine problem. In the first place it will react upon the opinions which are current with regard to supposed quotations from St. John's Gospel in second-century writers. I will begin by taking the case of Tatian himself. If we turn to the "Apology to the Greeks," which is the only one of Tatian's own writings that has been preserved to us, we shall find several passages in which it has been common for apologists to recognise traces of the use of the Fourth Gospel. Three places, in particular, have been appealed to; in the first he uses the expression: "God is a spirit"; in the second he quotes the saying: "The darkness comprehended not the light"; and in the third he expresses himself as follows: "Follow ye the only God. All things have been made by Him, and apart from Him hath been made no one thing"; of these supposed references two are verbatim and the third almost so.

Now, it is manifestly absurd to question the identification of these allusions to St. John's Gospel when once we have recognised that Tatian was so well acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, as to have

transcribed the whole of it at least once, and to have carefully examined the relation of the contained narrative to that given in the Synoptic Gospels. The Harmony has a broad back; if we are discussing the question of possible acquaintance with St. John's Gospel, it can carry these smaller quotations as easily as a bird carries its feathers. It is, however, to be remembered that these quotations were all called in question; not one of them, for example, was admitted by the author of "Supernatural Religion." He devotes six pages to the demonstration that the passages referred to have nothing in common with the Fourth Gospel. It is fair to remember that this writer had also come to the conclusion that there was no evidence that the Diatessaron of Tatian was based upon the four canonical Gospels.

We thus arrive at the following interesting situation: *It is possible for an early Christian writer, profoundly acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, which he had at least once transcribed with his own hand, to write a religious treatise in which he would fail to convince critics in later ages that he had any acquaintance with that Gospel at all. And this possibility is consistent with the fact that he makes verbatim quotations from the author with whom he is held to have been unacquainted.*

We can scarcely doubt that the recovery of the Tatian Harmony will lead to the ungrudging admission that Tatian shows an acquaintance with the Gospel of John in the rest of his writings. Nor will the influence of the Diatessaron in criticism be limited to Tatian's own writings. Let us recall the sentence which we quoted a little while back from Reuss, to the effect that the evidence of the use of the Fourth Gospel by Theophilus, taken with the universal recognition of St. John by the Church immediately following Theophilus, would be inexplicable if it did not reach back much farther. Tatian is Theophilus's senior, and his name may now be read for Theophilus by those who belong to the school of Reuss. We may now speak of the universal recognition of the Fourth Gospel by the Church immediately after Tatian, and affirm that this would be inexplicable unless the Fourth Gospel reached much farther back. But how vastly is this argument strengthened when we remember that we are not reasoning from a single admitted quotation in the writings of Tatian. *The quotation in question is now the book itself*; and not merely have we in the Harmony a transcription of the Gospel, but a transcription that involves long and patient thought and study. It certainly looks as if the superior limit of time assigned by Davidson had gone away "in die Ewigkeit." But if the existence of the Harmony compels the recognition of contemporary quotations in Tatian's own writings, it must operate in a similar manner in the period before Tatian; for the existence of the Harmony is the same thing as the pre-existence of the Gospels harmonised. And this argument will be most forcible, critically, in the line of Tatian's own intellectual and



spiritual ancestry, for here we are most sure of finding the antecedent Gospels. We must expect, then, to find that Tatian's master, Justin, was acquainted with the four Gospels which his pupil had so carefully studied, and a new light is thus thrown upon the much discussed question as to whether there are any traces in Justin's writings of the use of the four Gospels and, in particular, of the Fourth Gospel. It will be a strange thing indeed if no such traces are to be found; some cases will probably be admitted. But even if we should by any chance find, either in Justin or in Tatian, suggestions of acquaintance with an apocryphal fifth or sixth Gospel, from which Justin's language may sometimes be borrowed, we shall not on that account have diminished in the least the weight of the argument derived from the fact that, whatever else Tatian knew, he was well acquainted with the canonical Gospels, and from whatever other sources, in the shape of uncanonical Gospels, he drew his materials, from these four at least he drew practically all that was capable of combination into the mosaic which he was making. The whole face of the question has been changed by the regression of the lower limit for St. John's Gospel which is involved in the recovery of the lost Harmony. In popular language, *the date of St. John's Gospel has gone back, and on that account a number of supposed quotations from St. John which were formerly considered doubtful must now be admitted.*

By the date of the Gospel of John, we mean the latest possible period to which it can be referred; for when we speak of the date of the Gospel of John, we imply one of three things: ( $\alpha$ ) the actual date when the book was written concerning which we have a clear and harmonious ecclesiastical tradition, which takes us probably into the closing years of the first century; this date, of course, remains fixed; or ( $\beta$ ) we may mean the superior limit of time which criticism has assigned for its possible production, the formula for which is, "it cannot have been written *earlier* than the year —," and may, of course, be ever so much later; or ( $\gamma$ ) we may mean the lower limit assigned by criticism, the formula for which is, "it must have been written *before* the year —." It has been the common practice of modern criticism to disregard the traditional evidence for an actual date, on the ground that tradition is untrustworthy, and to confine itself almost entirely to the determination of an inferior limit, to which it too often tacitly assumes that the superior limit is extremely close. But there is no warrant furnished, by the comparative study of similar problems in other literatures, for the assumption that the superior and inferior limits assigned to a work by processes of internal criticism are necessarily near together. The evidence furnished by the determination of a lower limit of production of a work is positive evidence, but it conflicts in no degree with the possibility of an earlier date; the case for the early date of St. John's Gospel is never a closed case until

a superior limit has been fixed. Now the audacity of Dr. Davidson's criticism consisted in this: that it professed that the superior limit had been found within reasonable bounds of probability, and the amusing part of the present situation is that we find such an advanced critic as Schürer assigning an inferior limit for St. John within the region prohibited by Davidson's superior limit! And further, since the Schürer limit is by its very statement an inferior limit, it must not be interpreted as if it affirmed that the Gospel of John was written as late as 130 A.D., but that it cannot any longer be maintained to have been written later. All of which must be very good news to the apologists (of whom I do not profess to be one), and equally satisfactory to those who (like myself) know from their experience as investigators, or in any other way, that the Catholic traditions have a peculiar habit of justifying themselves against those that impugn them.

Having said thus much with regard to the influence of the recovered Harmony on the question of the Fourth Gospel, I will conclude by pointing out the directions in which fresh light will shortly be forthcoming.

The first direction is, that we may expect before long to understand a great deal more than we do at present with regard to the origin of the variants of the New Testament text. We shall find that the greater part of them are already in existence in the second century, and that to some of them, at least, dates and authors can be assigned. Tatian will be responsible for not a few. What Dean Burgon said, in one of his attacks on the Revised Version, that "we are sometimes able to lay our finger upon a foul blot, and to say, 'This came from Tatian's Diatessaron,'" will be found to be verified; as well as his other crisp dictum, "Have you not yet found out, sir, that all various readings are ancient?" I need scarcely say that when we are able to attach a chronological indication to the variants, and to locate a great part of them in the second century, there will be small occupation left for those who wish to fix the period of origin of the Gospels as late as the demonstrable time of their greatest corruption. As an illustration of this subject for those to whom it may be new ground, I will trace back to the second century a single Greek variant of a very striking nature which I discovered in a Greek manuscript of the Gospels dating from the eleventh century, in the possession of Miss Algerina Peckover, of Wisbech. In this copy, I found the account of our Lord's conversation with Peter over the question of the tribute money altered as follows: "Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children or of the aliens? Peter saith to him, Of the aliens. Jesus said to him, Then are the children free? Simon said, Yes. Jesus saith to him, Then do thou also give, as being an alien to them."

When I first discovered this curious variant to the account in

Matthew xvii. 26, I assigned the added matter to a Syriac origin; no other authority for it was extant beyond the single Greek manuscript to which I have referred, in which I had the pleasure of detecting it some years before I began the study of Tatian's Harmony. As soon, however, as I obtained possession of Ciasca's edition of the Arabic translation of Tatian's Syriac Harmony, I was delighted to find the same added matter in the text; and not only so, but I now see that it is also in Ephrem's Commentary, though it has been erroneously printed in the edition of Mösinger, as though it were a part of the Commentary itself, and not a part of his text. Here, then, we have a case (and it is by no means a rare one) of a variant in the Greek Testament carried back to Tatian. We may confidently expect much more light in this direction. I am well aware that the critics, who write against the genuineness of Christian literature are, as a rule, quite superior to the science of textual criticism. Some of them will live to find out the mistake they are making. The problem of the origin of the Gospels belongs naturally to the textual critics, and without their co-operation, no one can be trusted to decide finally upon it.

The other direction in which fresh light is to be expected shortly is in regard to the question as to the relation between the Tatian Harmony and the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels. Between the two there is an intimate textual connection. Either Tatian used, in making his Harmony, this previously existing Syriac translation, in which case the lower limit of the Gospels must be pushed back another stage in order to allow for the preceding rendering from Greek into Syriac; or this Syriac Version, in its earliest form, is a translation made with Tatian's text in the mind of the translator, and probably with a view to replace Tatian's work. In this case the Old Syriac Gospels become an important witness, if further testimony were needed, to the Diatessaron of Tatian.

Possibly a third alternative may be suggested—viz., that Tatian is responsible both for the translation and the harmonisation; in which case we should have their combined evidence, equivalent now to a single factor, in favour of the previously existing Greek Gospels. It is too soon yet to speak definitely of the nature of the solution of the problem. But I have little fear that any one will work at the subject, even for so short a time as six months, and retain in his mind any doubts as to whether the Gospel of John is an early product of the Christian literature. The more we know our Tatian, the more we shall be persuaded that the Gospels were well established in the Christian Church when Tatian undertook to combine them.

## “THE ECONOMY OF HIGH WAGES.”

THE theory of a “natural” rate of wages fixed at the bare subsistence-point which was first clearly formulated in the writings of Quesnay and the so-called “physiocratic” school was little more than a rough generalisation of the facts of labour in France. But these facts, summed up in the phrase “Il ne gagne que sa vie,” and elevated to the position of a natural law, implied the general belief that a higher rate of wage would not result in a correspondent increase of the product of labour, that it would not pay an employer to give wages above the point of bare sustenance and reproduction. This dogma of the economy of cheap labour, taught in a slightly modified form by many of the leading English economists of the first half of the nineteenth century, has dominated the thought and indirectly influenced the practice of the business world. It is true that Adam Smith in a well-known passage had given powerful utterance to a different view of the relation between work and wages: “The liberal reward of labour as it encourages the propagation so it encourages the industry of the common people. The wages of labour are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives.”\* But the teaching of Ricardo, and the writers who most closely followed him in his conception of the industrial system, leaned heavily in favour of low wages as the sound basis of industrial progress.

The doctrine of the economy of low wages in England scarcely needed the formal support of the scientific economist. It was already strongly implanted in the mind of the eighteenth century “business man,” who moralised upon the excesses resulting from high wages much

\* “Wealth of Nations,” vol. i. p. 86.

in the tone of the business man of to-day. It would be scarcely possible to parody the following line of reflection :

"The poor in the manufacturing counties will never work any more time in general than is necessary just to live and support their weekly debauches. Upon the whole we may fairly aver that a reduction of wages in the woollen manufactures would be a national blessing and advantage and no real injury to the poor. By this means we might keep our trade, uphold our rents, and reform the people into the bargain" (Smith's "Memoirs on Wool," vol. ii. p. 308).

Compare with this Arthur Young's frequent suggestion that rents should be raised in order to improve farming.\* So Dr. Ure, notwithstanding that his main argument is for the "economy of high wages," not only on the ground that it evolves the best quality of work, but expressly because it keeps the workman contented, is unable to avoid flatly contradicting himself as follows :

"High wages, instead of leading to thankfulness of temper and improvement of mind, have, in too many cases, cherished pride and supplied funds for supporting refractory spirits in strikes wantonly inflicted upon one set of mill-owners after another throughout the several districts of Lancashire for the purpose of degrading them into a state of servitude" ("Philosophy of Manufacture," p. 366).

So again (p. 298) : "In fact, it was their high wages which enabled them to maintain a stipendiary committee in affluence, and to pamper themselves into nervous ailments by a diet too rich and exciting for their indoor occupation."

The history of the early factory system, under which rapid fortunes were built out of the excessive toil of children and low-skilled adult workers paid at rates which were, in many instances, far below true "subsistence wages," furnished to the commercial mind a convincing argument in favour of "cheap labour," and set political economy for half-a-century at war with the rising sentiments of humanity.† Even now, the fear frequently expressed in the *New World* regarding

\* Cf. "Northern Tour," vol. ii., p. 86.

† It is true that out-and-out defenders of the factories against early legislation sometimes had the audacity to assert the "economy of high wages," and to maintain that it governed the practice of early mill-owners. So here "The main reason why they (*i.e.* wages) are so high is, that they form a small part of the value of the manufactured article, so that if reduced too low by a sordid master, they would render his operatives less careful, and thereby injure the quality of their work more than could be compensated by his saving in wages. The less proportion wages bear to the value of the goods, the higher, generally speaking, is the recompense of labour. The prudent master of a fine spinning-mill is most reluctant to tamper with the earnings of his spinners, and never consents to reduce them till absolutely forced to it by a want of remuneration for the capital and skill embarked in his business" ("Philosophy of Manufacture," 330). This does not, however, prevent Dr. Ure from pointing out a little later the grave danger into which trade-union endeavours to raise wages drive a trade subject to the competition of "the more frugal and docile labour of the Continent and United States" (p. 363). Nor do Dr. Ure's statements regarding the high wages paid in cotton-mills, which he places at three times the agricultural wages, tally with the statistics given in the appendix of his own book (*cf.* 515). Male spinners alone received the "high wages" he names, and out of them had to pay for the labour of the assistants whom they hired to help them.

the “competition of cheap labour” attests a strong survival of this theory, which held it to be the first principle of “good business” to pay as low wages as possible.

The trend of more recent thought has been in the direction of a progressive modification of the doctrine of the “economy of low wages.” The common maxim that “if you want a thing well done you must expect to pay for it” implies some general belief in a certain correspondence of work and wages. The clearer formulation of this idea has been in large measure the work of economic thinkers who have set themselves to the close study of comparative statistics. The work in which Mr. Brassey, the great railway contractor, was engaged gave him an opportunity of making accurate comparison of the work and wages of workmen of various nationalities, and his son, Sir Thomas Brassey, collected and published a number of facts bearing upon the subject which, as regards certain kinds of work, established a new relation between work and wages. He found that English navvies employed upon the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada, and receiving from 5s to 6s. a day, did a greater amount of work for the money than French-Canadians paid at 3s. 6d. a day; that it was more profitable to employ Englishmen at 3s. to 3s. 6d. upon making Irish railways than Irishmen at 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.; that “in India, although the cost of dark labour ranges from 4½d. to 6d. a day, mile for mile the cost of railway work is about the same as in England;” that in quarry work, “in which Frenchmen, Irishmen, and Englishmen were employed side by side, the Frenchman received three, the Irishman four, and the Englishman six francs a day. At those different rates the Englishman was found to be the most advantageous workman of the three.” Extending his inquiries to the building trades, to mining, and to various departments of manufactures he found a general consensus of opinion among employers and other men of practical experience making for a similar conclusion. In France, Germany, and Belgium, where wages and the standard of living were considerably lower than in England, the cost of turning out a given product was not less, but greater. In the United States and in a few trades of Holland, where the standard of comfort was as high or higher than in the corresponding English industries, more or better work was done. In short, the efficiency of labour was found to vary with tolerable accuracy in accordance with the standard of comfort or real wages.

In his introduction to his work on “Foreign Work and English Wages” Sir Thomas Brassey gives countenance to a theory of wages which has frequently been attributed to him, and has sometimes been accepted as a final statement of the relation of work and wages, viz., that “the cost of work, as distinguished from the daily wage of the labourer, was approximately the same in all countries.” In other

words, it is held that, for a given class of work, there is a fixed and uniform relation between wages and efficiency of labour for different lands and different races.

Now, to the acceptance of this judgment, considered as a foundation of a theory of comparative wages, there are certain obvious objections. In the first place, in the statement of most of the cases which are adduced to support the theory reference is made exclusively to money wages, no account being taken of differences of purchasing power, in different countries. In order to stand upon any rational basis, the relation must be between real wages or standard of living and efficiency. Now, though it must be admitted as inherently probable that some definite relation should subsist between wages and work, or, in other words, between the standard of consumption and the standard of production, it is not *a priori* reasonable to expect this relation should be uniform as between two such countries as England and India, so that it should be a matter of economic indifference whether a piece of work is done by cheap and relatively inefficient Indian labour or by expensive and efficient English labour. Such a supposition could only stand upon one of two assumptions.

The first assumption would be that of a direct arithmetical progression in the relation of wage and work, such as would require every difference in quantity of food, &c., consumed by labourers to be reflected in an exactly correspondent difference of output of productive energy—an assumption which needs no refutation, for no one would maintain that the standard of comfort subserved by wages is the sole determinant of efficiency, and that race, climate, and social environment play no part in economic production. The alternative assumption would be that of an absolute fluidity of capital and labour, which should reduce to a uniform level throughout the world the net industrial advantages, so that everywhere there was an exact quantitative relation between work and wage, production and consumption. Though what is called a “tendency” to such uniformity may be admitted, no one acquainted with facts will be so rash as to maintain that this uniformity is even approximately reached.

There is, then, no reason to suppose that wages, either nominal or real, bear any exact, or even a closely approximate, relation to the output of efficient work, quantity and quality being both taken into consideration. But, in truth, the evidence afforded by Sir T. Brassey does not justify a serious investigation of this theory of indifference or equivalence of work and wages. For, in the great majority of instances which he adduces, the advantage is clearly shown to rest with the labour which is most highly remunerated. The theory suggested by his evidence is, in fact, a theory of “the economy of high wages.”

This theory which has been advancing by rapid strides in recent

years, and is now supported by a great quantity of carefully collected evidence, requires more serious consideration. The evidence of Sir T. Brassey was chiefly, though by no means wholly, derived from branches of industry where muscular strength was an important element, as in road-making, railway-making, and mining; or from the building trades where machinery does not play a chief part in directing the pace and character of productive effort. It would not be unreasonable to expect that the quantitative relation between work and wages would be closer in industries where freely expended muscular labour played a more prominent part than in industries where machinery was a dominating factor, and where most of the work consisted in tending machinery. It might well be the case that it would pay to provide a high standard of physical consumption to navvies, but that it would not pay to the same extent to give high wages to factory operatives, or even to other classes of workers less subject to the strain of heavy muscular work.

In so far as the tendency of modern production is to relieve man more and more of this rough muscular work, it might happen that the true economy favoured high wages only in those kinds of work which were tending to occupy a subordinate place in the industry of the future. The earlier facts, which associated high wages with high productivity, low wages with low productivity, in textile factories and iron works, were of a fragmentary character, and, considered as evidence of a causal connection between high wages and high productivity, were vitiated by the wide differences in the development of machinery and industrial method in the cases compared. In recent years the labours of many trained economists, some of them with close practical knowledge of the industrial arts, have collected and tabulated a vast amount of evidence upon the subject. A large number of American economists, among them General F. A. Walker, Mr. Gunton, Mr. Schoenhof, Mr. Gould, Mr. E. Atkinson, have made close researches into the relation between work and wages in America and in the chief industrial countries of Europe. A too patent advocacy of tariff reform or a shorter working day has in some cases prevented the statistics collected from receiving adequate attention, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the researches.

The most carefully conducted investigation has been that of Professor Schulze-Güvernitz, who, basing his arguments upon a close study of the cotton industry, has related his conclusion most clearly to the evolution of modern machine-production. The earlier evidence merely established the fact of a co-existence between high wages and good work, low wages and bad work, without attempting scientifically to explain the connection. Dr. Schulze-Güvernitz, by his analysis of cotton spinning and weaving, successfully formulates the



observed relations between wages and product. He compares not only the present condition of the cotton industry in England and in Germany and other continental countries, but the conditions of work and wages in the English cotton industry at various times during the last seventy years, thus correcting any personal equation of national life which might to some extent vitiate conclusions based only upon international comparison. This double method of comparison yields certain definite results, which Dr. Schulze-Gävernitz sums up in the following words: "Where the cost of labour (*i. e.*, piece wages) is lowest the conditions of labour are most favourable, the working day is shortest, and the weekly wages of the operatives are highest" (p.133). The evolution of improved spinning and weaving machinery in England is found to be attended by a continual increase in the product for each worker, a fall in piece wages reflected in prices of foods, a shortening of the hours of labour, and a rise in weekly wages. The following tables, compiled by Dr. Schulze-Gävernitz, give an accurate statement of the relations of the different movements, taking the spinning and weaving industries as wholes in England:

## SPINNING.

	Product of yarn in 1000 lbs.	Number of workers in spinning mills.	Product per worker in lbs.	Cost of labour per lb.	Average yearly wages.
				s. d.	£ s. d.
1819-21	106,500	111,000	968	6 4	26 13 0
1829-31	216,500	140,000	1,546	4 2	27 6 0
1844-46	523,300	190,000	2,754	2 3	28 12 0
1859-61	910,000	248,000	3,671	2 1	32 10 0
1880-82	1,324,000	240,000	5,520	1 9	44 4 0*

## WEAVING.

	Products in 1000 lbs.	Number of workers.	Product per worker in lbs.	Cost of labour per lb.	Average yearly income.
				s. d.	£ s. d.
1819-21	80,620	250,000	322	15 5	20 18 0
1829-31	143,200	275,000	521	9 0†	19 18 0
1844-46	348,110	210,000	1,658	3 5	24 10 0
1859-61	650,870	203,000	3,206	2 9	30 15 0
1880-82	993,540	246,000	4,039	2 3	39 0 0

\* "Der Grossbetrieb," p. 132. In regarding the advance of recent average wages it should be borne in mind that the later years contain a larger proportion of adults. In considering the wages a deduction for unemployment should be allowed.

† Account must be taken of the depressed condition of handloom weavers, which had not yet disappeared.

The same holds good of the growth of the cotton-weaving industry in America, as the following table shows :

	Yearly product per worker	Cost of labour per yard.	Yearly earnings of worker.
	yards.	cents.	dollars.
1840	4,321	1 9	164
1850	12,164	1·55	190
1870	19,293	1·24	240
1884	28,032	1·07	290

Of Germany and Switzerland the same holds. Every improvement of machinery increasing the number of spindles or looms a worker can tend, or increasing the pace of the machinery and thus enlarging the output per worker, is attended by a higher weekly wage, and in general by a shortening of the hours of labour.

A detailed comparison of England, the United States, and the Continent, as regards the present condition of the cotton industry, yields the same general results. A comparison between England and the United States shows that in weaving, where wages are much higher in America, the labour is so much more efficient as to make the cost of production considerably lower than in England; in spinning, where English wages are about as highly paid, the cost of production is lower than in America (p. 156). A comparison between Switzerland and Germany, England, and America, as regards weaving, yields the following results (p. 151) :

	Weekly product per worker	Cost per yard	Hours of labour	Weekly wage.
	yards			s. d.
Switzerland and Germany	166	0 303	12	11 8
England . . . . .	706	0 275	9	16 3
America . . . . .	1,200	0 2	10	20 3

The low paid long-houred labourers of the Italian factories are easily undersold by the higher paid and more effective labour of England or America. So also a comparison between Mulhausen and the factories of the Vosges valleys shows that the more highly paid labour of the former is the more productive.

In Russia the better paid labour in the factories near Petersburg and in Esthland can outcompete the lower paid labour of the central governments of Vladimir and Moscow.

Schulze-Gävernitz goes so far as to maintain that under existing conditions of low wages and long hours, the Indian factories cannot undersell their Lancashire competitors, and maintains that the stringent factory laws which are demanded for India are likely to injure Lancashire,\* instead of giving her an advantage. The most vital points of the subject are thus definitely indicated, after an elaborate comparison of the cotton-spinning of England and of those parts of Germany which use English machinery :

"In England the worker tends nearly twice as much machinery as in Germany; the machines work more quickly: the loss as compared with the theoretic output (*i.e.* waste of time and material) is smaller. Finally, there comes the consideration that in England the taking-off and putting-on from the spindles occupies a shorter time; there is less breaking of threads, and the piecing of broken threads requires less time. The result is that the cost of labour per pound of yarn—especially when the work of supervision is taken into account—is decidedly smaller in England than in Germany. So the wages of the English spinners are nearly twice as high as in Germany, while the working day occupies a little over 9 hours as compared with 11 to 11½ in Germany." (P. 136.)

From the evidence adduced by Schulze-Gävernitz, modern industrial progress is expressed, so far as its effects on labour are concerned, in seven results: *a.* Shorter hours of labour. *β.* Higher weekly wage. *γ.* Lower piece-wage. *δ.* Cheaper product. *ε.* Increased product per worker. *ζ.* Increased speed of machinery. *η.* Increased number and size of machines to the worker.

All these factors must be taken into consideration before a full judgment of the net results of machinery upon the worker can be formed. The evidence above recorded, conclusive as it is regarding the existence of some causal connection between a high standard of living and high productivity of labour, does not necessarily justify the conclusion that a business, or a federation of employers, may go ahead increasing wages and shortening hours of labour *ad libitum* in sure and certain expectation of a corresponding increase in the net productivity of labour.

Before such a conclusion is warranted, we must grasp more clearly the nature of the causal relation between high standard of living and efficiency. How far are we entitled to regard high wages and other good conditions of employment as the cause, how far as the effect of efficiency of labour? The evidence adduced simply proves that *a b c*, certain phenomena relating to efficiency—as size of product, speed of workmanship, quantity of machines tended—vary directly with *d e f*, certain other phenomena relating to wages, hours of labour, and other conditions of employment. So far as such evidence goes, we are only

\* Here Schulze-Gävernitz appears to strain his argument. Though official reports lay stress upon the silver question as an important element in the rise of Bombay mills, there seems no doubt of the ability of Bombay cheap labour to undersell English labour for low counts of cotton in Asiatic markets.

able to assert that the two sets of phenomena are causally related, and cannot surely determine whether variations in  $a b c$  are causes, or effects of concomitant variations in  $d e f$ , or whether both sets of phenomena are or are not governed by some third set, the variations of which affect simultaneously and proportionately the other two.

The moral which writers like Mr. Gunton and Mr. Schoenhof have sought to extract, and which has been accepted by not a few leaders in the “labour movement,” is that every rise of wages and every shortening of hours will necessarily be followed by an equivalent or a more than equivalent rise in the efficiency of labour. In seeking to establish this position, special stress is laid upon the evidence of the comparative statistics of textile industries. But, in the first place, it must be pointed out that the evidence adduced does not support any such sweeping generalisation. The statistics of Mr. Gould and Mr. Schoenhof, for instance, show many cases where higher money and real wages of American operatives are not accompanied by a correspondingly larger productivity. In such cases the “cheap” labour of England is really cheap.

Again, in other cases where the higher wages of American workers are accompanied by an equivalent, or more than equivalent, increase of product, that increased product is not due entirely or chiefly to greater intensity or efficiency of labour, but to the use of more highly elaborated labour-saving machinery. Here the direct labour cost of each commodity may be as little, or even less, than in England, but the total cost of production and the selling price may be higher. Lastly, in that comparison between England and America, which is in many respects the most serviceable, because the two countries are nearest in their development of industrial methods as well as in the character of their labourers, the difference of money and of real wage is not commonly accompanied by a difference in hours of labour.

The evidence we possess does not warrant any universal or even general application of the theory of the economy of high wages. If it was generally true that by increasing wages and by shortening working hours the daily product of each labourer could be increased or even maintained, the social problem, so far as it relates to the alleviation of the poverty and misery of the lower grades of workers, would admit of an easy solution. But though it will be generally admitted that a rise of wages or of the general standard of comfort of most classes of workers will be followed by increased efficiency of labour, and that a shortening of hours will not be followed by a corresponding diminution in output, it by no means follows that it will be profitable to increase wages and shorten hours indefinitely. Just as it is admitted that the result of an equal shortening of hours will be different in every trade, so will the result of a given rise in standard of comfort be different. In some cases highly paid labour and

short hours will pay, in other cases cheaper labour and longer hours. It is not possible by dwelling upon the concomitance of high wages and good work, low wages and bad work, in many of the most highly-developed industries to appeal to the enlightened self-interest of employers for the adoption of a general rise in wages and a general shortening of hours. Because the most profitable business may often be conducted on a system which involves high wages for short intense work with highly evolved machinery, it by no means follows that other businesses may not be more profitably conducted by employing low-paid workers for long hours with simpler machinery. We are not at liberty to conclude that the early Lancashire mill-owners adopted a short-sighted policy in employing children and feeble adult labour at starvation wages.

The evidence, in particular, of Schulze-Gävernitz certainly shows that the economy of high wages and short hours is closely linked with the development of machinery, and that when machinery is complex and capable of being worked at high pressure a net economy of high wages and short hours emerges. In this light modern machinery is seen as the direct cause of high wages and short hours. For though the object of introducing machinery is to substitute machine-tenders at low wages for skilled handicraftsmen, and though the tireless machine could be profitably worked continuously, when due regard is had to human nature it is found more profitable to work at high pressure for shorter hours and to purchase such intense work at a higher price. It must, of course, be kept in mind that high wages are often the direct cause of the introduction of improved machinery and are an ever-present incentive to fresh mechanical inventions. This was clearly recognised half a century ago by Dr. Ure, who names the lengthened mules, the invention of the self-acting mule, and some of the early improvements in calico-printing as directly attributable to this cause.\*

But, admitting these tendencies in certain machine industries, we are not justified in relying confidently upon the ability of a rise of wages, obtained by organisation of labour or otherwise, to bring about such improvements of industrial methods as will enable the higher wages to be paid without injuring the trade, or reducing the profits below the minimum socially required for the maintenance of a privately conducted industry.

Our evidence leads to the conclusion that, while a rise of wages is nearly always attended by a rise of efficiency of labour and of the

\* Ure's "Philosophy of Manufacture," pp. 367-9. Dr. Ure regarded mechanical inventions as the means whereby capital should keep labour in subjection. In describing how the "self-acting mule" came into use he adds triumphantly: "This invention comprises the great doctrine already propounded, that when capital enlists science in her service the refractory hand of labour will always be taught docility" (p. 368).

product, the proportion which the increased productivity will bear to the rise of wage will differ in every employment.\* Hence it is not possible to make a general declaration in favour of a policy of high wages or of low wages.

The economically profitable wages and hours will vary in accordance with many conditions, among the most important being the development of machinery, the strain upon muscles and nerves imposed by the work, the indoor and sedentary character of the work, the various hygienic conditions which attend it, the age, sex, race, and class of the workers.

In cotton-weaving in America it pays better to employ women at high wages to tend six, seven, or even eight looms for short hours, than to pay lower wages to inferior workers such as are found in Germany, Switzerland, or even in Lancashire. But in coal-mining it appears that the American wages are economically too high—that is to say, the difference between American and English wages is not compensated by an equivalent difference of output. The gross number of tons mined by United States miners working at wages of \$326 per annum is 377, yielding a cost of 86½ cents per ton, as compared with 79 cents per ton, the cost of North Staffordshire coal produced by miners earning \$253, and turning out 322 tons per head.\* So also a ton of Bessemer pig iron costs in labour about 50 cents more in America than in England, the American wages being about 40 per cent. higher.†

It is, indeed, evident from the aggregate of evidence that no determinable relation exists between cost in labour and wages for any single group of commodities.

Just as little can a general acceptance be given to the opposite contention that it is the increased efficiency of labour which causes the high wages. This is commonly the view of those business men and those economists who start from the assumption that there is some law of competition in accordance with whose operation every worker necessarily receives as much as he is worth, the full value of the product of his labour. Only by the increased efficiency of labour can wages rise, argue these people; where wages are high the efficiency of labour is found to be high, and *vice versa*; therefore efficiency determines wages. Just as the advocates of the economy of high-wages theory seek by means of trade-unionism, legislation, and public opinion to raise wages and shorten hours, trusting that the increased efficiency which ensues will justify such conduct, so the others insist that technical education and an elevation of the moral and industrial character of the workers must precede and justify any rise of wages or shortening of hours, by increasing the efficiency of

\* “No 64 Consular Report” (quoted Schoenhof, 209).

† Schoenhof, p. 216.

labour. Setting aside the assumption here involved that the share of the workers in the joint product of capital and labour is a fixed and immovable proportion, this view rests upon a mere denial of the effect which it is alleged that high wages and a rise in standard of comfort have in increasing efficiency.

The relation between wages and other conditions of employment, on the one hand, and efficiency of labour or size of product on the other, is clearly one of mutual determination. Every rise in wages, leisure, and in general standard of comfort will increase the efficiency of labour; every increased efficiency, whether due directly to these or to other causes, will enable higher wages to be paid and shorter hours to be worked.

One further point emerges from the evidence relating to efficiency and high wages. According to Schulze-Gävernitz's formula, every fall in piece wages is attended by a rise in weekly wages. But it should be kept in mind that a rise in time-wages does not necessarily mean that the price of labour measured in terms of effort has been raised. Intenser labour undergone for a shorter time may obtain a higher money wage per unit of time, but the price per unit of effort may be lower. It has been recognised that a general tendency of the later evolution of machinery has been to compress and intensify labour. In certain classes of textile labour the amount of muscular or manual labour given out in a day is larger than formerly. This is the case with the work of children employed as piecers. In Ure's day (1830) he was able to claim that three-fourths of the time spent by children in the factory they had nothing to do. The increased quantity of spindles and the increased speed have made their labour more continuous. The same is true of the male spinners, whose labour, even within the last few years, has been intensified by increased size of the mule. Though as a rule machinery tends to take over the heavier forms of muscular work, it also tends to multiply the minor calls upon the muscles, until the total strain is not much less than before. What relief is obtained from muscular effort is compensated by a growing strain upon the nerves and upon the attention. Moreover as the machinery grows more complex, numerous, and costly, the responsibility of the machine-tender is increased. To some considerable extent the new effort imposed upon the worker is of a more refined order than the heavy muscular work it has replaced. But its tax upon the physique is an ever-growing one. "A hand-loom weaver can work thirteen hours a day, but to get a six-loom weaver to work thirteen hours is a physical impossibility."\* The complexity of modern machinery and the superhuman celerity of which it is capable suggest continually an increased compression of human labour, an increased output of effort per unit of time. This has been rendered

\* "Der Grossbetrieb," 167

possible by acquired skill and improved physique ensuing on a higher standard of living. But it is evident that where it appears that each rise in the standard of living and each shortening of the working day has been accompanied by a severer strain either upon muscles, nerves, or mental energy during the shorter working day, we are not entitled to regard the higher wages and shorter hours as clear gain for the worker. Some limits are necessarily imposed upon this compressibility of working effort. It would clearly be impossible by a number of rapid reductions of the working day and increases of time-wages to force the effectiveness of an hour's labour beyond a certain limit for the workers. Human nature must place limits upon the compression. Though it may be better for a weaver to tend four looms during the English factory day for the moderate wage of 16s. a week than to earn 11s. 8d. by tending two looms in Germany for twelve hours a day, it does not follow that it is better to earn 20s. 3d. in America by tending six, seven, or even eight looms for a ten-hours day, or that the American's condition would be improved if the eight-hours day was purchased at the expense of adding another loom for each worker.

The gain which accrues from high wages and a larger amount of leisure, over which the higher consumption shall be spread, may be more than compensated by an undue strain upon the nerves or muscles during the shorter day. This difficulty, as we have seen, is not adequately met by assigning the heavier muscular work more and more to machinery, if the possible activity of this same machinery is made a pretext for forcing the pace of such work as devolves upon machine-tenders.

In many kinds of work, though by no means in all, an increase of the amount of work packed into an hour could be obtained by a reduction of the working-day; but two considerations should act in determining the progressive movement in this direction: first, the objective economic question of the quantitative relation between the successive detrements of the working-day and the increments of labour put into each hour; second, the subjective economic question of the effect of the more compressed labour upon the worker considered both as worker and as consumer.

There is not wanting evidence to show that increased leisure and higher wages can be bought too dear.

In drawing attention to this consideration it must not, however, be assumed that the increase of real wages and shortening of hours traced in progressive industries are necessarily accompanied by a corresponding increase in the compression of labour. In the textile and iron industries, for example, it is evident (*pace* Karl Marx) that the operatives have obtained some portion of the increased productivity of improved machinery in a rise of wages. Even where more



machinery is tended we are not entitled to assume a correspondent increase in felt effort or strain upon the worker. A real growth of skill or efficiency will enable an increased amount of machinery to be tended with no greater effort than a smaller amount formerly required. But, while allowance should be made for this, the history of the factory system, both in England and in other countries, clearly indicates that factory labour is more intense than formerly, not, perhaps, in its tax upon the muscles, but in the growing strain it imposes upon the nervous system of the operatives.

The importance of this point is frequently ignored alike by advocates of a shorter working-day and by those who insist that the chief aim of workers should be to make their labour more productive. So far as the higher efficiency simply means more skill and involves no increased effort it is pure gain, but where increased effort is required the question is one requiring close and detailed consideration.

Another effect of overcompressed labour deserves a word.

The close relation between higher wages and shorter hours is generally acknowledged. A rise of money wages which affects the standard of living by introducing such changes in consumption as require for their full yield of benefit or satisfaction an increase of consuming-time can only be made effective by a diminution in the producing time or hours of labour. When, for example, the new wants, whose satisfaction would be naturally sought from a rise of the standard of living, are of an intellectual order, involving not merely the purchase of books, &c., but the time to read such books, this benefit requires that the higher wages should be supplemented by a diminution in the hours of labour in cases where the latter are unduly long. But it is not so clearly recognised that such questions cannot be determined without reference to the question of intensity of labour. Yet it is evident that an eight-hours day of more compressed labour might be of a more exhausting character than a ten-hours day of less intense labour and disqualify a worker from receiving the benefits of the opportunities of education open to him more than the longer hours of less intense labour. The advantage of the addition of two hours of leisure might be outweighed by the diminished value attached to each leisure-hour. In other words, the excess of intense work might be worse in its effects than the excess of more extended work. This possibility is often overlooked in the arguments of those who support the movement towards a shorter working-day by maintaining that each unit of labour-time will be more productive. When the argument concerns itself merely with alleging the influence of higher wages, without shorter hours, upon the efficiency of labour this neglect of the consideration of intenser labour has a more urgent importance. It may be gravely doubted whether the benefit of the higher wages of

the Massachusetts weavers is not overbalanced by the increased effort of tending so large a number of machines for hours which are longer than the English factory day. The exhausting character of such labour is likely to leave its mark in diminishing the real utility or satisfaction of the nominally higher standard of living which the high wages render possible. Where the increased productivity of labour is largely due to the improved machinery and methods of production which are stimulated by high wages without a corresponding intensification of the labour itself, the gain to labour is clear. But the possibility that short hours and high wages may stimulate an injurious compression of the output of productive effort is one which must not be overlooked in considering the influence of new industrial methods upon labour.

Duration of labour, intensity of labour, and wages, in their mutual relations, must be studied together in any attempt to estimate the tendencies of capitalist production. Nor can we expect their relations to be the same in any two industries. Where labour is thinly extended over an inordinately long working-day, as in the Indian mills, it is probable that such improvements of organisation as might shorten the hours to those of an ordinary English factory day, and intensify the labour, would be a benefit, and the rise of wages which might follow would bring a double gain to the workers. But any endeavour to further shorten and intensify the working-day might injure the workers, even though their output were increased. Such an instance, however, may serve well to bring home the relativity which is involved in all such questions. The net benefit derived from a particular quantitative relation between hours of labour, intensity, and earnings would probably be widely different for English and for Indian textile workers. It would, *a priori*, be unreasonable to expect that the working-day which would bring the greatest net advantage to both should be of the same duration. So also it may well be possible that the more energetic nervous temperament of the American operative may qualify him or her for a shorter and intenser working-day than would suit the Lancashire operative. It is the inseparable relation of the three factors—duration, intensity, and earnings—which is the important point. But in considering earnings, not merely the money wage, nor even the purchasing power of the money, but the net advantage which can be obtained by consuming what is purchased must be understood, if we are to take a scientific view of the question.

It should be clearly recognised that in the consideration of all practical reforms affecting the conditions of labour, the "wages" question cannot be dissociated from the "hours" question, nor both from the "intensity of labour" question; and that any endeavour to simplify discussion, or to facilitate "labour movements," by seeking

a separate solution for each is futile, because it is unscientific. When any industrial change is contemplated, it should be regarded, from the "labour" point of view, in its influence upon the net welfare of the workers, due regard being given, not merely to its effect upon wage, hours, and intensity, but upon the complex and changing relations which subsist in each trade, in each county, and in each stage of industrial development between the three.

But, although, when we bear in mind the effects of machinery in imparting intensity and monotony to labour, in increasing the number of workers engaged in sedentary indoor occupations, and in compelling an even larger proportion of the working population to live in crowded and unhealthy towns, the net benefit of machinery to the working classes may be questioned, the growth of machinery has been clearly attended by an improved standard of material comfort among the machine-workers, taking the objective measurement of comfort.

Whatever allowance may be made for the effects of increased intensity of labour, and the indirect influences of machinery, the bulk of evidence clearly indicates that machine-tenders are better fed, clothed, and housed than the hand-workers whose place they take, and that every increase in the efficiency and complexity of machinery is attended by a rise in real wages. The best machinery requires for its economical use a fair standard of living among the workers who co-operate with it, and with the further development of machinery in each industry we may anticipate a further rise of this standard, though we are not entitled to assume that this natural and necessary progress of comfort among machine-workers has no fixed limit, and that it is equally applicable to all industries and all countries.

It might, therefore, appear that as one industry after another fell under machine-production, the tendency of machine-development must necessarily make for a general elevation of the standard of comfort among the working classes. It may very well be the case that the net influence of machinery is in this direction. But it must not be forgotten that the increased spread of machine-production does not appear to engage a larger proportion of the working population in machine-tending. Indeed, if we may judge by the recent history of the most highly evolved textile industries, we are entitled to expect that, when machinery has got firm hold of all those industries which lend themselves easily to routine production, the proportion of the whole working population engaged directly in machine-tending will continually decrease, a larger and larger proportion being occupied in those parts of the transport and distributing industries which do not lend themselves conveniently to machinery, and to personal services. If this is so, we cannot look upon the evolution of machinery, with its demand for intenser and more efficient labour, as

an adequate guarantee of a necessary improvement in the standard of comfort of the working classes as a whole. To put the matter shortly, we have no evidence to show that a rise in the standard of material comfort of shopmen, writing clerks, school-teachers, busmen, agents, warehousemen, dockers, policemen, sandwich-men, and other classes of labour whose proportion is increasing in our industrial society, will be attended by so considerable a rise in the efficiency of their labour as to stimulate a series of such rises. The automatic movement which Schulze-Gävernitz and others trace in the typical machine-industries is not shown to apply to industry as a whole, and if the tendency of machine-development is to absorb a larger proportion of the work but a smaller proportion of the workers, it is not possible to found large hopes for the future of the working-classes upon this movement of the earning of high wages in machine-industry.

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JOHN A. HOBSON.

## EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION.\*

**J**UST about sixteen years ago it was my fate to inflict on a Bradford audience a speech, which probably of all those present on the occasion I alone remember. I was the guest of my old friend, Mr. William Edward Forster, whom Bradford honoured while living, and whose memory I know Bradford still keeps fresh, and as it was a meeting of Yorkshire Institutes, and his Education Bill had but recently been passed into law, it was inevitable that the talk should be about education. Probably, to save myself trouble, I might repeat the speech to-night, and nobody would find me out; but some learned antiquary might, and after sixteen years, besides its inherent faults, it would certainly, to use the modern slang, not be "up to date."

In sixteen years the present state and future prospects of education have wonderfully changed. And changed on the whole greatly for the better. More money is spent on education; the scope of education has been greatly widened; except in cases where so-called religious questions impede its work, the education of the whole country is becoming more and more general; and the general tendency of later legislation has been to increase the national expenditure on this national object.

All this is to most of us matter to rejoice at, and we wish the work throughout the country to spread, to grow, to prosper. But it would be vain to deny that all the while there are undercurrents of dissatisfaction, that there are murmurs heard both loud and deep, and heard from very different quarters. Our poorer citizens, our working classes are dissatisfied and complain. But they do not complain alone; the higher and hitherto ruling people, of whom

\* An Address delivered in the Salt Schools, Shipley, Yorkshire, in June 1893.

Ben Jonson says that "they need not have anything more than a horse-race, or a hunting-match, or a day to dine with a citizen, and such innate mysteries," these men, too, complain, though for very different reasons, of the spread and growth of education, and of its unsatisfactory, sometimes in private they go so far as to say its positively mischievous, results. In my ignorance, which you must forgive, of what may be expected of your President on an occasion such as this, and still more of what may interest you, I will try to examine the reasons of the feeling I have described, how far they are just, how far they may be met and answered, and how, if and so far as they are just and well-grounded, that which produces them may be amended or removed.

Much of the feeling arises both in the higher and lower sort of men from a misapprehension, sometimes complete, of the higher end and object, the true purpose of what is called education; and the forgetfulness of the old and trite, but true and important, distinction between education and instruction. That they are essentially distinct no man of reflection will for a moment deny. It is plain that you may instruct without educating; it is not educating in any sense to teach the use of the hammer and the anvil, the lever or the pulley, or how to feed a machine with wool, or how to sharpen a razor or polish a pair of scissors; things most necessary to be learned, indeed, and without which no real work could be possible, but no more educating, that is drawing out the powers of, the mind than breaking stones upon a road or trimming ivy on a wall. If learning these things were education, and if education meant wealth or the means of making money, then, indeed, the poor man might complain with justice that he had thrown away his time, that education was a delusion and the desire for knowledge in the high sense was a snare.

But education does not mean wealth, nor is it necessarily the power of acquiring it. What it is, no doubt, is not easy to define; it has been defined a hundred times—not often, perhaps, by men qualified to define it; very seldom, if ever, so as to exclude all that it is not, and to include all that it is. Those who know most about it will be least inclined to attempt to include it in a formula. But, without attempting to define it, which I disclaim, it means at least, as the very name implies, a drawing out of the powers of the mind, so that the educated man is better able than the uneducated to commune with the choice and master spirits of all ages, and has the means, if he will use them, to become, in many ways, happier in his life, and fitter to meet death, which "necessary end will come when it will come." A very clever Cambridge man once said that the advantage (I am afraid he said the only advantage) of an Oxford education was that it enabled a man to allude gracefully to a variety

of subjects. Well, if any education does really enable a man to use a variety of subjects, not for display or "to find talk and discourse," but to illustrate or advance an argument, to clear the mind, to interest an audience, to convince an opponent, I should say that such an education was very useful, that a man who so used it had discovered its use, and that he was fitter for the world in which we live, and more likely to be effective in it, than a man who had no such education to use, or, if he had it, did not know how to use it. "Studies," says Lord Bacon, and by studies Lord Bacon meant what till lately, at least, was meant by education, "studies are for light, ornament, and *ability*," and by ability I conceive he intended the power of dealing with fellow-men, the power to influence mankind and to benefit the world. It is not denied that great men may achieve greatness in particular pursuits without any general cultivation of the powers of the mind. But even such men are able to do more in their own age, and to impress themselves upon posterity if they have this cultivation than if they had it not. Julius Cæsar, for example, was a very great general, but so apparently was Marius, and Marius could hardly write his name. Julius Cæsar, in the midst of the Gallic War, while passing across the mountains from one part of his province to another, wrote a treatise, "De Analogia," in more than one book, which he dedicated to Cicero. The treatise has been lost, and scarce even a quotation from it survives by which we might judge of its value; but it was certainly as far from war or politics as can be conceived; and, though the power to write it did not make the generalship of Cæsar, it was part of the man. Marius is a name; Cæsar is a power for centuries; and even now, after 2000 years, his genius is felt in the empire he created.

But it may be said, What has all this to do with the Salt Schools? You are wasting our time, and talking rubbish. We must have technical education; we don't want this general culture, which is only a fine name for sciolism and general shallow pretence of learning which does not advance trade or make men get on. Is that so certain? Not a word will you hear from me in disparagement of technical education. On the contrary, I maintain with energy that good technical education is the prime necessity of this time and this country. It is true that the enormous, I had almost said the immeasurable, increase in the amount of manufactures, the multitude of the workmen, the width and variety of the markets, the necessary substitution to a great extent of machinery for handwork,—these things have made it impossible that our manufactures should have the refinement, the perfection, the thoroughness of the *old* manufactures (I use of purpose a vague word, for I am too ignorant to be accurate as to date) of Italy, of France, of Holland and Belgium, of North and South Germany. But it is not, to my mind, by any

means certain that those who are wisely and gradually submitted to technical education would not be the better for more general cultivation. An uneducated mind is very apt, even in technical handicraft, to suffer for want of breadth of view and largeness of understanding. These seem fine words to use as to matters so purely practical. But let me explain. I will give you two instances, one which fell under my own observation, the other I came upon, in reading the report and the evidence of the Commission on the alleged Depression of British Trade, presided over with such skill and ability by the excellent and very able man more generally and widely known as Sir Stafford Northcote. A man I knew desired to have six candlesticks made of old Sheffield plate, which he preferred (as most people who know anything about it do prefer it) to its modern substitute, electroplate. He was willing to pay the price, and he wanted six candlesticks of separate patterns. The Sheffield plate he was obliged to abandon; he could not get it; at least, he was told so. The six candlesticks he could not at first get of separate patterns. Why? The workmen objected to use six separate models for a single order. Was it more trouble? Scarcely any, but they positively refused. At last he got what he wanted, picking up one here and one there, and with much trouble. Now, I am not going to say a syllable against the workmen. England is a free country, and they have a right to sell their property, that is, their labour, on what terms they choose. But no man in his senses can doubt that self-created difficulties of this sort have a tendency to injure trade, and if carried much further, and happening oftener, to drive trade away from England altogether, and to do great mischief not only to trade, but to the workman. This is entirely apart from the thorny and disputable questions as to strikes and combinations, as to which, so far as my understanding of the law allows me, I have always done what I honestly could in favour of the workmen's freedom. But there are limits of fairness and good sense which cannot be transgressed without direct harm to those who transgress them; and I think in cases such as these they are obviously transgressed. The case mentioned in Sir Stafford Northcote's Blue Book was stronger still. The Chinese, it seems—at least, large masses of them—like to use a particular kind of scissors, which are not in the shape in which English scissors are commonly made. The English makers would not make them according to the Chinese form. They said, and, as I understand, rightly said, that the English pattern was really the best. But the Chinese did not think so. They preferred their old *mumpsimus* to the English *sumpsimus*. The Germans wisely consulted the wish of their customers, and at the date of Sir Stafford Northcote's Blue Book the Germans were largely supplanting, and threatened entirely to destroy, the English trade, because they condescended to make awkward scissors which the Chinese would buy, instead of, perhaps, much better-shaped.



scissors, which they would not. My authority is the Blue Book, and I will add only that it is really narrow-minded and foolish in the extreme to attempt to argue with a customer who wants a particular thing, which, if you cannot or will not give him, he will, of course, go and get elsewhere.

These are examples only, of which the Blue Book gave many others, and the general effect of which I dare say is well known to many who cast a wide and intelligent glance over the trade and manufactures of Great Britain. Surely I am not wrong in thinking that in such plain, everyday, purely practical matters as these, an acquaintance with the history, with the minds and manners of mankind, with the course of trade, with the elementary rules of economics would enlarge the views, would liberalise the practice, and would certainly improve the position of those who will not acquire the knowledge which no one can prudently do without, and who habitually violate principles which are not of their making, and which no one can defy with impunity. To me it seems nothing but common sense to say that to educate men as well as to instruct them is to enable them to use their instruction to the best advantage, and to make work more valuable by making it more intelligent.

Nor, on the other side, should it be forgotten by those who have to employ the workmen, that the spread of even the imperfect education which we see, brings with it consequences which must be faced by them, if they have sense and reason, though sometimes, perhaps, unfavourable in a certain sense to their position and to themselves. In former days, though the employers of labour, commercial, it may be, agricultural certainly, differed little from those whom they employed, except in being able to indulge with less restraint discreditable passions; yet it did not much signify, because those whom they employed were little better than slaves, *ἐμψυχα ὀργάνα*, living tools, as Aristotle calls them. Those who know our statute-book, and who know also the desperate struggles made by some of our judges to render remedial statutes nugatory, will know whether I exaggerate. We have got or are fast getting past all that. If the workmen are no longer ignorant slaves, neither are the employers of any sort such as they once were; and the time is fast approaching when it will be recognised, even in agriculture, as in all pursuits which are pursued for gain, that, as Adam Smith said more than a hundred years ago, they cannot be carried on successfully except upon commercial principles. In former days, and when the whole country paid for the sustentation of the landowner, Adam Smith's precept as to the cultivation of land and the growth of corn could be safely disregarded. The consideration for the occupation of land in those days was partly rent, partly submission to dictation; in those days (I speak of what I myself know) men not only could be, but often were, turned out of their holdings for non-

submission to dictation; and the proceeding, when it took place, hardly produced a comment or a murmur. But after the time of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright the system altered. It died hard, as all systems which are founded upon selfishness and love of power do die hard. I knew myself two men, excellent and admirable men, one touched with the spirit of the time, the other a very noble specimen of the untouched gentleman, high-minded, honourable, just, but fond of power. One had a large estate in Ireland, I will not mention the county just now; the other had a still larger in the South of England. Both were Englishmen, but the Irish owner found his whole estate, when he succeeded to it, held under leases with the most oppressive covenants, one that the lease should be *ipso facto* forfeited if the lessee voted for any one as member for the shire except a person nominated by the lessor. His rents were in arrear and his farms in disorder. He called his tenants together, and offered to them a good ordinary English lease for *thirty-one years certain*, with arbitration clauses as to rent; all accepted thankfully; and when he told me this, he added that he had absolutely no arrears, and that his rents were cheerfully paid. I mentioned this to my other friend, and he replied that he should not care to live in a country where he had no power over his tenants. Both my friends, who were much older than I, died about ten or twelve years ago. The Irish estate (I really do not know whether the Land Laws have been applied to it) I have heard is in good order and has a contented tenantry. My English friend, too just and upright to insist on power which he had not bargained for, would take no tenant whose political opinions differed from his own. Farm after farm was thrown upon his hands; he fought gallantly against the times, and his estate, or much of it, has passed into the hands of men, of whom it is no disrespect to say that they are not his equals (for few men could be), except that they have recognised at which end of the nineteenth century we are living, which he did not.

The bearing of what I am saying on the subject before us is this: you cannot expect that workmen in the present day can be dealt with as they could in the past. I do not pretend to speak with any knowledge of the country workmen. The very highest and most responsible authority has told us that travelling circuses are the things for them. So I pass the rural districts by; but in towns and in places where there are libraries, and where men both can and do read the books in them, it is absurd to think that men, who can and do read Milton and Sidney and Locke and Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, can be treated as men could who had never heard of these men, or to whom at best they were but names. Let it be frankly recognised that it is the *total effect* of a change which is to be considered, that no change is ever, or is very seldom, an unmixed

good, that there is always *some* value in an established system, that mutual forbearance is not only a religious duty but a precept of common sense, and it will probably be admitted that the reverse of Aladdin's lamp is in this case true, and that the new lamp is better than the old.

It is unfortunate that everything cannot be said at once; and that you cannot, in stating one side of a case strongly, use words which imply that you know there is another, and that you have not forgotten it. Qualifications impair the strength and directness of assertions; and as nothing but its absolute contradictory is ever logically denied by an assertion, it is seldom to a fair and intelligent reader or hearer necessary to make them. But all minds (often quite unconsciously) are not fair, all minds are not intelligent or logical; and therefore qualifications are often necessary if you wish to avoid mischievous misunderstanding. I desire, therefore, to add that in what I have said I have been speaking of principles, not of their application, and that a Radical may be, and often is, as stern and determined an upholder of just law and righteous order as the strongest Tory in the Empire. Nay, I will go further and say that all men are bound to obey and all magistrates to enforce the law, whatever they may think of it. Just or unjust, righteous or wicked, while it remains the law it must rule us in all things, except the conscience. If it is unjust, and some laws are very unjust, do your very utmost to get them changed; most unjust laws fall in the end, but while they last obey them. There is a magnificent speech upon order and degree put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Ulysses in quite the early part of that strange play of "Troilus and Cressida," which contains some of his very noblest thoughts, expressed in the most splendid language, every word of which I should like to make my own. The whole speech is too long to transcribe, but the following passage is too fine for me to omit:

"Take but degree away, untune that string,  
And, mark, what discord follows! each thing meets  
In mere oppugnancy: The bounded waters  
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,  
And make a sop of all this solid globe:  
Strength should be lord of imbecility,  
And the rude son should strike his father dead:  
Force should be right; or, rather, right and wrong  
(Between whose endless jar justice resides)  
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.  
Then everything includes itself in power,  
Power into will, will into appetite;  
And appetite, a universal wolf,  
So doubly seconded with will and power,  
Must make perforce a universal prey,  
And, last, eat up himself."

And now let me say just a few words to those who are the recipients of the benefits of this great establishment, over which for a year it

has been my privilege to preside. I should be ashamed of myself if I could ever address an audience of young people without a feeling of cordial sympathy and affectionate hope for their future. I was once young like you, and I should be glad if an old man could say something to you that "might profit in the aftertime," when I shall have gone down, as I soon must, into "the wide winding caves of the peopled tomb," and you remain behind on the warm bright earth.

Now, in what you have to observe, my first counsel to you is that you attend faithfully and carefully to the prescribed course. However dry any of your studies may seem, however useless parts of it may appear now, pursue the course nevertheless, faithfully, earnestly. You cannot shirk it, you cannot glide over it superficially, without disturbance and injustice to the institution, without great loss to yourselves. I remember that at Eton and Oxford many things in the course of study were uninteresting and apparently useless at the time, seeming foreign from the interests of actual life; but I have found them often the best preparation for the work I have had to do. Faithful, uncompromising work in the prescribed course is excellent discipline, and the advantages of discipline are reaped in after-days.

I do not know whether here in any of the departments there is much cultivation of the memory, but a good memory is one of the most valuable possessions a man can have in most of the occupations of life. Speaking as an old lawyer especially, I may say that few things compare in usefulness with a retentive, accurate memory. It is in youth that this faculty is formed and trained, and one of the best methods of strengthening it is the habit of learning by heart passages we admire from authors, both in verse and prose. What we learn in youth we are apt to remember well; mental impressions at that period of life do not easily fade; and although they are easily received they are indolibly retained; and if they are impressions of noble thoughts clothed in noble language we are laying up a store of intellectual pleasure at one end of life for enjoyment at the other. Many of us live to grow old: if we do, our minds, if not ourselves, grow lonely; the interests of the world fade away, and the fashion of the beauty of it vanisheth, and a time comes when we feel that

"Tis meet that we should pause a while  
Ere we put off this mortal coil,  
And in the stillness of old age  
Muse on our earthly pilgrimage."

At such times the recollection of great thoughts, of lovely images, of musical words, comes to us with a comfort, with an innocent pleasure which it is difficult to exaggerate.

And what should you learn? Speaking generally, the safest rule.

to follow is to learn that which pleases you best ; I assume that it is not bad ; but as to what is best, taste is very varied, and that which commends itself to one man perhaps repels another. My own taste you must take just for what it is worth ; but (leaving out for obvious reasons all Greek and Latin writers) before and above every one (including them) I should myself place Shakespeare ; an inexhaustible storehouse of wisdom, instruction, and exquisite diction, indispensable to any one who has anything to do with speaking or writing. I knew well, I think many here must have known, a great advocate who was on the Northern Circuit, of whom it used to be said that perhaps he didn't know much law, but he did know a great deal of Shakespeare. And a great judge, who knew both law and Shakespeare, said, when this was repeated to him, that although in a lawyer, perhaps a little law was desirable, yet if that could not be had, the next best thing to have was a knowledge of Shakespeare. Next Shakespeare I for one should put Milton. Have any of you not heard the magnificent eloquence of John Bright ? He told me himself that he was built on Milton ; and if you heard him, nay, even if you read him, you can see that he is steeped in the spirit of this great poet, and that though he does not imitate Milton, he speaks after Milton.

And next for use, yes, for daily use, read Wordsworth. Perhaps the echoes of Lord Jeffrey's mocking laughter may still ring in the Titus Salt Schools at Shipley. I cannot help it. Much of Wordsworth has passed into the language, the poet of Nature and of lofty spiritual thought, whose verse makes bright things brighter and happy men happier, the man of whose song Matthew Arnold says that when he spoke

"Our foreheads felt the wind and rain ;  
Our youth returned, for there was shed  
On spirits that had long been dead,  
Spirits dried up and closely furled  
The freshness of the early world."

There is one man in English literature, perhaps there are two, who wrote too little ; Gray is one. Every word he wrote is precious ; he has the perfection of diction and of melody. Every line contains a thought or a picture complete in itself, and you cannot change a word without marring its perfection. The other perhaps is Wolfe. Every one knows his lines on the "Burial of Sir John Moore," of which, in my judgment, no higher praise is possible than to say they are worthy of their subject. But he wrote also "Go, forget me," and "If I had known thou couldst have died"—two poems now but little known, but of which, if it is too much to say they are as fine as the one on Sir John Moore, it is not too much to say that they are worthy of the poet who wrote it. The time would fail me, your endurance would give way, if I were to speak at length of Shelley, of Keats, of Scott, of Ben Jonson, of Ford, of Massinger, of Dryden, Pope and

Young; not to mention more recent authors. Coleridge I omit, of course; Tennyson I omit, because I know that any estimate which places him, as I should place him, in an order of men far below Shakespeare is at present the mark of a Philistine; Browning I omit, because, though I have admired him since I was a boy at school, I have not been so fortunate as always to understand him. He once rebuked me in a way which I relate for the comfort of those small striving souls who watch his flights and try to follow his course in vain, till he disappears from them in clouds. He was so kind as to give me many of his volumes, and he knew I honestly read them. Soon after one had thus been given me, he asked me how I liked it. I replied that what I could understand I heartily admired, and that parts of it, I thought, ought to be immortal; but that as to much of it I really could not tell whether I admired it or no, as I could not understand it. "Ah, well," he said, "if a reader of *your* calibre understands 10 per cent. of what I write I think *he ought to be content.*"

If I began with the prose writers (I speak, you will understand, of English only), we should never get to bed. For the purposes I have alluded to, I will mention but a few; and those rather by way of catalogue than criticism. I shall display, I fear, my own idiosyncrasy by placing at the head of English prose-writers Lord Bolingbroke, whose matter is no doubt often thin, but whose style is perfect, rising at times to lofty eloquence, and never falling below the tone of a high-bred gentleman. Very near him I should place Lord Erskine and Mr. Burke, Lord Bacon, passages of Hooker, Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, Cardinal Newman, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Southey.

The list is short, but it is sufficient to occupy a long time to master. But at last it comes to this: whether for present use or future comfort, I cannot too earnestly recommend your acquainting yourselves with good books. They are the best of companions, in sickness, in misfortune, in sorrow, in sleepless nights and days of pain, you will find your recollection of great and wholesome literature a constant solace and refreshment. And as a man is known by the company he keeps, still more truly is he known by the books he reads and the authors he loves. Read only the best books, and never read bad ones. Good books will nerve you for the work—the serious and earnest work, which is the lot of all true and good men. For, to quote a great writer, Dr. Young, the author of the "Night Thoughts," not from that book, however, but from his "Satires," a book much less known:

"This is the scene of combat, not of rest.  
 Man's is laborious happiness at best;  
 On this side death his labours never cease,  
 His joys are joys of conquest, not of peace."

One word, if I may, to counsel you to live faithfully and in earnest. Blessed are the pure in heart. It can never be too early to begin. The temptations of youth, of middle life, of old age: all life has its temptations, all can be conquered. Do not believe those who tell you that such an achievement is impossible. It is perfectly possible, as many have proved. I can have no kind of reason to mislead you, and my age ought to give me, at least in this matter, some authority. Nothing will more help you to it, nothing will tend more to keep you from evil, than the company of good books and the thoughts and counsels of good men. They will fill you with good thoughts, and good thoughts bring forth good deeds and good deeds are the only true happiness of life.

I will end in the words of a great American poet, Bryant, written when he was very young, which I have known and admired—I wish I might say I had lived by—all my life :

“So live, that when thy summons comes to join  
 The innumerable caravan, which moves  
 To that mysterious realm, where each shall take  
 His chamber in the silent Halls of Death,  
 Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,  
 Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed  
 By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave  
 Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
 About him and lies down to pleasant dreams.”

COLERIDGE.

# THE STRASBURG COMMEMORATION.

## A LETTER FROM A SCOTTISH STUDENT.

STRASBURG, May 2, 19--.

DEAR FELLOW-STUDENTS,

THE Commemoration is over, and I snatch the first free moment to thank you again for electing us to represent you here, and to express our regret that you could not all be present in person at a celebration the like of which the world has never seen.

It is evident that the events of ten years ago will not easily be forgotten here. We were children then, and far from the seat of war; but even we remember the awful tension of anxiety, the sense of impending immeasurable catastrophe, the breathless waiting for the explosion that was to shatter Europe to pieces. We remember how the news was devoured from day to day; how day by day we seemed to see the hosts of men swarming to the foot of the Alps and the Vosges and taking their places for the fight. It seemed to come home to us as no war had ever come before; the children talked of nothing else in the nursery, nor the people in the street. A sort of horror settled over us, an unrelievable horror and dismay. But those who were to take part in the struggle felt this horror more than any. Brave men as they were, it seemed to crush the bravery out of them. For it was to be a war under new conditions which seemed to make everything worse; it was like going out by hundreds of thousands to be murdered in cold blood. A few might die fighting, the old way, in the shock of the *mêlée*; but everybody knew beforehand that whole regiments must be doomed to perish where they stood, not amidst the roar of artillery and the smell of powder and the flashing of the steel, but mowed down under a clear sky, and almost without a sound, by cannon miles away. Till the Day of Judgment these Germans and Frenchmen will never forget that pause of expectation.

Nor will they forget the sensation produced by the news of the Queen's two telegrams, addressed simultaneously to the Emperor and



the President of the Republic, praying for three days' delay before the commencement of hostilities, and promising that within that time two British plenipotentiaries should reach the frontier, bearing proposals for arbitration. She appealed to the Emperor in terms of family affection and in the name of Christ our Saviour; to the President, in the name of Europe, of civilisation, and of humanity.

Oh, those three days! From men and women and children—from those who never prayed before—from the heart of that intense suspense of all the nations—there surged up to Heaven one spontaneous multitudinous continuous burst of prayer. For once, mankind seemed to make common cause before the common Father. In every country where the telegraph had carried the news the churches were thronged with worshippers. The very armies prayed. And, as there was no appointed form of prayer issued by authority (the whole thing having sprung up so instantaneously and of itself), "Our Father" was the form that the petition mostly took. "Our Father . . . Thy kingdom, come . . . Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors . . . Deliver us from evil . . . For thine is the power and the glory."

Of course there were some who derided and blasphemed—a few even in England, a few in Germany; many in France. But as the days went on, and the sense of peril grew, and the general emotion gained on all, the scoff died upon their lips. The idea of Christian brotherhood, the universal brotherhood of men, seemed to have suddenly forced itself on men's minds, as vivid, as real, as alluring and compelling as it was in the days of the primitive Church. Christ had once more, for us and for our salvation, come down from heaven.

Meanwhile the British plenipotentiaries had reached the frontier on the evening of the second day; the one going to Nancy, the other to Saverne. They found at Nancy the plenipotentiaries appointed in haste by the French Government; at Saverne, the Emperor and the Chancellor of the Empire. On the third day, after an exchange of despatches, the suspension of hostilities was prolonged for eight days. From the moment that this news was confirmed, everybody felt that peace was certain. The principle had been admitted, that all sides wished for peace; and it was impossible that, after the first step towards peace had thus been taken, the nations should be allowed to drift into the horrors of such a war. Again without authority or premeditation, prayer changed to public thanksgiving, and the Te Deums began to arise in the churches almost before the first protocols were drawn up.

Eight days later, peace was signed. I have just re-read the speech of the German Emperor to his army on the day it was proclaimed. The words are engraved in letters of gold on great slabs of marble at each end of Strasburg Bridge, on either side of the

Rhine. The two armies were drawn up facing each other (though not now for battle), and the Emperor rode along the lines, surrounded by the confederate princes and the officers of his staff, his Prussian chaplains, and several magnates and archbishops of the empire. He wore the uniform of his bodyguard, with the spread eagle surmounting the helmet. Never had his figure looked so alert and noble, nor his face so lit with a lofty enthusiasm.

"Most high and mighty princes my confederates," he said, "most reverend, right reverend, and reverend fathers in God, officers and soldiers of my army! All power comes from God and rests on God. All power that lifts itself up against God must come to naught.

"God has spoken to me. After I had besought Him to inspire and direct my conscience in the moment of the supreme decision, I opened the Holy Scriptures, and my eyes fell upon these words:—

"Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you."

"Who could refuse our Saviour's peace? I have received His peace; and in my turn I give it to the world.

"Let strife and hatred have their place among the fiends in hell! Between Germany and France let there be henceforth perpetual peace!

"This peace before war will be more lasting than any peace concluded after war. The pacifications of the past have been agreed upon between the victors and the vanquished; they have left behind them, on the one side, the open wounds and bitter resentments of defeat, on the other the intoxication of conquest and the uneasiness of expected reprisals. To-day there are no wounds; there is no resentment. Germany treats in her full strength, in the splendour of those victories which God vouchsafed to my grandfather of immortal memory, and France in her recovered force and in the consciousness of her national greatness."

"And now let us meet the future with confidence; and, having healed this open wound of the nations, let us turn to the task of healing, as God shall give us grace, the ills of society in our own midst. Into these divisions also we must bear with pious hand the peace of God our Saviour.

"Most high and mighty princes, most reverend, right reverend, and reverend fathers in God, officers and soldiers of my army! Let us give thanks to our Lord God, who has granted to me His servant to inaugurate a new era in the history of mankind."

As the Emperor ceased, the trumpets sounded along the lines, the aides-de-camp of both armies seemed flying in all directions, the standards were lowered, the troops presented arms. The two armies saluted before separating.

This was only ten years ago. But what a change has come over the attitude of the nations since then! France has never grudged the ransom she gave, nor the colonial sacrifices she made, for the citizens who were then restored to her. Germany has gained, not lost, by the magnanimity which has given her an inviolable frontier, and lifted from her shoulders the crushing weight of her armaments. And all Europe gains by the neutralisation of Strasburg, with its vast *banlieue*, now thickly built and peopled; for the historic Free City of

Strasburg bids fair to become one of the greatest living cities of the world. Her intellectual supremacy has already asserted itself, rising like a beacon over the continent of Europe.

As to Strasburg University, we must describe it when we come, for it is impossible by letter. It is not too much to say that it is the University of the universe. All subjects are taught in all languages. Professorships supported out of the International Endowment Fund—which was opened, at the suggestion of America, the year after the peace, and to which Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria all contribute—are held by professors appointed year by year by the universities of those countries. There is no regular curriculum. Each professor teaches his own subject—the thing he knows and loves; and the best men prepare their best for their “Strasburg year.” It is their great opportunity; they sum up the results of their life’s work in their year’s work here. They lecture not merely on what they know, but what they think. And this has given a great impetus to philosophic literature. There are more works of pure thought; and the thought is more daring yet more deliberate.

The students, like the professors, come for a year. They come when they have finished their studies and passed their examinations at home; they come for culture pure and simple, and take up whatever they like; there is no control. The rows and rows of new houses along the immense boulevards that occupy the site of the fortifications are almost all colleges or halls—great clean bright houses, with handsome common rooms on the ground floor and small sets of private rooms above. There is no distinction of nationality; as a rule, several European countries are represented in each college. In the one in which we are staying there are six Frenchmen, six Germans, four Englishmen, three Italians, and a Swede. For six months they have been living here in the same house, meeting in the public rooms, and dining in hall together every evening, and they get on capitally all together. At table the conversation is mostly in French, but interspersed with other languages. The students say they all understand one another for the most part, and no one goes away without having acquired at least one language besides his own.

They have learnt another thing, too, which I hardly know how to describe. They seem somehow older than we do. Not that they are wanting in gaiety and light-heartedness—you never saw fellows so brimming with fun; but they seem to know such a lot of things we leave out of count altogether. You would think they had been all over the world, and seen cities, and men, and all the rest of it. We feel quite small beside them—like country cousins come up to

see the sights. It is perfectly true what they say, "L'année de Strasbourg vaut la tour du monde."

The curious thing is that these "one-year Strasburgers" keep their national characteristics as strong as ever, if not stronger. England has no Englishmen more English than these, Paris itself no Frenchmen more French. Among so many foreigners everybody has to be the more himself, and to show himself for what he is; there is no tendency to cosmopolitanism; it is rather an effervescence of nationalities. Only there is some common quality evolved, in addition to the peculiar quality of each—a something quite impossible to define. It is not the spirit of this nation or of that; perhaps it is what we shall come to recognise as the European spirit.

Yes, the European spirit; I suppose that is what people bring away from Strasburg University. And it goes through everything. The history professors here, for instance, treat history in a larger way, without prejudice, with a sort of understanding sympathy, a natural respect for everybody. They look beneath the surface, and see, under all the rivalries and animosities, an unconscious working together towards a common object—the best for each, which is the best for all. Perhaps in time this co-operation will become conscious and voluntary. While you are here you seem to think it will.

You must understand that Strasburg University is Strasburg. There is not room for much else. Fancy how the place swarms with its 30,000 young fellows of twenty-three or twenty-four, going to and fro from lecture to lecture! But you must not imagine that the University is simply so many hundreds of lecturers delivering so many thousands of lectures. It is a great deal more than that. All sorts of institutions here are understood to be educational, and are made so. There are the theatres, where the masterpieces of every country are performed by native actors in their own language. Half the leading theatres of Europe are sending their best actors to Strasburg for a week in the year. The actors say they get such an audience here as they get nowhere else—so responsive, so intelligent, so enthusiastic. They are as proud of playing before a *parterre* of nationalities as ever Talma was of playing before a *parterre* of kings. Then there is the permanent exhibition of machinery, where new inventions are sent as soon as they are perfected from all parts of the world. There is the vast reading-room with its three tiers of galleries, where the recent publications of all countries lie open on desks against the wall. The books are changed every month, and the monthly catalogue is offered gratis to every comer. To go through these galleries is like making the tour of the human mind. Then there are the art galleries, where you survey the painting and sculpture of all countries and of all schools for the current year—the "Strasburg year" again, you see. It is a selection of the very best of the year's.

productions, chosen from the best exhibitions, in each country, and lent by the artists, who are paid for the loan out of the International Endowment Fund. The expenses of the theatres, exhibitions, and reading-room are defrayed out of the same fund. This is spending money as it ought to be spent. The fund was some few thousands to begin with; now it is a quarter of a million; and it is constantly increasing. The Endowment Fund also assists the innumerable churches that have sprung up here, representing every variety of the Christian creed. They are all of them crowded, I am told, at the hours of divine service. The University recognises all alike, and sees beneath the difference of dogma the unity of faith. Here, again, one notices the same thing that I remarked just now in speaking of the evidences of national character. In this universal mingling everybody holds his own, and is far more jealous of it than when at home. Many a student who never went to a place of worship at home makes a point of attending his national church here. They tell us, too, that by that curious tendency towards harmony in difference which the free play of differences seems to produce here, the clergy of the various churches seem all to seek and dwell upon the thing they have in common. And the thing they have in common is just the divine reality, the gospel of the grace of God, so often lost in the artificial overgrowth of creed and ritual, but here resplendent over both, and through both. So that just as, out of the mingling of national characters, there is springing up what we may call a European character, so out of the mingling of the religions of all lands there seems to be disengaging itself, more and more simply and perfectly, the pure and undefiled religion of our God and Father.

\* Another institution which forms an integral part of the University is the "United States Law-Court," which was opened early this week, and which we visited the very day of our arrival. The founders are two rich Americans, who clubbed together to contribute a million sterling by way of endowment. The building cost £100,000. The interest of this American Fund, as it is called, goes to maintain an Institute of International Law, which occupies the principal part of the building, and where the most eminent professors of that science hold forth in all languages—and not only the most eminent professors, but any one who has anything to say. The idea of the founders is, that statesmen and diplomatists, men of practical experience in European affairs, should avail themselves of the Institute as a platform for propounding their ideas. The pediment of the principal façade bears the inscription: "From two citizens of the United States of America to the future citizens of the United States of Europe." I must add that within the building there are several spacious halls reserved for International Congresses of all sorts—scientific, economic, hygienic, and so forth.

"The United States of Europe" is, after all, but a step towards "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." But things go so fast nowadays that there is no knowing where they will stop. The laying of that spectre of the great war was an enormous stride—we can hardly imagine how great. With the dispelling of the long nightmare of international distrust so many obstacles to progress have been removed. The war budget is a thing of the past. The armies are little else but schools of discipline and patriotism. Soon people will have forgotten that they ever were anything else. Gradually but surely the spirit of trust and goodwill is invading every department of human life; and we begin to realise that men were not made to be enemies, rivals, and robbers, but allies and fellow-workers.

But I have not told you how the Commemoration went off yesterday.

Peals of bells woke us, vibrating and reverberating through the clear morning air; the streets and squares and the cathedral steps and porches were crowded with people hurrying to early morning prayers. Then came orations in a number of different languages by the more eloquent professors; and then the crowds turned out into the streets and poured along the boulevards. The air hummed with voices; the flags of all nations hung out from the windows, the colours glowing and flashing in the sun. In the evening the colleges were given up to the wildest festivities, and in the great *brasseries*, huge and high as you see them nowhere but at Strasburg, and crowded with thirsty throats, the vast tuns of ale kept coming up from the cellars, to go down empty as fast as they came.

Just two minutes before eight o'clock a sudden flare of plectric light broke out from the foot of the great cross on the steeple, and made the air above the crowded Platz seem to throb and scintillate with pearly light. A minute later, rockets went up and fell again, showing the colours of Alsace, Germany, and France. The signal was followed by a moment of breathless silence, every face, white in the vivid light, turned upwards towards the tower. In another moment the bells shed out a lovely peal, and broke into the well-known hymn of the Emperor William II., "Heil Dir im Friedenskranz." The tune, of course, is the same as that of the old Emperor's hymn, "Heil Dir im Siegeskranz." As the bells ceased, the voices took it up, the vast crowd pouring out a tremendous volume of sound, and sang the hymn straight through. It was a wonderful homage, this homage of the Free City of Strasburg to its liberator. One wished the Emperor had been there to hear.

At nine, dancing began in all the open spaces, while the great mass of the crowd pushed solidly forward to the bridge. The bridge was finished last year, and is named the Victoria Bridge, in honour of the Queen (the Queen-Pacifatrix they call her here). It is three

times as wide as London Bridge. The Belgian guards stand sentry on the left bank and the Swiss guards on the right; they represent the European guarantee of neutrality. The gate-house at each end is surmounted by a cross, with the words, "Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you." The parapets of the bridge are adorned with statues of saints, heroes, philosophers, and public benefactors generally; and in the middle were two platforms for the orchestra; while the electric globes at regular distances shed out their dust of silvery light. Up to nine o'clock the bridge had been closed, but at each end something like a thousand couples must have been waiting, in perfect order, for the orchestra to strike up. On the left bank they were French and Alsatian, on the right bank German. At the stroke of nine, a hundred bugles on the right bank sounded the call, and were answered by a hundred bugles from the left. Then the bugles on the left bank gave the call, and those on the right responded. The first bugle sounded like a religious solemnity; it was the call of Germany; the second was light and gay as a festal song—that was the call of France. After the exchange of bugles, the guards who were holding back the throng gave way; the orchestra struck up Gounod's waltz in "Faust," and the couples from either end of the bridge waltzed up to each other, exchanged partners in the middle, and waltzed to the further end and back, recovering their own partners in the middle again. Along the pavement of the bridge stood the innumerable foreign delegates, each group ranged under its own banner; we were there under the banner of our Alma Mater. You should have heard the hurrahs in all languages that kept bursting out along the whole length of the bridge, and especially where the partners changed and the great soldierly Germans went waltzing away with the Alsatian girls—"Hoch!" and "Vive!" and "Viva!" and "Ζήτω!" and our own "Hurrah," at which I need not tell you we did our best. You would have thought that Strasburg spire was the tower of Babel—only we were not celebrating the division but the reconciliation of mankind.

We are to be here another week. Everybody makes rather much of us. Because, of course, they remember it was our country that did it.

## COMPULSORY PURCHASE OF LAND IN IRELAND.

IT has become fashionable of late to talk of the necessity of abolishing dual ownership in land in Ireland, and "compulsory purchase" was made a test-question in some northern constituencies in that country at the last General Election. It has also been brought into prominent notice on the occasion of the recent visit of the Duke of Devonshire to Belfast, where it was strongly pressed upon him by a deputation of Ulster farmers. I think it would be well, therefore, if the public would make a careful examination of the matter, and ascertain what this demand really involves, before it comes to be an article of political faith of either of the great parties in the State. With those who merely wish to use it as a party-cry to injure their political opponents, irrespective of the merits of the question, I have nothing to do; I write for reasonable men only. In the first place, it appears to me to come ill from those who created this dual ownership to hold the landlords responsible for it, or for any evil effects which its creation may have entailed. There was but one owner formerly—the landlord—and all recent land legislation has been in favour of the occupier, with a view to protect him in the fruits of his industry. This is as it should be; but a swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction which would deprive the landlord forcibly of his property would be clearly unjust, unless some powerful necessity should arise for it. If dual ownership is to be abolished it would seem more equitable to restore the former single owner than to create a new one. A mere cry that the land question can never be settled in Ireland until dual ownership is abolished is absurd at present, because, so long as the occupier is protected in the fruits of his industry, and so long as the landlord is protected in the lawful value of the property which he has purchased or inherited, no real



land question remains. The duty of the State is to see that the happy mean which secures both these desiderata is preserved, and no party-cries or howls of rapacious rogues should be listened to.

Legislation, however, in the direction of land purchase by the tenants has been carried out to a large extent in recent years, not for the purpose of doing away with landlords or dual ownership, but to assist in steadying society in Ireland by the creation of more proprietors or persons interested in the preservation of property. Whether it be the Bright's clauses in Mr. Gladstone's Land Act, or the Ashbourne or Balfour Purchase Acts, the object has been the same—viz., to enable the tenants to avail themselves of the opportunities of the ordinary land market to secure their holdings for themselves in fee simple, rather than subject them to new landlords, purchasers over their heads. The power of obtaining loans on liberal terms from the State has been granted to them for this purpose. There has always been a certain number of estates for sale in Ireland; this is owing to many causes, chiefly the impecuniosity of their owners. These estates used to pass to new purchasers, who bought each as a whole; recent legislation tends to secure that the tenants shall take the place of such purchasers. But it is impossible to hurry the process; the machinery of the courts moves slowly, and it is only marvellous what has been done in the time when all the difficulties which surround such sales are fully considered. The chief difficulty, however, which appears to strike politicians in the matter is this: An estate is sold to the tenants, say, at 20 years' purchase, the purchase money is advanced to the tenants at four per cent. for 49 years, to pay off interest and principle, so that what each tenant gets is a present of the fee simple and an immediate reduction of 20 per cent. in his rent for accepting that present, and ultimately he will have no rent to pay after the lapse of 49 years. Then the tenant on an adjoining estate thinks it a hardship that he gets no present of a fee simple, and no reduction of rent, with or without that present, beyond his chances in the ordinary land-courts. But if a landlord is compelled by his private circumstances to sell his estate, he must be prepared to undergo a loss; and if the State did not enable the tenants to become the purchasers, he might have been obliged to undergo a much greater loss; for other purchasers might, and probably would, have been scarce; what he loses under these circumstances, the tenants gain. When the Incumbered Estates Court was first established in Ireland, insolvent landlords were sold out at very small figures; the purchasers, mostly English speculators, made great bargains: but nobody ever heard it argued or suggested at that time that other landlords, who were not insolvent and who were not obliged to sell, should be compelled to part with their properties in the same ruinous way, or that the State should step in and

secure a large additional number of good bargains for other purchasers who had the money but not the opportunity. The morality of the question is not altered by substituting tenants for outside purchasers in both cases. If an insolvent tenant were obliged to part with his cattle at a great loss to meet the demands of some pressing creditor, his neighbour, a solvent tenant, would be greatly astonished if the purchasers of bargains next door were to cross the boundary fence and demand his cattle at the same reduced price. And yet this is exactly what the demand for compulsory purchase of a landlord's estate amounts to. There are, however, many landlords, not insolvent and not thinking of selling, who would not wish to stand in the way of a general system of purchase, should State necessities require it, and should sufficient money be forthcoming to secure it as a desirable result. But they are met with extraordinary difficulties in the details of such sales, difficulties sufficient to appal many of them at the outset. I mean the cost of making out title as required by the Land Commission. If it be hard on a man to compel him to sell what he wishes to keep, it is very much harder to impose a heavy fine on him besides, and to involve him in unknown liabilities for costs, making it impossible for him to tell beforehand, even approximately, what will be left to him or his family out of the wreck. A needy man must submit to this; no lawful reason exists whereby one who is not so should bear such a burden. As an example of what I mean, I will give a few details of a case that has come under my own personal observation. An owner, A., of a considerable estate in a northern county agreed to sell the estate to the tenants, at 18 years' purchase for lowlands, and 16½ years' purchase for mountain tracts. The delays in the Land Commission Court and their requirements for proof of title have kept this purchase in abeyance for more than six years. A head-rent owing to B. off the estate had to be bought up by A. at 25 years' purchase, to clear the title for the tenant purchasers. B. was required not only to produce all his title-deeds to this head-rent, but to obtain the consent of every person having a charge on his estate in which this head-rent was in the remotest degree concerned. This was no easy matter, and A. had to bear the costs of all this; but more remains: when all was nearly completed a change took place in the Land Commissioners' Office, in the lawyer who examined into these questions of title, and the new examiner suddenly required that B. should produce his receipts to prove that he had paid legacy duty 18 years before, on coming into his estate. The costs of this, and of the ensuing private correspondence between the legal advisers of A and B, all fell on A. The only supposed danger to be guarded against by the last demand was this: that at some remote period a claim might be put forward by some Government official, requiring the tenants who had purchased from A. to pay up the legacy duty, supposed to

be unpaid by B. from a quarter to half a century before, owing to the laxity of some preceding Government official. Once a seller finds himself at the mercy of two sets or of three sets of legal gentlemen, some attacking, some defending his interests, he may well throw up his arms in despair, for he has absolutely no remedy and no means of escape. If any responsible statesman takes up this question of compulsory purchase, he must undertake on the part of the State to bear the seller harmless in this matter of costs of proof of title, or he must be prepared to apply the pruning-knife vigorously to the requirements of the Land Commission in respect of these proofs. What is the sense of looking so jealously after the interests of remainder men, perhaps of the child unborn, under some entail, or of the owners of charges of every kind upon the estate, while all the time the present owner is to be ruined through no fault or action of his own, and the margin of the estate, which he enjoys and which he may perhaps be fairly enough able to live upon, completely swept away—part of it by the re-investment of the purchase-money, and the rest of it by these exorbitant and unnecessary bills of costs? In other words, why is the present landlord to be first knocked down and then kicked for falling? I see only one way out of all these difficulties, if an experiment in the direction of compulsory purchase is to be made. I have already on several occasions, both by pen and speech, advocated more freedom in the creation of perpetuities by the fining down of rents, and I have never yet been able to understand the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of this mode of dealing with land in Ireland by statesmen of all political parties, except in the case of those who don't want the question settled at all. The principle has been always adopted in Land Acts, but the hindrances were never removed. The Bright's clauses in the Act of 1881 allowed advances either for complete purchase of the fee simple by a tenant, or for the fining down of rents by the creation of perpetuities; but in each case the tenant was required to put down a certain amount of the purchase-money. This requirement stopped the working of these clauses. The Ashbourne and Balfour Acts removed the hindrance in the case of complete purchase of the fee simple, and the whole purchase-money was allowed to be advanced by the State, and consequently this branch of the purchase-system has worked well. Why, then, not remove the same hindrances from the other branch, and allow the entire of the perpetuity fine to be advanced by the estate? It may be fairly assumed that that clause will then be worked with equal success, and the security to the State is obviously much greater in the latter case than in the former. The experiment might be tried for a few years, to see what success it might obtain under voluntary arrangements, and then, if it were thought desirable to extend it still further by compulsion, it could be

done without the enormous costs above referred to, and without entailing ruin upon the landlords as its result.

The costs would be much less for the following reason: a holding title is much simpler than a selling title; twenty or twenty-five years' undisputed possession might be accepted in the former case, while it would not in the latter. If the amount of the fine advanced for the creation of the perpetuity at a reduced rent were arranged, so as roughly to pay off the charges on the estate, the title so far would be easily cleared, and the margin enjoyed by the landlord would not be affected, while the tenant would receive an immediate and substantial reduction of rent, to be followed by a much larger reduction on the expiry of the term for which the advance was made. For example, suppose an estate worth £1000 a year to be mortgaged to the extent of £10,000 at 5 per cent, entailing an annual charge of £500. If £10,000 were advanced to the tenants to fine down their rents from £1000 to £500 a year, at the recognised instalment rate of 4 per cent. for 49 years, the landlord would pay off his mortgagees in full with the £10,000, and would still retain his margin of £500 a year to live on as before. The tenants would pay him £500 a year in perpetuity, and they would pay £100 a year for forty-nine years to the State, so that eventually their rents would be reduced one-half, and they would get an immediate reduction of 10 per cent. If the landlord wished to give them a greater reduction, he could do so by accepting a smaller number of years' purchase in the fine—*e.g.* if he accepted eighteen years' purchase of half his rental (*i.e.* £9000) the tenants' immediate reduction of rent would be 11 per cent. Moreover, the rent retained by him would be becoming more valuable every day, and towards the end of the term of forty-nine years it would probably be worth nearer thirty years' purchase than twenty-five.

If this alternative method of land purchase were adopted, whether voluntarily or compulsorily, those landlords who wished to clear out of the country, or who were obliged by their necessities to go, would use the Ashbourne or Balfour Acts, while those who wished to remain on in the country and take their chance of better times and more reasonable inhabitants, would more probably adopt the perpetuity system, so as to clear off estate-charges and give a substantial and immediate reduction of rent to their tenants. This would also have the additional advantage of saving both landlords and tenants from all the turmoil and costs of renewed litigation for the fixing of rents in the Land Courts, on the expiry of the first judicial periods, from the year 1896 onwards. The perpetuity tenants would form quite as conservative an element of society in the country as the freeholders, and the community generally would get some rest from agitation and some breathing-time to work out industrial and other reforms.

## TERRITORIALISM IN THE SOUTH- EASTERN COUNTIES.

NOT long ago I was standing on the balcony of a windmill built on an eminence in Mid-Kent. The Pilgrims' Way ran over the chalk downs to the north, the south being bounded by another line of hills, and between the two ranges a vast fertile plain stretched far away to the Channel. The miller had lived on the spot since 1833, just sixty years, his father having settled there in 1831. As I looked over the apparently illimitable plain, he said: "In my father's time all the people here voted Liberal, it would have been hard to find a Tory; to-day it is just the reverse, all vote Tory, and it would be hard to find a Liberal."

The stickler for literal exactitude might reasonably consider the miller's statement open to modification, but it put broadly a fact which applies through the entire length and breadth of the counties commonly spoken of as South-Eastern—Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Setting aside those places included in the new county of London, the three South-Eastern counties return twenty-seven members of Parliament, and every one of them is a Conservative. What makes the fact more striking is that this part of the country was once the foremost in its efforts for social justice and religious reform, the two most imperative questions of our own times. The land of John Ball and of the thousands of peasants who five hundred years ago unfurled on Blackheath the banner of social democracy, and for its sake suffered on the gallows; the land where a century and three-quarters later nearly a hundred men and women gave their bodies to be burned rather than submit to a tyrannical Church and State—this land to-day sends to Westminster a phalanx of twenty-seven representatives to vote solidly Tory.

When I asked the miller what it was in his own district that

caused this remarkable alteration, he said: "A change of proprietors—with the change of landlords the farmers changed their politics, and now the labourer follows suit and says, 'I'll vote as master does.'" Evidently property rules the roast in the South-Eastern counties.

In no part of England are there probably so many mansions, surrounded by parks or parklike grounds. The principal country seats in Kent number 382, in Surrey 400, in Sussex 421—altogether there are more than 1200 such seats in the three South-Eastern counties. Villadom, as is well known, advances step by step, spreading by degrees into the most rural parts, all its natural aspirations leading it to become the faithful support of the squirearchy and the existing order of things, of which the great territorial lords are the recognised heads. How powerful the latter must be may be illustrated by two or three facts gathered from the Return of Owners of Land in 1873.

Excluding the metropolitan districts, the three South-Eastern counties contained at the last census 1,932,885 inhabitants, and, unless there has been a change of recent years, which is not very probable, in the number of persons possessing estates over 1000 acres, then about 400 persons own more than half the land on which this population of nearly 2,000,000 live. The figures in 1873 were as follow:

	Owners.	Acres.	Estimated rental.	Total acres in each county.	Total rental of each county.
			£		£
Kent . . . .	160	473,173	873,293	950,606	3,357,054
Surrey . . . .	80	177,455	342,269	398,746	2,285,814
Sussex . . . .	164	535,938	638,231	869,422	2,418,522
Totals . . .	404	1,186,566	1,853,793	2,218,774	8,061,390

It will be seen from this that the gross estimated rental of the three South-Eastern counties was £8,061,390 in 1873; in 1891 it was, according to the valuation of the Assessment Commissioners, £13,359,274, an increase of £5,297,884. All these items are exclusive of the metropolitan district. No doubt the vast increase in the value of property in the South-Eastern counties is due to a considerable extent to the growth of their seaside towns and to the invasion of London suburbanism in all directions. It is true that these causes have enhanced the prosperity of this district. But, apart from them, the South-Eastern counties would have shown marked advance in prosperity, for even in agriculture they have done fairly well, the rural districts having continuously

benefited from the general prosperity. The markets for farm and dairy produce are ever increasing, and are more and more brought to the very doors of the producers; a flood of capital is constantly pouring into the district, and the competition for building cannot fail to have raised rents, in some places to a prodigious degree. An example of what is going on even in the most rural parts of the South-Eastern counties may be seen at Heathfield, the centre of the chicken-fattening district. The very spot chosen by Turner for one of his grandly peaceful English landscapes is to-day cut up into innumerable plots of land on which a multitude of small houses have arisen, some villas, and a large railway-station with great sheds and factory-looking buildings—all very repulsive to the lover of the picturesque, but certainly indicating that a tide of wealth is flowing through the neighbourhood to the advantage of every kind of trader, and not the least to those who deal in farm and dairy produce. And this kind of movement is more or less going on in many other places.

The rural parts of the South-Eastern district have suffered, as elsewhere, from a diminution in the corn crops, one-quarter less land being devoted to them than was the case in 1873, and still more important has been the diminution in price. But against this must be set the increase in live stock, especially cattle. The permanent pasture lands are quite one-third more than what they were in 1873. The fact that the number of acres devoted to hops has diminished by 8300 since 1873 would seem to tell against the idea of rural prosperity, if we did not find that market-gardens, nursery-grounds, orchards, and fruit-growing generally have increased in the same time by 31,000 acres. Altogether 64,757 acres have been added since 1873 to the cultivable lands of the three South-Eastern counties. Wealth, property, and rank hold the field in the South-Eastern counties, and hold it under very favourable circumstances. For the men who have got the desire to make money and the peculiar ability needed to make that desire effective, few parts of this country can present such opportunities.

If the South-Eastern district is remarkable for its giant landowners, it is almost equally so for the number of its little ones. Out of 71,710 landowners in the South-Eastern counties in 1873, 54,312 possessed less than an acre. Probably by this time that number is greatly increased and is in a still greater proportion to those who own more than one acre; anyhow, if we allow to this class of landowners their relative proportion in the increase in the gross estimated rentals of the three counties, we shall have to say that their property, valued in 1873 at £3,100,669, was in 1891 worth £5,142,257 per annum. Certainly the South-Eastern counties present a good field for the study of the order of things which

prevails in this country, fifteen persons owning rather more than one-tenth of the land, while about 1,400,000 persons were absolutely landless: such was the state of things in this district in 1878. And in all probability the proportion is much the same to-day.

Comparing these returns of 1878 with the assessment valuations of 1891 we get the following results:

	Ownrs.	Acres.	Rental 1878.	Rental 1891	Gross increase.	Net increase.
			£	£	£	£
Under 1 acre .	51 312	14,958	3,100,609	5 138,10	2,037,706	1,772,905
Over 100 acres	2,073	1 968 016	3,341,980	5,538 304	2,196 324	1,910,805

This table is suggestive, and quite amusing as an illustration of the singular inequalities of our present system, even as regards the very limited circle of landowners; but if we compare the progress in wealth it reveals with the history of the income of the largest class of workers in the South-Eastern counties, we shall find the result as it proved in the Eastern counties, and as it is probably everywhere else. "To him that hath shall be given, and to him that hath not shall be taken away that which he hath."

The following tables of the agricultural labour bills for the three South-Eastern counties have been prepared:—the wages from averages deduced from the Report of the Agricultural Commissioners in 1867-68, and from those of the Labour Commission published this year:—the numbers of the labourers from the Census Returns of 1871 and 1891, a deduction for two years being made on those of the former in proportion to the decline or otherwise in numbers which took place between 1871 and 1881.

SOUTH EASTERN COUNTIES (KENT, STURRY, SUSSEX).

	1871.	1891.
70,187 labourers @ £40 a year	£2,807,480	56 539 labourers @ £40 a year = £2,261,560
17,547 boys, &c. @ 22	" = 386,033	2,363 carters, &c @ 14 " = 103,972
1,787 women @ 20	" = 35,740	14,134 boys @ 22 " = 310,948
2,222 shepherds @ 50	" = 111,100	1,513 women @ 20 " = 30,260
589 woodmen @ 45	" = 26,505	2 216 shepherds @ 50 " = 112,800
260 machinists @ 50	" = 13,000	833 woodmen @ 45 " = 37,485
		375 machinists @ 50 " = 18,750
92,592	£3,379,555	78,008
		£2,875,277

Thus it appears that the proportion to be allotted to the great landowners in the above South-Eastern counties of the increase in the value of its rentals between 1878 and 1891 amounts to £1,910,805 a year, while in the same time the annual income of the agricultural labourers in the same counties has diminished by £501,583 a year. These results, compared with those in the former article on "Agri-



cultural Depression in East Anglia," show that the South-Eastern district is in a more prosperous condition than the Eastern one, and that in the degree that that is the case the disparity between the rich and the poor tends to become greater and greater.

When we see that between 1871 and 1891 there was a falling off in the three South-Eastern counties of 2055 farmers and 16,466 labourers, it is tolerably clear on whom the principal suffering caused by the revolution in agriculture fell. And here we may note a fact that throws some light on agricultural depression. Between 1871 and 1881 the three South-Eastern counties lost 1630 farmers, between 1881 and 1891, 425, a difference of four to one in the two periods, while as regards the labourers the loss has been more equal in the two periods, although considerably greater between 1871-81 than between 1881-91. These figures show that in the South-Eastern counties the most severe period of agricultural depression was during the earlier decade. And the same fact is observable in the Eastern counties. There the difference in the two periods was as regards the farmers as two to one; and with the agricultural labourers it was similar, though not quite to the same extent. Probably it was the same in other parts of England, and, if so, this casts a great light on the nature of what is called the agricultural depression.

The conviction that the great landowners of a country are a sort of bulwark between the mass of the people, ever laborious and ever poor, and an all-devouring plutocracy, is in itself a source of Conservatism; but that the great landowners really do fulfil this function is very doubtful. I do not forget Lord Tollemache, but how many imitators has he had? The history of the past does not lead us to believe that there would be fewer such exceptional men under a plutocracy than under an aristocracy.

What, beyond in some cases setting a good example by paying wages above the average of the neighbourhood, have the great territorial lords done to resist the perpetual efforts made to lower the agricultural labourer's wages? The only effort I have heard of was made by the present Lord Tollemache, and I believe it was successful. Even excellent men shield themselves under the formula of supply and demand, when they might know that agricultural wages depend to a great degree on the more or less generous feelings of particular farmers and the more or less urgent necessities of the men. Agricultural wages not only vary all over the kingdom, but in the same county and in the same parish. This is especially noted in the recent report on Sussex by Mr. W. E. Bear.\* "The extent," he says, "of the variation of wages on different farms, even in the same parish, is remarkable."

\* "Commissioner on Labour." *The Agricultural Labourer*, vol. i. part i. p. 57.

That territorialism does not tend to maintain wages is seen in Sussex, where the average rate is lower than in either of the other two counties. In fact, Sussex is the only county of the three where wages are lower than they were a quarter of a century ago, for in Kent and Surrey they are very nearly the same as they were in 1867, perhaps a trifle better. Yet Sussex is the county which is most peculiarly distinguished for large estates. Eleven persons in 1873 owned between them more than a fifth part of Sussex.

How often is it intimated to-day that the labourer's wages have some connection with the price of wheat; but he knows better, for there are old men who could tell him that when wheat averaged 57s. a quarter agricultural labourers only got 8s. or 9s. a week. Clearly the old question of agricultural wages is affected at every turn by arbitrary considerations, such as are quite within the great landowner's power to control if he care to do so. No doubt they have often interfered to prevent the destruction of their land by avarice and stupidity. Why have they never raised a hand to prevent the ruin of the labourer? Territorialism did nothing to save the labourer from being mercilessly trodden upon in the palmy days of Protection, and now both landlord and farmer constantly refer to him in bitter and scornful words. Their refrain in the Labour Reports is ever the same: "Labourer not nearly so efficient now," says my lord; "he cannot do skilled work." "It takes about three men to do the work of two," chimes in the farmer. "Ye are idle, ye are idle," said Pharaoh to his bondsmen in Egypt.

The truth is, territorialism and the Church are mainly responsible for the cruel history of the agricultural labourer. Railways and agricultural labour unions, the Parliamentary vote, and the promised Parish Councils are all helping the landowner to slip the burden of his responsibilities; but as long as he remains, humanly speaking, the arbiter of the fate of a great stretch of the country, he cannot shake it off. The labourer may move restlessly from one employer to another, from one cottage to another, but if he wants a peaceful life, regular employment, and a decent home, he must in all things be his lord's obedient servant. I do not say that even that is a life necessarily despicable. Epictetus was a slave, and yet a nobler soul has rarely lived. But it is an easier thing to rise above your condition when you have no social or political rights whatever than when you do possess them, and feel that you are expected to exercise them in accordance with the wishes of the man on whom the fate of yourself and family largely depends. No doubt the great landowners build the best cottages. But the possibility of being ejected at a week's notice must make a man chary how he meddles with politics. It is doubtless true that the labourer's vote cannot be known if he keeps his own counsel. But what man of real convictions can so

entirely suppress himself? In a model village of semi-detached cottages, standing on an elevated terrace, I asked a young man who was working at a mediæval-looking smithy, if the people were content. "They'd better not grumble," he replied, "or they would soon be chucked out." As another labourer in this idyllic village put it: "We are, as the Bible says, under bondage to Pharaoh."

It is this feeling of the weight of the old man they have to bear on their shoulders—this sound of the clanking chain with which they are all bound—this subjection which has been their lot for ages, that makes them perhaps exaggerate the consequences that would ensue from independence. But how can men think otherwise, none of whom possess a cottage of their own or an inch of land, who, in fact, exist on the land of their birth simply by sufferance and the landowner's grace? It is absurd to describe the labourer or the rural tradesman as a free man, an English citizen. Where is he to go and what is he to do if he offends the ruling powers? This story, lately written by a Sussex agricultural labourer, sadly depicts the fate of a labourer who, under territorialism, betrays the spirit of Mordecai:

"A short time ago I was standing in a quiet and secluded churchyard in Sussex, watching the sexton as he was finishing a rather deep grave. The sun had sunk low in the west, and the tall elms which surrounded the churchyard were already throwing their shadows far and wide. Only the old church-spire caught the sun's departing rays. A mysterious stillness reigned, broken only by the thud of the sexton's pick, as he straightened the foot of the grave. Suddenly he stopped, with an exclamation of surprise. Peeping into the grave to see what was the matter, I saw that he had come upon the skull, apparently of a man, which had rolled out and now lay at his feet. . . . Feeling interested in this poor 'unknown,' whose grave had been almost forgotten, I waited till the sexton had finished, and then, as we sat upon a gravestone with the shadows of night falling round us, he told me the story of a labourer's life, from which I take the following scenes:

"It is early summer, and a young woman is sitting in the garden of an old-fashioned thatched cottage in Sussex. She has in her arms a baby who is taking his first look at the outside world, a world which will be full of trouble and wrong for him before he has done with it. But for the present both he and his mother are quite happy, for his father is shortly coming from his work, and they are waiting to welcome him; and as we look at them when he has arrived they make a picture of peace and happiness. But this will not last, for there is war abroad, and Jack Colbran has to leave his young wife and child and fight for his country. They never saw him again, for he found a grave among the mountains of Spain.

"Five years have passed away. Little Will Colbran and his mother are living in a small hut on the common in the deepest poverty. She is trying to support herself and her boy, but it is a hard matter. Bread is nearly 2s. a quarter loaf, and they have to live on potatoes and 'sharps' and other pigs' food. Little Will gathers sticks on the common for firing during the day, and often listens while his mother tells how his father went to the wars and was killed, and how happy they were before that. He would be happy now if he were not often so hungry, for he is too young to know that he will

soon be motherless as well as fatherless. But there comes a day when his mother cannot drag herself to her work; starvation and weary toil have killed her. Little Will is taken to the workhouse.

"Fifteen years more and Will is a big broad-shouldered fellow of twenty. He works as a labourer. He does not order himself lowly and reverently to all his 'betters.' He does not feel particularly grateful to them for starving his mother; therefore he is considered a dangerous character. The labourers of his parish have demanded an increase of wages, which is refused by the farmers. The labourers meet and march in a body round the parish, forcing the 'blacklegs' of that day to leave work. For taking part in this, Will Colbran gets seven years' transportation, the very men whom he benefited giving evidence against him and getting well paid for so doing.

"After ten years we again find Will in his native land. The country is in the midst of the Anti-Corn Law struggle, and he is very earnestly on the side of the cheap loaf. He is consequently still out of favour with his 'betters.' He is had before them on a charge of poaching. 'Why do you poach?' said one of his 'betters'; 'you have steady work at 8s. a week.' 'Yes, and that means steady starvation, and I don't mean to starve,' answers Will. This costs him two months.

"One more scene. In one of a row of beds in a long room lies Will Colbran. He can just see out of the window where the trees are swaying gently in the summer wind. He is thinking of the time long ago, which he can just remember, when he used to wander about the common in the summer-time, and of his mother's death, and then of the years which were spent in another part of the same building, and the years which have gone by since. He goes back in memory to that distant land and the time spent there. Then he comes back again, and thinks of the wrongs and troubles of the poor of his native land, and of the small part he has played in the great events which have taken place during his life, and he knows that life is nearly ended to him. He lies watching the last rays of the setting sun streaming in at the window, and he knows that he will never see another sunset, but it does not make him unhappy. He is not afraid to die; he has played the part appointed him. He has made his protest against the wrongs of his fellow-labourers, and his work is done. The sun sinks and the twilight comes, and the stars twinkle in the sky, and still Will Colbran's eyes are fixed on the window, and when the nurse comes round in the night he is dead."

Well may the writer, Mr. Henry Frost, in one of his plaintive poems, addressing his native county in the character of an emigrant labourer, call its people "slaves," and bewail the injustice under which they still suffer.

Against it the vast majority, especially in these South-Eastern counties, have long ceased to struggle. A sad fatalism possesses the soul of the Sussex peasant. "We must all," said very lately one of them to me, "be beaten down and suffer, that is the only way in which we can be made good."

Agricultural depression, when did it not exist in Sussex? It is so deeply settled in the soul of Sussex rural labourers that I doubt if they will ever rise out of it. Certainly not while the present order of things lasts. At rare intervals a gleam of sunshine has broken through the cloud—the heavy cloud that rests on the land. In the

fourteenth century, in the sixteenth century, and again in our own day there have been gleams of light; but the clouds have quickly closed, and the moral sky has through long ages been the dreariest imaginable.

Depressed as the Sussex labourer has been, not only by the cruel injustice and contempt under which he has existed for ages, but demoralised, as he has been, by all sorts of bad laws as well as by a shameful want of good ones:—as, for example, those laws which made the Weald a great smuggling-ground, those which turned every man who snared hare or rabbit into a criminal, those which pauperised the whole population, those which brutalised it by the sight of endless gibbets, those which made it the interest of great landlords not to build cottages and to pull down those existing, those which permitted any little speculator to build cottages in the most unhealthy places, and without any kind or means of sanitation.—“stinking fever dens,” to use a Sussex man’s expression; those laws, or the want of laws, that kept the labouring class for ages in brutal ignorance, and those which to-day entice them to drown their sorrows in drink, and send them to die at last far from friend or relative imprisoned in the Union workhouse—it is truly wonderful that, thus depressed and demoralised, he has any goodness or amiability left.

But if these cruel hardships have produced in Sussex stoicism, they have, working on a different race, produced in Kent a more Epicurean form of character. “Freely get, freely spend; I should say that is best,” said a Kentish labourer to me; “saving people are always miserable. I like a merry life.”

The jovial inn, with its pleasant solary and its hospitable parlour, must ever have a wonderful attractiveness for the hardworked labourer without mental resources and in want of society. Besides, for other reasons, a village could not do without an inn. But that is no reason why, to please the powerful interest concerned with brewing, licences to open public-houses should have been showered on the South-Eastern counties, so that to-day they possess between 6000 and 7000 hotels, inns, public-houses, and beer-shops. Now, if we suppose that at least half of the population—that is to say, the children, many women, and a good number of men—never spend a penny on these houses, we should have one of them for every group of 147 drinkers. In Kent alone there are 3807 public-houses of the various kinds mentioned, giving, on the supposition just stated, one to every group of 106 drinkers. To do much to lessen their numbers while the licensing power is in the hands of the present magistrates is hopeless. In a rural town in Sussex of which I know something a public-house opened a dancing-saloon, where, after closing time, the lads and the lasses were attracted, to their harm and the misery of the neighbour-

hood. The police said nothing could be done, and when licensing day arrived, the magistrates, represented by two young men, apparently led by the clerk of the court, disregarded the representations of the lawyer employed to oppose, and signed all the licences. In a town in Surrey where I have lived, with a population of 7000 persons, the magistrates allow twenty-two inns, public-houses, and beer-shops. Two weeks' racing in the year, and a consequent influx of visitors, is no excuse for such a state of things. The land of hops is naturally jealous of any interference with the magistrates' power, and during a recent election I noticed an appeal, evidently placarded through the district, addressed to labourers to resist the nefarious attempts of the Local Option people. It was couched in the old strain—"Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth."

Another and an old means by which the moral independence of the rural population has been steadily sapped and their support secured of things as by law established, is the existence of numerous charities which are dispensed by the clergy and the parochial authorities. In five rural parishes in Mid-Kent, bordering one on the other, and numbering less than 5000 inhabitants, the property held in this way in trust for the poor would, if capitalised, amount to something like £15,000. And doubtless the same kind of endowments would be found throughout the whole South-Eastern district, as they are more or less to be found in nearly every parish in England.

Now there could be no objection at all to these endowments if the people managed them themselves, but in the hands of their pastors and masters they have worked and must work to make the people bow their heads to the prevailing influence.

Certainly the influence of territorialism over the Church of England is not quite what it used to be, and I believe there are many clergymen who maintain their independence of it; in fact, I was told by a former secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and at that time a Sussex vicar, that for the parson to be at loggerheads with the squire was frequently the case. I was once present at a large meeting in a country town in Surrey. It was held in a vast, old-fashioned assembly-room. The gentry came down in great force, for the object was to prevent the establishment of a Board School in the district. They sat at their ease in chairs about the upper part of the room, then came a long table, at the head of which were seated the churchwardens, and at a little distance, crowded on some forms, sat the tradesmen, and possibly a labourer may have squeezed in at the door. The whole affair had a pre-Revolutionary feel about it. If any one there had heard of "1789," they certainly did not conceive it could have had any relation to England. But what struck me most was the insulting way in which the chief squire in the neighbourhood treated a reference to the non-attendance

of the vicar of the parish, who was a strong man, embittered by a long struggle between his conscience and his circumstances. This happened about five-and-twenty years ago, and I have reason to believe that the feud still goes on, though the parties are changed.

Certainly the Church has suffered terribly from its alliance with territorialism. For example, I know of a parish in Sussex, the cure of which appears hereditary—three parsons, father, son and grandson, having successively possessed it, their occupation now having extended over greater part of the century. These rights of property are sometimes ridiculously manifested, but everybody is so used to these things who attends a rural church that they would have to rub their eyes very hard to see anything scandalous in a scene witnessed in a church in Kent some two or three years ago. The ancient owner of the manor having been obliged to sell a portion of his property, sold with it the right to a private chapel in the chancel. Here the purchaser, a wealthy tradesman, came on Sunday with his family, and, opening the door with a key, they sat there in state, witnesses for Holy Property. Soon after the old squire, also followed by his family, arrived, and stumping up the aisle reached a door on the other side of the chancel. He too produced a key, it grated in the lock, the door opened, and he and his entered a small but brand-new chapel, determined not to lose the position which the Church conceded to them as the lords of the soil.

These examples do not exhaust by any means the relations of territorialism and the Church. There are others which give a more agreeable impression, where they are found not only in concord, but showing kindness to the people. In conversation with a labouring man in a certain parish in Kent, I spoke of the popularity of the vicar, who I found was called "the jolly parson"—the adjective being rather expressive of amiability than conviviality. "Yes," he replied, "the vicar's not bad, but the curate at Tofton Muckrell is worth twenty of him." I thought that I should like to see a clergyman who had won such praise from a toiler. And I found him all, and more than all, the labourer had described him to be. A man born to be loved, his very power of sympathy rendered him unable to free himself from the enchanting influence of his own delightful surroundings, so as to look at things in the dry light of truth. He had taken the epidemic which rages among the upper classes in a rather severe form. "Gladstone," he said, "was bringing in a set of revolutionary changes. Tom, Dick, and Harry were going to have their heads turned. Your agricultural labourer was being misled. Already Gladstone had promised him three acres and a cow." I ventured to remind him that the idea came from Mr. Chamberlain. "All the same, Gladstone was Premier at the time and must be held responsible. Well, what came of it? The labourer voted for three-

acres and a cow, but didn't get it; so it would be now. The Tories made no promises but what they kept."

That the labourers actually did expect that three acres and a cow would be the result of voting for Gladstone the following story would prove; moreover, he vouched for its truth, the authority being one of his own servants. At the last election a Gladstonian labourer was observed to come out of the polling booth with a rope in his hand. His mates chaffingly asked him what he had brought that rope for. "Why, for my coo', to be sure; didn't Muster Gladstone promise me three acres and a coo' if I 'ud vote for him?"

Vicar-elect of Tofton Muckrell, he told me that he owed the position to the people, who petitioned the patron to present their old curate to the living, and the patron, himself a sympathetic Tory, listened to their prayer and gave them the man they wished.

That among the civil and ecclesiastical representatives of territorialism there should be men of heart, who would be glad to see all around them happy, is naturally to be expected, for human nature would not be human nature without its contingent of the sweet and good. But even these kind souls when dominated by the territorial spirit appear to regard working men as some order of beings between themselves and their horses and dogs. They cannot comprehend that he is intrinsically their equal, and therefore they will never be able to make of him a citizen and a man.

If they could get themselves to look without prejudice at rural life in those countries on the Continent which are nearest our own—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, France—they will find no such abject relations as exist here between the rural great and the labouring classes. The foreign rural labourer, as the labourer everywhere, is most unjustly paid, but he is not made to feel that he is an inferior order of being to his masters and pastors. The reason is, I believe, that the principles of 1789 swept over those lands, and among the principles which took deepest root and spread most universally was the principle of human equality. None but the bad, be they high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, would to-day in those lands wish it otherwise, for it gives an indescribable charm to life and goes a long way to soften its shocking inequalities. In the upper and middle classes in this country its absence is seen in the way in which high-minded, conscientious, and loving people can go on through a long life beholding themselves and their immediate circle in the enjoyment of every advantage, while those who toil to provide all these good things for them are forced to live on the scantiest fare, and to endure mental and spiritual starvation. Its absence from English ideas explains the cruel reflections made by gentle ladies and men not otherwise hard-hearted on working people for some slight departure from strict economy, exaggerating the same until the listener, if he,



too, forgets human nature, is inclined to consider it all a malicious invention. What tales would Asmodeus have heard this autumn of the extravagance of the miners if he had taken to fitting about the Yorkshire moors, passing from one country-seat to another and listening to the talk of ladies and gentlemen who were themselves passing their time in luxury and amusement!

This want of belief in the labourer's real equality with themselves, united as it is to-day with great anxiety to be on good terms with him and to secure his vote, are leading our upper classes to lend themselves to new methods of corrupting the people which will only want clever men of the Lorenzo de' Medici order to be formulated into a system ruinous to the English commonwealth. It exists in very trifling forms at present, but the principle is at work. Turn over the pages of a Kent newspaper and you will frequently see reference to the holding of Conservative "smokers"—meetings for songs and recitations, at which every one can smoke and where drink can be had. And such is the force of competition that we now read of Liberal "smokers." Clearly Liberalism in Kent is not the stalwart thing it should be in the face of so powerful a foe. In Maidstone I saw that a Congregational Church advertised a "Grand Sacred Concert" under the distinguished patronage of F. S. W. Cornwallis, Esq., M.P. This seemed a distinct hauling down of the Liberal flag where it might least be expected, for Mr. Cornwallis is the Tory representative of the borough. How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!

Unfortunately the taint of our very corrupt electoral history, the result of this want of respect for human dignity, outcome itself of the frightful inequalities of English life, still remains as a gangrene in the political affairs of this district. Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, both parties have in their time disgraced themselves. Nearly every important town in Kent has had its election petition, and it is believed that even to-day beer and money are effectively used in municipal and parliamentary elections. These are the things that kill the soul of a people and poison every new institution at its very birth. And if our new Democracy is going to prove a dismal failure, it will be because it is born in a land where the corrupting traditions of a territorial oligarchy still prevail.

Robert Hall was visited in a lunatic asylum by some pompous numskull. "What brought you here, Mr. Hall?" he solemnly inquired. "What'll never bring you here," he replied, touching his forehead; "too much of that, sir, too much of that." So the descendants of the ancient democracy of Kent, invited to reveal the reason of their being to-day in the Tory camp, might very well reply as they point to their money-bags: "What'll never bring you there—too much of that, too much of that." It is the old story: "Issachar is a strong

ass crouching down between two burdens ; and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant ; and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."

Kent is the most fertile, the richest county in every respect of the three. Its gross estimated rental in 1892 exceeded five millions, yet what is the most important building in its chief town ? A prison. Nothing, perhaps, strikes a stranger in going through Maidstone so much as the size and imposing character of the gaol. And there are two other important prisons in Kent. Three prisons, 3807 public-houses, 8615 paupers—surely this is a serious set-off to the prosperity of Kent ?

Can we say that the prosperity of the South-Eastern counties, as at present distributed, conduces to happiness ? The wretched poverty to be witnessed in Sussex and Surrey has reduced the people to a sad condition of dejection and a never-ceasing resentment ; and I believe it had brought as little real joy to those at the other end of the social ladder. Years ago I was very much struck by what a Surrey man, well acquainted from childhood with the county, told me concerning the condition of mind of one great landowner after another in Mid-Surrey. One notoriously rich man believed himself a pauper, and the parish official, to humour him, came to pay him his allowance every week.

A short time ago the newspapers contained a character-sketch of one of the very greatest of our territorial magnates, written by the friendly hand of a venerable Oxford professor. This nobleman, a highly accomplished man of singular goodness of heart, disinterested and unambitious, succeeded to estates worth £200,000 a year, and one of the highest titles in the country. Did it make him happy ? Far from it. He groaned to find that his life would have to be passed in doing the work of a land agent. Treasures of affection and of human feeling were locked up in his heart, yet to himself and others he appeared a pessimist and a cynic. He fell ill, and in a fit of delirium took his own life. Oh, but you say, he was a model landlord, spending £2,000,000 on his estates without materially raising his rents, besides building a number of churches and schools, supporting many good works, and otherwise munificently charitable. Surely if he was unhappy himself, he greatly benefited the world. But this was exactly what he doubted. "I do as little harm as I can help," this was his constant and characteristic phrase. His fine nature instinctively told him that a far nobler national life would arise in a commonwealth where justice prevailed, and the people looked to their common action for the promotion of everything necessary to their progress and well-being rather than to the grace of one man, even if he were gifted with the virtue of a Washington and the genius of a Napoleon.

It is clear, then, that territorialism in the South-Eastern counties exists neither for the advantage of the masses nor for the handful of persons in whom it vests the ownership of by far the greater part of the soil. The society which really does live the life we are sometimes inclined to think must be that of the territorial magnate, a life of idleness and self-pleasing—it is this society which alone has an interest in the maintenance of territorialism, conceiving as it does that the prestige, poetry, political privilege, and the vast power and influence territorialism possesses, will protect it against what it most of all dreads—its dissolution by the recall of its members to take their share in the common work of life.

For the moment, however, territorialism is completely triumphant in the South-Eastern counties; but it is more in seeming than reality. The masses have not shown their strength, because it has been very hard for them to see the difference between the Conservative Liberal and the Liberal Conservative; but now these two parties are welded into one under the fitting title of Unionist this difficulty will go, and the way made clear for the unfurling of the flag which will arouse their energies. What that is may be gathered from the fact that two of the most striking successes occurred in the fights made by the Labour candidates at the Rye division in Sussex and in the Medway division in Kent. At Rye, the votes for Mr. G. M. Ball, formerly an agricultural labourer, were nearly 900 in advance of the Liberal minority of 1886. At Faversham, Mr. W. E. Steadman, the Labour candidate, received no less than 4391 votes, the seat having been uncontested in 1886. In 1886, fourteen seats in the three counties were uncontested, the whole of rural Surrey being thus surrendered without a struggle; in 1892, only three seats remained uncontested, and the result was that some 55,700 more Liberal votes were given than in 1886. As there were 73,800 abstentions at the last election, there is room for a general victory, which would be the case if the Liberal vote of 80,715 could be raised half as much again.

But before this could possibly be accomplished a great work of education must be done. The new Liberalism, and something more, needs to be preached in the South-Eastern counties. It is not indeed a programme so much as principles that need to be preached—the principles of justice, truth, equality, brotherhood—all realised in the supreme principle, the unity of all men in the One Man, Jesus Christ.

Where shall we look to-day for men who can and will teach these truths? The men who are called to do so by their historical position are the Nonconformist ministers in Kent. They represent the martyred Protestants and Anabaptists, who in their day laid down their lives because they would not conform to the Church according to law.

Let the modern Nonconformist treat with indifference the gibe, "Political Dissenter," knowing well that the politics of a Christian man are among the most sacred things he has to attend to, and that they refer emphatically to what Jesus Christ called "His Father's business." In the one Church and State we conceive to have been divinely founded we read of "prophets and priests." Now the Church of England calls her clergy priests, and that in a sense they truly are, for they have been appointed by the legal authorities of this realm as the sole media of the nation's worship. What, then, is the relation of Dissenting ministers to the nation, if not that of its prophets? And if the priests to-day are advancing more claims to authority, are trying to make us believe that they possess some supernatural power, the Dissenting ministers are partly to blame. For, instead of standing on their original ground—that of men directly called to their work without any human intervention—they are seeking to make themselves another clergy, and to be recognised as equal to, and similar in kind to, the established clergy. But this is a distinct fall, and not a rise, from their original position, and clearly the reason why, notwithstanding their advance in many directions, they are losing their influence with the working people. And yet if we go up and down England, and get at the heart of the religion of the poor—that is, of the very great majority in the country—we shall find that it is not the religion by law established which is really at the root of their faith, but that preached by the first English Nonconformists:—the Lollards, and then the Anabaptists.

It may not be easy to find this out in a region so much under the power of territorialism and the religion of villadom as the South-Eastern counties are, but it is possible to the seeker equally in sympathy with the people to-day, and with those ancient exponents of the religion of the people. But that no one rightly can be who imagines that in the religion of the early Reformers the individualistic idea of religion ruled, as it does in that of those who to-day consider themselves their representatives. To get justice and truth established on earth, this influenced the first followers of Reform more than the idea of personal salvation, and it is this eternal hope which nothing can crush that still lies at the bottom of the poor man's faith. A little sympathy with him may bring out his religious feeling, but I doubt if you will really enter into his soul if your politics and your religion are not identical, as his are, and as those of his early teachers, the Lollards, were. Those who regard their politics, Liberal or Conservative, as a sort of addenda to their evangelical religion give a woful account of the ingratitude and obstinacy of the Sussex peasant; while those who have made him feel that their hearts are one with his in a burning desire to promote the reign of justice on earth represent him as a very different being.

One of the latter—a man who has proved his devotion to the cause by suffering for it—a land-steward in Sussex, told me that, in his opinion, the labourers were a more intelligent class than the farmers, and that they had responded so well to a little encouragement to take up their duties as citizens that, whereas formerly in his district not above ten or twelve persons came to a vestry meeting, now from 100 to 150, mostly labourers, are present, and that even in bad weather—a fact very significant in a district where the roads are all up and down hill, and the hollows into which they continually descend nothing in wet weather but sloughs and bogs.

But the labourer to-day is more than ever willing to come out of his triple coat of armour. He has waited five hundred years, and the faith he has kept locked up in the recesses of his heart, only appearing in chance words or talked of amongst his comrades, is now on every one's lips. The best and most intelligent among the young of all classes are ardent in its cause, and their numbers are ever increasing. Their groups and societies are numerous in the metropolis, and just outside its boundaries lies the Philistines' garrison:—the camp of villadom. There on the citadel of aristocratic privilege heavily floats the banner of territorialism. Let them make for that, and when it is taken, and the banner of territorialism is restored to its rightful owner—the nation—the first step in a new England, which shall realise all the hopes and aspirations of the suffering millions in the old, will have been accomplished.

RICHARD HEATH.

## THE DATE OF THE "ZEND-AVESTA."\*

A MOST alarming bombshell has lately been thrown into the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars by M. James Darmesteter. In the third volume of his masterly translation of the "Avesta," published in the "Annales du Musée Guimet (1892-1893)," he assigns the first century of our era to the Gáthas, the oldest portion of the "Avesta," which hitherto had been referred to 1200 or 1500 B.C. No one has a greater right to speak with authority about the "Avesta" than M. Darmesteter, who has translated it twice, and is now preparing to translate it for the third time for the "Sacred Books of the East." The points on which he seems unassailable are that we have hardly anything that can be called historical evidence with regard to the fate of the "Avesta" from Alexander to the third century A.D. That the soldiers of Alexander burnt the MS. of the "Avesta," and that another MS. was carried off and translated by the Greeks, seems to be admitted on all sides. We have also sufficient authority in Pliny (xxx. 2) that it was Hermippos of Alexandria who, in the third century B.C., translated, with the help of Azonax, 20,000 lines of Zoroaster's writings into Greek. But after that, history is silent till we come to the third century A.D. At that time, as the "Dinkart" informs us, the first Sassanian king, Ardashir, who began to reign in 226 A.D., commissioned Tansar to collect a Sacred Code. We actually possess a highly important letter addressed by Tansar to the King of Taberistan, in which he explains what he has done for the restoration of the old religion and for the support of the new Sassanian dynasty. This letter was written in Pehlvi, translated into Arabic by Ibn al Mukaffa (A.D. 762), well known by his translation of "Kalila Dimnah,"

\* "Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome xxiv. Le Zend-Avesta," Traduction nouvelle par James Darmesteter. Trois volumes, 4°. 1893.

and rendered into Persian about 1210. In it Tansar says to the king, whom he evidently wishes to gain as an ally, "You know how that Alexander burnt our books of religious laws which were written on 1200 ox-hides. A mass of legends, traditions, laws and ordinances were thus entirely forgotten. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that a wise and virtuous man should re-establish the religion. Have you ever seen or heard of any man more worthy than the Shâhînsâh (Ardishîr) to place himself at the head of this undertaking?" Tansar speaks of documents preserved in MSS. or inscribed on walls and stones. Tansar's new "Avesta" received the royal sanction, and was supposed to have reproduced exactly the old Achaemenian "Avesta" as it existed before Alexander. Whether this was so we have no means of knowing, and it is on this point that M. Darmesteter joins issue with all other Zend scholars.

Tansar's letter is a historical document of the third century A.D. The activity of Tansar as a religious reformer was first brought to our notice by the "Dinkart," a kind of Avestic cyclopædia, written in Pehlvi in the ninth century, and lately translated, nay partly discovered by Mr. West. The same "Dinkart" tells us that the first attempt to collect the "Avesta" was made during the Parthian reign by the Arsacide prince Valkhash, and this Valkhash was probably the same ruler who was known to the Romans as Vologeses I., the contemporary of Nero. Of this collection, however, which is said to have been made from oral tradition and manuscripts, we know absolutely nothing, while the collection of Tansar remained intact, though it was added to under Shahpur I. (252-272 A.D.) from fragments collected, we are told, in India, Greece and elsewhere. Under Shahpur II. (309-379 A.D.) it was once more revised by Adarpâd, and proclaimed as the only canon of the orthodox faith for the new Persian Empire. Adarpâd, in order to prove his own orthodoxy, underwent the ordeal of fire. Molten metal was poured on his heart, and he did not suffer from it. This must have been about the same time that the orthodox Christian faith was settled at Nicæa in 325.

M. Darmesteter takes his stand on this historical evidence, and maintains that it does not justify us in assigning the "Avesta," as we now possess it, to a date earlier than the first century A.D. But why to the first century and not to the third, that is, the time of Tansar? We are told that Tansar was a Platonist and it is in order to account for the Neo-Platonist ideas which M. Darmesteter discovers in the Gâthas that he places the Gâthas in the first century of our era, about the time of Philo Judæus. If so, why not place them in the third century or in the time of Clement of Alexandria and Origen? M. Darmesteter does not imply that Tansar was guilty of fraud or forgery. He admits that the tradition of the old religion continued to exist during all the centuries after Alexander, but he

holds that the sacred book itself was lost. When a new sacred canon was wanted for political purposes Tansar supplied it, as well as he could from oral tradition and from scattered manuscripts. The prose portions also, such as the Vendidad (p. cxiii.), were written down, according to M. Darmesteter, about the same time as the Gâthas; the very Gâthas which were formerly ascribed to about 1500 B.C.

From a strictly historical point of view it would be difficult to resist M. Darmesteter's criticism. But we cannot conceal the difficulties which his theory involves. Let us remember that the Zend language was certainly no longer a spoken language in Persia in the first century A.D., certainly not in the third. We should have to admit, therefore, that the writer of the "Avesta" wrote in a dead language. This is not in itself impossible, and M. Darmesteter remarks quite correctly that even at present the Brâhmins compose works in classical Sanskrit, a language which has been dead since the third century B.C. But the question is, Could the Brâhmins, if the oral tradition had once become extinct, compose in Vedic Sanskrit, which differs from classical Sanskrit as the dialect of the Gâthas differs from that of the prose Vendidad? Could Parsi priests in the first century have composed in the ancient metre of the Gâthas which existed nowhere but in these Gâthas? And as the Gâthas are presupposed by the great bulk of the prose portions of the "Avesta," the twenty-one Nasks, does it not follow that the Gâthas must have acquired a kind of sacred authority long before the twenty-one Nasks could have been composed?

But the greatest difficulty is this. The Zend, and more particularly the Gâtha dialect contains grammatical forms which are in strict accordance with the historical growth and the phonetic laws of the language. How could anybody have known these *minutiae*, unless we admit that the ancient texts were taught and learnt with the same minute accuracy in Persia as the hymns of the Rig-Veda in India? But, if that was the case, where would there have been a possibility for Tansar's Neo-Platonist ideas finding a way into the Gâthas, without betraying themselves by small deviations from the grammatical and phonetic type of the ancient language? Or, again, if in the first century the name of the old god Mithra—the Sanskrit Mitra—had become, as we know from coins of the first century, *Miuro* (p. lxxxvii.), how was it possible to know that its ancient form was Mithra? And, once more, if the ancient monotheistic religion had become dualistic as early as Aristotle, who knew the names of Oromasdes and Areimanios,\* what could have led Tansar to re-introduce Ahuramazda as the name of the one supreme deity? How could he have discovered the very name of Ahuramazda, in two words, which, even in the inscriptions of Darius, had dwindled down to one word—viz., Auramazda?

\* Cf. "Science of Language," II. p. 275.



And there remains the greatest difficulty of all. If at the time of Tansar the language of Persia, the language of Tansar himself, was Pehlvi, how is it that the Pehlvi translations and commentaries of the Gâthas show clear traces of ignorance of the ancient idioms on the part of the translators, or, rather, of the very writers of the Gâthas? Would not the Pehlvi be really the text, and the Zend text of the Gâthas the translation?

Here are great difficulties to solve, which could only be solved by admitting a very strong and well-organised oral tradition, dating from a time previous to Darius, to the time of Tansar, strong enough to defy the violent measures of Alexander, strong enough to enable Vologeses and Ardshîr, or rather Tansar, to avail himself of the ancient dialect and metres of the Mobeds, or rather, the Magu-patis, as the Brâhmins were enabled to preserve every word, every syllable, and every accent of the Veda across the deluge of Buddhism and the Sâka invasion of India. Without such a tradition, one does not see how Tansar could have trusted in his own power to restore ancient grammar, ancient metre, and ancient faith. With such a tradition, the work ascribed to Tansar by M. Darmesteter would seem to lose its purpose.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

## ·MAN IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION.

ANY Christians are willing to accept the evolutionary theory of **MAN**'s origin so far as his physical structure is concerned, but they would indignantly repudiate the idea that it can offer any assistance towards a right understanding of his spiritual nature, and of the great facts of revelation which concern him as possessing that nature. The Incarnation, the Fall, the Redemption, are regarded as lying altogether outside the scope of any "natural laws," and, therefore, evolution can have nothing to do with them. In the present essay an attempt is made to suggest a line of thought leading to a very different, and, as the writer believes, far truer conclusion; but in endeavouring to deal with subjects so deep from a point of view unfamiliar to many of those addressed, great difficulties have to be encountered, and it is scarcely possible to hope that they will be more than very partially surmounted in a single effort and in the restricted space of a magazine article. What follows must, therefore, be regarded rather as indicating than developing the theory presented.

There appear, broadly speaking, to be only two suggestions with regard to the origin of man put forward by the supporters of evolution. One is the "Darwinian," thus briefly summarised by Dr. Wallace. "Although, perhaps, nowhere distinctly formulated, his [Darwin's] whole argument tends to the conclusion that man's entire nature, and all his faculties, whether moral, intellectual, or spiritual, have been derived from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner and by the same general laws as his physical structure has been derived," \* and it is considered that this conclusion is distinctly

\* Wallace's "Darwinism," p. 463.

materialistic, *i.e.* does away with the necessity of belief in spirit or in the spiritual world at all.

The second view is held with unimportant modifications by all those \* who, though believing in man's physical derivation from lower forms of life, yet regard him as possessing faculties which cannot thus be accounted for and which they refer to a spiritual origin, affirming that at some unknown stage of his development a "soul" was superadded to his animal structure, as though it were an addition or crowning ornament to an edifice already built. "On the hypothesis of this spiritual nature," says Dr. Wallace, "superadded to the animal nature of man, we are able to understand much that is otherwise mysterious or unintelligible with regard to him." † But if the spiritual nature of man be the higher (as all believers in what may be called the twofold origin of man allow and insist), if it be true that the "whole purpose, the only *raison d'être* of the world—with all its complexities of physical structure, with its grand geological progress, the slow evolution of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and the ultimate appearance of man—was the development of the human spirit in association with the human body," ‡ then that human spirit must be more than a mere addition to the body, and the link between the two is not adequately described by the term "association." Were it not for our fatal habit of endeavouring to reconcile the letter of Scripture with scientific facts by suggesting that the writers of the sacred books, and especially the writers of the Old Testament really meant something quite different from what they said, and totally at variance with the knowledge they possessed, the first chapter of Genesis would lead us to a more reverent, a more elevating, and a more philosophical conception of the relationship between soul and body—nay, between spirit and matter—than this. For what we there find represented is the fact of the spiritual evolution of the universe, told in simple language indeed, and containing no scientific record of observed phenomena, but embodying clearly, unmistakably, and in words which will never grow obsolete, the central and eternal truth that the power of constructive change, of self-development through which cosmos grew out of chaos, was due to the communicated life of the Divine Spirit. The *order* of evolution is not given us—that man could gradually discover for himself, it falls within the province of scientific research; the *origin* of evolution he could not discover, it must ever have lain buried in the region of the unknowable. This, therefore, since a knowledge of it was indispensable to man's right understanding of himself and to the continued development of his higher faculties, was revealed by that same Spirit in whom he must

\* Not, however, by Professor Le Conte, whose work, "Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought," the present writer had not had the advantage of reading when the above statement was made. † "Darwinism," p. 474. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

in any case live and move and have his being, whether consciously or unconsciously.

It is the fact of his thus living and moving, consciously which constitutes the all-important difference between him and the lower animals, not the false supposition that he is a "link" between the material and the spiritual because all below him is pure matter and all above him pure spirit. This could not be known unless the nature of both spirit and matter were understood. The most venturesome theoriser would not assert that we know what spirit is; only the ignorant suppose that we know what matter is; how then can we trace the boundary line between them? It is impossible, and the nearest approach we can make to any formal definition is to say that the material is to us the expression of the spiritual--that spirit (or, as some would prefer to say, mind) informs the entire universe which it moulds and develops in accordance with its own requirements.

"For of the soul, the body form doth take,  
For soul is form and doth the body make." \*

But if this view be accepted, and, almost daily, science is pressing it upon us more irresistibly, not in any formulated teaching but by bringing us with ever-increasing clearness face to face with that unknowable which causes and underlies the known, the necessity for either a twofold origin or a special creation of man disappears. Where all lives with a spiritual life, the soul of man is not the exemplification of a new life, or the appearance of a new agent, but a different and higher manifestation of the same life, and a more intense and personal activity of the same agent. And in an order where matter is the universal expression of spirit, man is not a "link" between what is already united, but a fuller and more complete expression of the one by the other than is afforded by inorganic, or by vegetable, or by animal (as distinguished from human) existence.†

\* Spenser, "An Hymn to Beautie."

† A view apparently very similar to the above, appears to be advocated by Dr. Wallace in the following passage: "These three stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man, point clearly to an unseen universe, to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate. To this spiritual world we may refer the marvellously complex forces which we know as gravitation, cohesion, chemical force, radiant force, and electricity, without which the material universe could not exist for a moment in its present form, and perhaps not at all, since without these and perhaps others which may be termed atomic, it is doubtful whether matter itself could have any existence. And still more surely can we refer to it those progressive manifestations of life in the vegetable, the animal, and man which we may classify as unconscious, conscious, and intellectual life, and which probably depend upon different degrees of spiritual influx. ("Darwinism," p. 476.) There is, however, a far deeper difference between this position and that taken up in the text than at first sight appears, for if the latter be conceded, the statement that "the world of matter is altogether subordinate to the world of spirit" (as one kingdom is subordinated to another) is entirely insufficient. The "world of matter" has no existence apart from the "world of spirit," for there is but one order, the spiritual, and to human intelligence it has but one expression, the material.

It is of importance to understand clearly wherein this conception agrees with and wherein it differs from the two already referred to—the “Darwinian” or materialistic, and that of a soul superadded at a certain stage to a body ready prepared for it.

It agrees with Darwinism in stating that the origin of man and of the lower animals is identical; but dissents from it in ascribing that origin and the whole subsequent development to a divinely communicated spiritual life whose growing intensity was the moulding power from the beginning of those “lower forms” which would ultimately become man. By thus ascribing to the “soul” the formation and evolution of the body, the materialistic tendency of Darwinism is completely eliminated, and the existence and supremacy of that soul as strongly asserted as by the theory of the twofold origin itself, while the necessity for retaining that unscientific and unscriptural conception is done away with. On the one hand, the existence of something in man which materialism cannot account for is clearly acknowledged. On the other hand, that “something” which we may “best refer to as being of a spiritual essence or nature, capable of progressive development under favourable circumstances,”\* is seen to have been in fact thus developing through the despised animal progenitors, which were but man in process of formation, and which during the earlier stages of his evolution afforded the requisite “favourable circumstances.”

To arrive at a logical and consistent theory of the relationship between soul and body, or even to advance a few steps on the right road towards doing so, is an achievement which cannot be too earnestly desired, for the question of the derivation of the soul is no new difficulty.

\* In reference to the child born of human parents, it has been often discussed. Is its soul inherited like its bodily organism? or is it added to the body coming, as it were, from without? The instincts of Christianity, rather than any formal decision, have throughout been against Traducianism or the physical derivation of the soul. On the other hand, Creationism guards a truth which Traducianism loses, but at the cost of separating body and soul in a way which neither the science nor the theology of the present day will find it easy to accept. . . . In the history of the individual, so far as his physical structure is concerned, science can trace each step from the microscopic germ-cell to the fully developed man. If we believe that man as man is an immortal soul, though we cannot say when he became so, or that, strictly speaking, he ever did *become* so, we need not be surprised to meet the difficulty again in the evolution of man from lower forms.†

According to what has been said above man certainly never *became* an immortal soul, because from the first beginning of his existence, whether as an individual in the “microscopic germ-cell,” or as the race in “lower forms of life,” he *was* an immortal soul. Instead of

\* “Darwinism,” page 474.

† “Science and the Faith.” Aubrey Moore. Page 207.

the "physical derivation of the soul" which the "instincts of Christianity" have indeed been right in rejecting, the alternative proposed is the spiritual derivation of the body. And since the considerations already adduced lead to the irresistible conclusion that what is true of the human soul and body is so by reason of its being true of the universe of spirit and matter, we need not fear to give in our adhesion to what has been advanced, because logical consistency would necessitate our regarding all physical organisms and not only that of man as equally derived from spirit.

That there is a very close connection between man, and not only the "lower animals," but the whole creation, is clearly intimated in more than one passage of the New Testament, more especially in that remarkable declaration by St. Paul, that "the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together [or with us] until now. And not only so, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, to wit the redemption of our body" (Rom. viii. 20-24, R.V.). Again, we are told that "if there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body," and the two passages taken in conjunction seem to show that what St. Paul calls the "redemption of the body" is the attainment not only by man, but by the "whole creation," of that perfect expression of the spiritual through the material which from the Christian point of view must be the goal of all evolution; since thus alone can the divine conception of the universe be made manifest.

Nor is what may be called the spiritual nature of this universe indicated by Scripture alone, for science is daily teaching with more distinctness that if the origin and evolution of the cosmos are to be explained by the properties of "matter," then matter must be something totally different to that "dead brute" essence which used to be considered an adequate conception of it. When we find one eminent physicist saying that "it is impossible to resist the conclusion that all Nature is living thought. the language of One in whom we live and move and have our being;"\* and another that "it is conceivable matter may react on mind in a way we can at present only dimly imagine; in fact, the barrier between the two may gradually melt away, as so many others have done,"† we cannot but feel that students of science

\* Professor Fitzgerald, F.R.S., Lecture on "Electro-Magnetic Radiation," delivered at the Royal Institution on March 21st, 1890.

† Dr. Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., Presidential address to the Mathematical and Physical Section of the British Association in 1891.

are being forced to realise that the "material" order, with which they regard themselves as exclusively dealing, is something more than material, and that the revelation of its "inner secret," if and when it is made to the minds that have reverently sought it, will not "degrade man to a level with the brutes," as has been so often ignorantly and faithlessly supposed, but will raise his estimation not only of organic but of inorganic Nature, as being the necessary stages of an evolution which has resulted in the development of a being capable of receiving the "impress of the image of God."

And since this impress has been received, since to man and to man only it is possible to enter into conscious relationship with the Source and Fountain of his existence, we need not fear that the acceptance of the spiritual life and evolution of the universe would lead to the merging of each man's conscious life in that of the race, or of creation as a whole, so that personal immortality, the distinctiveness of the spirit of man from that of his fellow-man, and from the Spirit of God which is the source of both, should be done away with. The unerring tendency of "that which drew from out the boundless deep" to "turn again home" implies no such death in life as this; for human personality is the highest manifestation of spiritual life which the known universe exhibits. It is "Nature risen into consciousness" of its relationship to the divine, and there is no receding from this point. The course of evolution may conceivably lead to something higher than personality, but this must still be included. Human life as it is transcends, though it includes, that of the lower forms through which it has developed; human life as it will be must include, though it may transcend, its present manifestation, otherwise it would no longer be a life of evolution; and, for the very reason that human personality has a universal as well as an individual aspect, the persistence of each personal life is necessitated.\* The mystery of personality is indeed so deep and far-reaching that we cannot but feel it contains the ultimate key to most if not all of the problems which perplex us in our present stage of existence and of knowledge, and that in its human development it is the very hall-mark of the divine.

But the momentous question now arises, What place do the great facts of the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Redemption hold in such

\* Allowing that there is a universal human consciousness, a personality in which all partake—which we must do if we regard mankind as an organic whole—we are compelled to see that its existence depends on the distinctiveness of the parts. An organism presupposes a differentiation of organs. Unless we have these, we cannot have that, and a merging of the lines of delimitation between the organs so that they are no longer distinguishable, means the death of the organism. There can be no universal human personality shared in by all men, unless there is in each man an individual personality, clear, sharp, and defined, whereby he is enabled to express some part of the whole, and subserve the general activity. Just because no one person is the exact double of another, therefore no one personal life could be lost or annihilated without some marring of the universal personality of man.

a view of human life as has here been put forward? If the evolution of man has been in process since "the beginning," and reaches in one unbroken line from the "dust of the earth" to his present development, how could the Fall be possible? why were the Incarnation and the Redemption necessary?

The possibility—nay, it might almost be said, the probability—of the Fall becomes at once evident on reflecting that when man had arrived at the stage when intelligence and will were developed, no further evolution could be possible save through intelligence and will. So long as the developing man was not yet actually man, had not yet attained to what we understand by the human mind and the human free will, so long was his evolution unconscious and he himself an irresponsible being; but when this stage was reached he could no longer be so considered, for he saw, however dimly, a goal before him, towards which he might or might not spontaneously move. The motive power which should lead him towards it was the conscious will, but the conscious will was newly born and feeble; other parts of man's complex nature, the animal appetites and impulses, were stronger in proportion, and the will succumbed before them, becoming their slave, instead of their master.\* Then must have followed a complete stoppage in the process of evolution, in other words, the utter failure of the whole spiritual development—of the divine ideal, had it not been for the Redemption, whose very purpose was, by restoring the will to its proper function, to inaugurate the harmony of man's nature, and make a continuance of evolution possible.

The Redemption, then (if it may be reverently so said), was necessitated by the Fall; but the Redemption was rendered possible by the Incarnation, and that was in no sense of the word a consequence of the Fall. The reason for that supreme manifestation would have been equally strong, equally cogent, if man's evolution had met with no check. For because he had become possessed of intelligence and will, it was impossible for his further development to take place save through the co-operation of these highest faculties, and in order to procure their co-operation the goal of his evolution must be revealed to him: he must be enabled to perceive with ever-growing distinctness that perfect type which is the divine conception

\* It seems unnecessary to interrupt the argument in the text in order to enforce the application, but does not each man feel that in the failure of the will lies the explanation of every individual fall, and if of the individual, must it not be also that of the collective fall, the fall of the race? The word "fall," nowhere used in Scripture to designate man's condition, is, moreover, apt to be misleading. The true significance of the teaching given in the second chapter of Genesis seems to be, that man passed out of a state of innocence—*i.e.*, of unconsciousness of his own imperfection—into a state of consciousness of it. There was very clearly an advance in knowledge, as the language used indicates, "He hath become as one of us, to know good and evil." Knowing both he must learn freely to choose the good, and hence his long and yet unfinished education in the school of suffering and sorrow. Having entered into the divine knowledge, pain was to be his schoolmaster to lead him to the divine holiness. ●



of manhood. And since that divine conception is the "Image of God," it was the Image of God which was manifested, "the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance" (Heb. i. 3, R.V.). There needed indeed to be ages of preparation for the manifestation of this perfect type. In other words the evolution of man, even after it had entered on the stage of "conscious relation with God," needed to arrive at a certain point before such a revelation could be made. It is not to the child that teaching adapted to the adolescent or to the adult understanding can be given; and not in the childhood of the race, even had the Fall been escaped, could the revelation of the Divine Man have been vouchsafed. But the Fall was not escaped, and the revelation made was to supply the needs not only of an as yet incompletely developed race, but of one in which had been established that principle of degeneration which, under the title of reversion, is so well known a feature of the lower forms of life, and which gives so far-reaching a meaning to, because it shows so far-reaching a necessity for, that "redemption of the body" already referred to.

The fact that the apprehension by man of the perfect type of his being revealed by the Incarnation, has never as yet been more than partial, has never attained to an even approximate adequacy, is due to the present incompleteness of his development. The end of evolution cannot be fully understood until it is attained, though with each upward step a truer appreciation becomes possible. Every individual Christian will endorse this fact as true with regard to his own spiritual perception. It is wider and fuller and more definite than it was, because his spiritual life is gradually developing—but how far as yet from embracing the perfect ideal in its perfection and completeness!—and the spiritual history of the individual is but the spiritual history of the race in miniature.

There lies here an answer to those who see a great element of weakness, incompatible with its claim to a divine origin, in Christianity, because it has as yet done so little to raise the life of Christians, both individual and collective, to its own standard—that is, to the standard of the life of Christ. The argument in reality tells the other way: an ideal easily and quickly reached is not what the lessons taught us by that part of the divine order which comes within the cognisance of "natural" science "would lead us to expect in that higher part which is regarded as lying without its bounds." We have only to reflect on the countless ages required for evolution, inorganic and organic, to attain its present stage of development, to be assured that if the super-organic evolution be indeed a continuance of that vast chain, it, too, will be the work, not of years, nor of hundreds, nor of thousands of years, but of time incalculable.

Hitherto, as was necessary for the argument followed out in this

essay, the type has been regarded as that towards which evolution tends; but it fulfils another and transcendently important office, for it is not only the goal of the race which is to be conformed to it, but also the vital principle which moulds each individual of that race into its own similitude. The perfect type exists potentially through all the intermediate stages by which it is more and more nearly approached, and if it did not thus exist, neither could they. There could be no development of an absent life.

The goal of man's evolution, the perfect type of manhood, is Christ. He exists and has always existed potentially in the race and in the individual, equally before as after His visible Incarnation, equally in the millions of those who do not, as in the far fewer millions of those who do, bear His name. In the strictest sense of the words He is the life of man, and that in a far deeper and more intimate sense than He can be said to be the life of the rest of the universe; for though the considerations brought forward in this paper render what has been called the "cosmic significance of the Incarnation"—the fact, namely, that it is the climax and keystone of the whole visible creation—especially striking and forcible, nevertheless it must never be forgotten that the Christ-life as such is the possession of the human race only. Because it was "in the form of man" that the "climax and keystone" were reached; because it is in him alone that evolution has attained the stage when the capacity for receiving the impress of the Image of God is developed,—therefore in his race, and in no other, does the law of conformity to type mould each individual, whose will consents to and furthers the process (for the higher evolution requires this special modification of the general law), into the "likeness of Christ"—consciously if he be a Christian, unconsciously if, debarred from that privilege, he yet, obedient to the light within him, strives towards the highest that he perceives.

. EMMA MARIE CAILLARD.

## SUPERSTITION AND FACT.

A REMARK of M. Richet, the eminent French psychologist, may be said to strike the key-note of the following essay. M. Richet is arguing (in 1884) for the genuine character of "Somnambulism," by which he means provoked somnambulism, hypnotic phenomena. "If the phenomena are simulated," says M. Richet, "then the skill, the perfection, the universality of the imposture, everywhere and always, constitute one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the records of science." This I chanced to read, after publishing an article on "Comparative Psychological Research" in the CONTEMPORARY for September, 1893. In that paper, having given a selection of reported "spiritualistic phenomena," from various ancient sources, including "spirit-rapping" and a "medium" of 1526, I argued, like M. Richet, that the universal similarity of the imposture, granting imposture, is a most curious phenomenon. But M. Richet was thinking of the ordinary and familiar features of hypnotism, which, as I understand, are now denied by no competent authority. The alleged occurrences which interest *my* inquiry are different from these, and include ghosts, physical movements of untouched objects, unexplained noises and disturbances, clairvoyance, the divining rod, crystal vision, and so forth.

The accounts of these have not been accepted by science, far from it; nor can one do otherwise than applaud science for being "sober and distrustful." However, M. Richet's contention applies to these outlying phenomena, ghosts, disturbances, clairvoyance, as much as to the accepted facts of hypnotism. The imposture in these affairs (if imposture there be, as a rule) is as uniform, and as widely diffused, as the supposed "simulation" of hypnotic facts. Further, we must note that many of the contested and disdained phenomena notoriously

accompany persons subject to trance, to convulsive movements, and other abnormal nervous conditions. This is said to be so at present, and can it be by accident that this was always<sup>9</sup> said to be so in the past? We hear of clairvoyance, of physical movements of objects, of commands transferred and obeyed, from a distance, of "telepathic" hallucinations voluntarily produced, among the very people who display the ordinary and accepted phenomena of hypnotism. Now in old witch-trials, in old ghost and bogie stories, in the reports of anthropological observers among savages, we find the ordinary and accepted phenomena of hypnotism occurring among the witches, the "possessed," the ghost-seers, the savage medicine-men. They, too, are not only subject to convulsion and rigidity, and trance, but they are clairvoyant. They produce phantasms of themselves at a distance, their presence is attended by unexplained noises and physical movements of objects. Now there must be some cause for this remarkable coincidence—namely, the uniformity of modern and ancient reports of phenomena still unaccepted by science—always accompanying other phenomena which science, since Puységur, Braid, Esdaile, Charcot, and others, has been content to accept. At the lowest there must be a traditional system of imposture, or a common persistent sympathy in hallucination.

The old reports are often grotesque to the last degree. Thus Bovet, in his "Pandæmonium" (1684), gives an account of the Demon of Spraiton, in 1682. His authorities were "J. G., Esquire," a near neighbour to the place, the Rector of Barnstaple, and other witnesses. The "medium" was a young servant man, appropriately named Francis Fey, and employed in the household of Sir Philip Furze. Now, this young man was subject to "a kind of trance, or extatick fit," and "part of his body was, occasionally, somewhat benumbed and seemingly deader than the other." The nature of Fey's case, physically, is clear. He was a convulsionary, and his head would be found wedged into tight places whence it could hardly be extracted. From such a person the long and highly laughable tale of ghosts (a male ghost and a jealous female ghost) which he told does not much win our acceptance. True, Mrs. Thomassin Gidly, Ann Langton, and a little child also saw the ghost in various forms. But this was probably mere fancy, or the hallucinations of Fey were infectious. But objects flew about in the young man's presence. "One of his shoe-strings was observed (without the assistance of any hand) to come of its own accord out of his shoe and fling itself to the other side of the room; the other was crawling after it (!) but a maid espying that, with her hand drew it out, and it clasp'd and curl'd about her hand like a living eel or serpent. A barrel of salt of considerable quantity hath been observed to march from room to room without any human assistance," and so forth.

Thus Master Fey was "a powerful physical medium," like the "electric girl" whom Arago inspected. Her accomplishment ceased after she was brought to Paris, but there was evidence enough to attract the serious attention of Arago. The stories from Glanvil, the Mathers, and many others are familiar. The "physical phenomena" usually accompany convulsionaries and epileptics, as in the S. P. R.'s case of "Mr. H.," while "mediums" like Home are entranced and convulsed. Here, then, we have to account for the uniformity of evidence, old and new, in the early American colonies, in the England of the Restoration, in England of our own day, and abroad, and among savage races generally.

The most popular superstition is, of course, the belief in ghosts. Hence Mr. Tylor derives, ultimately, the whole of religion. His theory is very well known. Thinking savages "were deeply impressed by two groups of biological phenomena." They asked, what makes the difference between a living body and a dead one? Again, what causes waking, sleep, trance, disease, death? Next, what are the human shapes that appear in dreams and visions? They concluded that life can go away, and leave a man insensible or dead, while a phantom of the living man can appear [in dreams, one presumes] to people at a distance from him. The savage philosopher then mentally combines and identifies the life and the phantom. The result is, life is a soul, when at home, in the body; a ghost when abroad, out of the body. This wandering life is "shadow," or "breath," *σκιά, πνεῦμα, umbra, spiritus, anima*. Having decided that shadows, dreams, trances, when reflected on, suggest the belief in wandering phantasms, separable selves, Mr. Tylor's duty is done. He gives abundant accounts of "veridical hallucinations," and of "clairvoyance;" but he expressly does not ask, Are these tales true, and, if so, what do they mean? Now it is evident that, if clairvoyance does occur, and if the phantasm of the clairvoyant is actually seen, in the place which he fancies that he visits, and if appearances of men at the hour of death are, verily, beheld at a distance, then the savage's philosophy had more to go upon than mere dreams, shadows, sleeping, waking, and the contemplation of death. He was really in touch with disputed, unaccepted phenomena, and these phenomena are of high importance. They would not, indeed, justify the savage theory that phantasm and life are identical, that life is soul at home and is ghost abroad. But, if accepted, they would demonstrate the existence of a new range of human faculties. These phenomena, the discarded—much more than sleep, dreams, drugs, and so forth, the accepted—would be the real basis of the savage theory of life, and death, and spirits. Take the Eskimo, and Pawnee, and Scandinavian superstition of a "sending"—the sorcerer's power to project his volition, unaccompanied by a phantasm. If Jung Stilling, whom, Mr. Tylor cites, did not fable in

his tales of "sick persons who, longing to see absent friends, have fallen into a swoon, during which they appeared to the distant objects of their affection," and, if any one of many such stories is true, then friendly "sending" is possible. A French physician vouches for such "sendings," by a hospital nurse, as having been visible to himself.\* An instance given by St. Augustine is well known.† About Catholic legends of "bilocation"—the visible presence of a man at a distance from the point where he really is—Mr. Tylor says that these things "fit perfectly in with the primitive animistic theory of apparitions." Probably they do, if the theory was founded on just such hallucinations, which do undeniably occur.

Mr. Tylor discusses savage examples of "deathbed-wraiths"—the vision which one or several men have of another who is dying. Cases may be found in Darwin's "Cruise of the *Beagle*": a Fuegian was the percipient; in Fison and Hewitt's work on the Kamilaroi and the Kurnai (Australian and Fijian); in Madagascar, and among the Maoris of New Zealand. "A party of Maoris (one of whom told the story) were seated round a fire in the open air, when there appeared, seen only by two of them, the figure of a relative left ill at home; they exclaimed, the figure vanished, and, on the return of the party, it appeared that the sick man had died about the time of the vision."‡ It is superfluous to add that hundreds of living, civilised English men and women tell similar tales of their own experiences. Now, experiences of this kind are part of the basis of the primitive animistic theory. It reposes on psychical phenomena which, however we explain them, are by no means unusual, and an example occurred to, and was noted in his diary by, so eminent a Philistine as Lord Brougham.

To explain these appearances as "ghosts," which, again are the visible life and spirit of a man, was a natural speculation: the facts exist, though the theory does not hold water. The modern explanation of those who think that the idea of a mere chance coincidence of death, on one side and hallucination on the other does not hold water, is "telepathy." At a distance the healthy man feels, from a distance the dying man causes, some mental "impact," which results in a hallucination of the dying man's presence. This is modern, but perhaps not quite so recent as some suppose. It is, in effect, the hypothesis of Herbert Mayo, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in King's College, and of Comparative Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. He sets it forth in his book on "The Truth contained in Popular Superstitions" (Blackwood. London, 1851). In the fallow leisure of his life Dr.

\* Tylor, "Primitive Culture," i. 440. "Proceedings of the Society of Psychological Research, 1892."

† "De Civ. Dei," xviii. 18.

‡ Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 448, with the authorities.

Mayo took up Reichenbach's writings, and believed in "Od force," animal magnetism, and other very dim and dubious theories. Starting from Zschokke's amazing anecdotes about his own power of occasionally seeing, when he met a stranger, minute facts in the stranger's life, Dr. Mayo "assumed it to be proved that the mind, or soul, of one human being can be brought, in the natural course of things, and under physiological laws hereafter to be determined, into immediate relation with the mind of another person."\* "Suppose our new principle brought into play; the soul of the dying person is to be supposed to have come into direct communication with the mind of his friend, with the effect of suggesting his present condition," which the reported visions, however, seldom or never do. If the seer be awake, the contact "originates a sensorial illusion." Mayo says that his theory will be held to rest on "few and trivial instances." "That," he replies, "is only because the subject has not been attended to. 'For how many centuries were the laws of electricity preindicated by the single fact that a piece of amber, when rubbed, would attract light bodies!'" Messrs. Gurney and Myers have used the same illustration. It is clear that Mayo is the modern inventor of "telepathy," whatever we may think of the value of his theory. But cases are not really few. They abound through all history, and among all tribes of men, in all known conditions of culture. There are the facts; the savage and the ordinary citizen explain them by speaking of ghosts; *vulgaires*, of "veridical hallucinations"; many people talk of "chance coincidence," and the question is, Have we not too many coincidences for the doctrine of probabilities?

Unluckily, good evidence is becoming more difficult of attainment. The public are learning what the, so to say, genuine symptoms of telepathy and of psychical experience are. Fictitious ghost-stories are being written, as by Fitzjames O'Brien, on correct psychical lines; thus uniformity of evidence is no longer a good test of honesty, when some semi-hysterical lady chooses to vouch for a bogie. Our best chances are among the uneducated and savages. Their evidence is unsophisticated, but, alas, it has other conspicuous drawbacks! Consequently one is inclined to believe that the testimony for abnormal occurrences is least likely to be contaminated when it is found in the works of men who (another drawback!) are dead, and cannot be cross-examined. I do not attempt to disguise the difficulties in the way of collecting evidence. They may even prove fatal to the study. Yet, only yesterday, I met three sane and healthy English people who had simultaneously seen a ghost, in broad daylight, *sans le savoir!* They had each remarked on the presence of a young and pretty girl in a room where (as was incontestably demonstrated) there was only an old and plain woman, whom, of course,

\* "Truth contained in Pop. Sup." Second edition, p. 66.

they also beheld. It was not till next day that they woke and found themselves famous, for what they had seen, though they knew it not, was the right thing to see—the traditional “ghost” of the place. But about this legend they were absolutely ignorant.

These are the kind of experiences, I fancy, on which “the primitive philosophy of animism” is really based, or these, at least, must have confirmed it. The essence of the evidence is just what we regard as the essence of the evidence in anthropological studies at large—the undesigned uniformity of testimony. Defending anthropological evidence, Mr. Tylor says:

“It is a matter worthy of consideration that the accounts of similar phenomena of culture, recurring in different parts of the world, actually supply incidental proof of their own authenticity. . . . *The test of recurrence comes in.* . . . . The possibility of intentional or unintentional mystification is often barred by such a state of things as that a similar statement is made in two remote lands by two witnesses, of whom A. lived a century before B., and B. appears never to have heard of A.”

Substitute “similar abnormal experiences” for “similar phenomena of culture,” and Mr. Tylor’s argument is identical with my own. I shall substitute another word in the next sentence. “How distant are the countries, how wide apart are the dates, how different the creeds and characters of the observers in the catalogue of the facts of *psychical phenomena*, needs no further showing,” to readers of Mr. Tylor’s foot-notes. Here I only put “psychical phenomena” in place of “facts of civilisation.” As to the said psychical phenomena identical with those of modern tales, Mr. Tylor himself quotes stories on the authority of heathen philosophers, as Cicero, Christian fathers, Catholic histories of saints, Maoris, Malagassies, modern Germans, Shetland ladies, English people, and so forth. One can add vastly to Mr. Tylor’s cloud of instances, but they are various enough, and distant enough from each other in creed, country, climate, and culture. “Narratives of this class,” of the “veridical hallucination,” or common deathbed-wraith, “which I can only specify without arguing on them, are abundantly in circulation,” says Mr. Tylor.\* But the truth or falsity of these narratives makes the whole difference in the discussion of the origin of religion. If they are false, Mr. Tylor (if we accept his argument) traces religion to mistaken savage theories of *normal* facts. If they are true (and if we accept Mr. Tylor’s hypothesis), religion is based on savage theories of *abnormal* facts—facts which show in man transcendent faculties beyond what can be explained by physiological causes as at present recognised.

We have touched on “physical manifestations,” abnormal movements of objects, and on the common deathbed-wraith. We may

\* *Op. cit.*, i. 419.



now turn to "clairvoyance," or the alleged power of beholding places and events distant in space. Mayo and, of course, many other writers accept the existence of clairvoyance—"the patient discerns objects through any obstructions—partitions, walls, or houses—and at an indefinite distance." Of course science does not swallow this, though cases in abundance have been recorded between Mesmer's time and our own, by physicians who seem, otherwise, sane and competent. Even inquirers who admit the facts, in certain cases, do not necessarily admit clairvoyance, but prefer a theory of thought-reading.

For example, a distinguished statesman, from whom I have the story, once tested a so-called *clairvoyante* in the house of a celebrated physician. He did not ask her to describe his own house, which was well known to many, but he bent his thoughts on a very curiously decorated room in the house of a friend at a great distance. The *clairvoyante*, an uneducated woman, gave a correct description of arrangements so peculiar that I have never, myself, seen anything of the kind. This performance might be explained by cunning, a good guess, or as an illusion of memory on the part of the narrator (which, frankly, I cannot believe), or as "thought-transference," or as clairvoyance. However it be, this kind of effect-vision from a distance, is very commonly reported to occur in witch-trials, among savages, and generally wherever there are persons in abnormal conditions of trance. The least sophisticated evidence, in one way, is that of savages; they, at least, have not yet heard of Psychical Research, and cannot frame their fictions "in a concatenation accordingly." I may cite a missionary, the late Mr. Leslie. In his privately printed book, "Among the Zulus," he tells us how he lost some cattle, how he consulted a Zulu diviner, how, after burning some herbs and making other similar preparations, the Zulu gave a complete and clairvoyant account of the situation of the cattle, of the day of their return, and of certain accidents that befell some of them. The Rev. Mr. Leslie's Covenanting ancestors would have been horrified by this transaction. Mr. Tylor cites, from the *Vatnsdæla Saga*, a similar consultation by Ingimund, a Viking. He shut up three Finns for three days in a hut; their bodies became rigid, and, awakening in three days, they described *Vatnsdæl* "as they that saw it." Copious accounts of Finnish clairvoyance occur in works by early travellers. Mr. J. Mason Browne, on the Coppermine River, "was met by Indians of the very band he was seeking, these having been sent by their medicine man, who, on enquiry, stated that he saw them coming, and heard them talk on their journey." This instance lures us on into Second Sight, a gift as popular as ever in one of the Western Isles, which it may be better not to name. But second sight is merely a state between telepathy and clairvoyance. Thus, in Theophilus Insulanus, a Skye man, returning from

a voyage, receives, in Mull, a present of venison. "I'll test my mother-in-law, who is second-sighted, with this," he said, and in effect the woman in Skye did see him, with what looked like a piece of meat in his hand. This was, if anything, clairvoyance. The second-sighted talk much of spectral dogs, shrouds, coffins, and other funereal symbols. Mr. Tylor very judiciously says, "Those who discuss the authenticity of the second-sight stories as actual evidence must bear in mind that they prove a little too much," as they vouch for spectral hounds and "symbolical omens." The learned Messrs. Gurney and Myers have tackled this matter of "symbolical omens," and Hartmann, Kirk, and others tackle phantom dogs.

To us, at present, the point is that cases of clairvoyance and telepathy are freely reported among the symbolical visions. Exemplary cases are those of the Eskimo mediums called Angakut (plural of Angekok).

The Angekok passes a noviciate of fasting till he sees his *tornak* (Manitou), or "cabinet spirit," after which he is capable of *ilimannek*, or spirit-flight, including clairvoyance. We may all have heard of the Davenport brothers, humbugs who were always tied up before they "manifested." The Angekok undergoes the same bondage, and it is an interesting inquiry whether the Davenports and their likes borrowed from savages, or independently evolved this part of their private hanky panky. Well tied up, his head fastened between his legs, while the company sing (as in some idiotic modern *séance*), the Angekok summons his "cabinet spirit," or *tornak*, who, like many sprites, brings "a peculiar sound, and the appearance of fire." Even so Mr. Welsh, the famed preacher, ancestor of Mrs. Carlyle, was surrounded by a supernatural flame when he meditated alone in his garden.\* It will surprise no student of "levitation," of St. Catherine and St. Francis, and Mr. Home, and Lord Orrery's butler, when presently "the Angekok is lifted up within the house, and then soars out into the open air."† But in other cases only the Angekok's soul goes forth, and practises clairvoyance. When children play at Angekokism, occasionally the charm works, physical manifestations follow, and blocks of wood in the hut become endowed with motion. When the trance is over, the Angekok is found to be released from his bonds. He can discern spirits and, in fact, has all the usual accomplishments of the finished medium, especially clairvoyance in trance. Other savage evidence may be produced in any desired quantity, while Martin, in his "Western Isles" (dedicated to Queen Anne's husband), describes the trances, convulsions, and turned-in eyeballs of Highland clairvoyants, all strictly in accordance with modern hypnotic science.

\* Wodrow MS. cited by Mr. Hill Burton in "The Scot Abroad."

† Rink, "Eskimo Tales," p. 275.

Here it may be as well to dismiss the idea that I take the Angekok, and his savage friends in general, at their own valuation. They are, no doubt, impostors, and their trick of being tied up (which they practise even when aiming at clairvoyance for their own ends) interests us because it has been revived by civilised quacks. But I am inclined to believe that, if no cases of clairvoyance had ever occurred, savage mediums would not so universally lay claim to that accomplishment.

In the same way, I doubt if "veridical death-wraiths" would be so commonly attested, in all stages of culture, if such things were never observed. The same remarks apply to the noisy rapping *Pottergeist*, "the elf who goes knocking and routing about the house at night." Grimm has collected old German examples from 856 A.D. downwards. In Kirk's "Secret Commonwealth" there are more ancient instances: the thing is as common as blackberries in modern tales. The phenomenon takes two forms: in the first, the objects which make the noise are visibly moved, and perhaps, in all modern "dark sciences," this is done by imposture and confederacy. In other cases the noise of heavy furniture being tossed about is loud enough, but even immediate inspection—as by Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford—discovers no disturbance of the objects. In the second sort of cases, then, the noise must be hallucinatory, but how the hallucination is produced we do not know. Ambroise Paré, in the sixteenth century, says that fiends cause all the varieties of such uproar as vexed the Wesleys after his time. This is exactly the primitive animistic theory. Dyaks, Singhalese, Siamese, and Esths, according to Mr. Tylor, agree as to "such rapping and routing being caused by spirits."\* Modern spiritualists (whose reasoning faculties really seem, in this matter, to be on the most primitive level) agree with Ambroise Paré and the Dyaks. Hartmann advances another hypothesis of nervous force. These theories do not concern us here, but the uniformity of evidence to the facts does concern us.

The similarity of physiological condition among the persons in whose presence these impressions of noises, movements, and so forth are most common, has already been noticed. These people "suffer from hysterical, convulsive, and epileptic affections."† Tasmanians, Karens, Zulus, Patagonians, Siberians, all, when selected as "medicine men" have such "jerks" as modern mediums display, and as afflict some young ladies when they dabble in table-turning and "the willing game."

Mr. Tylor's asks whether it is probable that savages and charlatans have some method or knowledge, lost by the civilised; for this loss would be a case of degeneration. But, first, there is

\* "Prim. Cult.," ii., p. 145.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 131.

nothing odd in such degeneration of faculty: the Australian black has senses of sight and hearing, and powers of inference from what he sees and hears, which notoriously excel those of civilised man, and make the native "tracker" a rival of Sherlock Holmes. The cultivation of these senses to the highest point enables the black to survive in his condition of society. In the same way the cultivation of trance, and of whatever uncanny powers trance may lend, is highly serviceable to the savage. This accomplishment leads straight to wealth and power; it is a notable factor in chiefship, and in the evolution of rank. The chief often develops out of the medicine man, and supernatural attributes cling to royalty as late as the days when "Charles III." touched for scrofula in Italy (1761-86).

Now, in civilised society of the Middle Ages, convulsions and trance led either to the stake or to canonisation; while since 1710, or so, they have been medically treated, and would not even qualify a man for knighthood, still less increase his wealth and political power. Thus the abnormal phenomena, if any, have been neglected. Yet, in fact, the savage and the charlatan, such as Mesmer, did hold, darkly, a secret, a piece of knowledge, namely, hypnotism, which civilised science has, at last, deemed worthy of recognition. Perhaps the savage and the quack knew even more than science has yet recognised. Certainly sane and educated men testify that certain patients display faculties as abnormal as any of those claimed for his own by the Angekok.

Among these is what used to be called "divination by the mirror" or crystal, and is now called "crystal-gazing." Nobody knows how far back the practice of looking for visions in a clear deep may go: the Egyptians have long used a drop of ink, the Maoris a drop of blood; wells of water have been employed, and in the Dordogne, a black hole in an old wall serves as a background for visions of the Virgin. The polished coal ball of Kelly and Dr. Dee still exists, similar things have ever been an element in popular superstition.

In this case the explanation of old was, naturally, animistic. Dee believed that there was a spirit, or a crowd of spirits, in his various *specula*. An old writer tells us "how to get a fairy" into one of these crystal balls. Folly, and superfluous rites, clustered about the crystals. Now it is an ascertained matter of fact that a certain proportion of men and women, educated, healthy, with no belief in "spiritualism," can produce hallucinations, pictures, by looking into a crystal ball.

Some observers can discover the elements of these pictures in their memory. Others cannot trace any connection between what they see and their past experience. They are not hypnotised; they are, in all respects, their waking selves, at the time of gazing. There are a few who profess to be clairvoyant when they gaze—to see distant

historical events, or contemporary events, occurring at a distance. These assertions require a monstrous deal of evidence; the most prolonged experience of a seer's probity can scarcely permit us to believe such remarkable statements. But the ordinary crystal-gazer merely illustrates a human faculty, like the strange mental visualisation of figures which was first noticed scientifically by Mr. Galton. We are to believe the reports of these arithmetical visualisers, yet, for my own part, I never visualised a figure, any more than I ever saw anything but reflections in a crystal ball. The report of the crystal seer, when he or she merely beholds pictures—pretty, poetical, but perfectly unconnected with fact—is just as good as the reports of people who internally see the months in coloured diagrams, and so forth. We only have their words for it; for crystal vision we have also the uniform coincidence of anthropological testimony, all the world over. If there be any cogency in this argument, a great factor in folklore and in popular superstition is based on actual facts of various kinds. Where savage belief, and popular superstition, and, we must add, ecclesiastical opinion went wrong, was, not in accepting the existence of certain abnormal phenomena, but in the animistic interpretation of these phenomena. The *Angekok* who claims possession of a *tornak*, the witch who believes she has a familiar spirit, the magistrate who burns her for having one, the modern medium with his "control," are all in the primitive animistic stage of philosophy, with the seers of hallucinations who believe in "ghosts." What nucleus of fact there may be in their theory we cannot at present determine; we can only say that "there are visions about," and wait for time to bring clearer information, or once more to wipe out the whole interest in such matters among the educated. At present we seem to be gaining a little free space for the flight of fancy, a brief escape, perhaps, from an iron philosophy of the hard and fast. This is quite enough to be thankful for while it lasts; if it does not last, why, "things must be as they may," and we can endure our limited destiny.

The chief reason for believing that an accepted extension of human faculty may be imminent is this: A certain set of phenomena, long laughed at, but always alleged to exist, has been accepted. Consequently the still stranger phenomena—uniformly said to accompany those now welcomed within the scientific fold—may also have a measure of fact as a basis for the consentient reports.

ANDREW LANG.

## A REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR WEISMANN.

AS a species of literature, controversy is characterised by a terrible fertility. Each proposition becomes the parent of half a dozen; so that a few replies and rejoinders produce an unmanageable population of issues, old and new, which end in being a nuisance to everybody. Remembering this, I shall refrain from dealing with all the points of Professor Weismann's answer. I must limit myself to a part; and that there may be no suspicion of a selection convenient to myself, I will take those contained in his first article.

Before dealing with his special arguments, let me say something about the general mode of argument which Professor Weismann adopts.

The title of his article is "The All-sufficiency of Natural Selection."<sup>\*</sup> Very soon, however, as on p. 322, we come to the admission, which he has himself italicised, "that *it is really very difficult to imagine this process of natural selection in its details* and to this day it is impossible to demonstrate it in any one point." Elsewhere, as on pp. 327 and 336 *à propos* of other cases, there are like admissions. But now if the sufficiency of an assigned cause cannot in any case be demonstrated, and if it is "really very difficult to imagine" in what way it has produced its alleged effects, what becomes of the "all-sufficiency" of the cause? How can its all-sufficiency be alleged when its action can neither be demonstrated nor easily imagined? Evidently to fit Professor Weismann's argument the title of the article should have been "The Doubtful Sufficiency of Natural Selection."

Observe, again, how entirely opposite are the ways in which he treats his own interpretation and the antagonist interpretation. He takes the problem presented by certain beautifully adapted structures

\* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, September 1893.

on the anterior legs of "very many insects," which they use for cleansing their antennæ. These, he argues, cannot have resulted from the inheritance of acquired characters; since any supposed changes produced by function would be changes in the chitinous exoskeleton, which, being a dead substance, cannot have had its changes transmitted. He then proceeds, very caudally, to point out the extreme difficulties which lie in the way of supposing these structures to have resulted from natural selection: admitting that an opponent might "say that it was absurd" to assume that the successive small variations implied were severally life-saving in their effects. Nevertheless, he holds it unquestionable that natural selection has been the cause. See then the difference. The supposition that the apparatus has been produced by the inheritance of acquired characters is rejected *because* it presents insuperable difficulties. But the supposition that the apparatus has been produced by natural selection is accepted, *though* it presents insuperable difficulties. If this mode of reasoning is allowable, no fair comparison between diverse hypotheses can be made.

With these remarks on Professor Weismann's method at large, let me now pass to the particular arguments he uses, taking them *seriatim*.

The first case he deals with is that of the progressive degradation of the human little toe. This he considers a good test case; and he proceeds to discuss an assigned cause—the inherited and accumulated effects of boot-pressure. Without much difficulty he shows that this interpretation is inadequate; since fusion of the phalanges, which constitutes in part the progressive degradation, is found among peoples who go barefoot, and has been found also in Egyptian mummies. Having thus disposed of Mr. Buckman's interpretation, Professor Weismann forthwith concludes that the ascription of this anatomical change to the inheritance of acquired characters is disposed of, and assumes, as the only other possible interpretation, a dwindling "through panmixia": "the hereditary degeneration of the little toe is thus quite simply explained from my standpoint."

It is surprising that Professor Weismann should not have seen that there is an explanation against which his criticism does not tell. If we go back to the genesis of the human type from some lower type of *primates*, we see that while the little toe has ceased to be of any use for climbing purposes, it has not come into any considerable use for walking and running. A glance at the feet of the sub-human *primates* in general, shows that the inner digits are, as compared with those of men, quite small—have no such relative length and massiveness as the human great toes. Leaving out the question of cause, it is manifest that the great toes have been immensely

developed since there took place the change from arboreal habits to terrestrial habits. A study of the mechanics of walking shows why this has happened. Stability requires that the "line of direction" (the vertical line let fall from the centre of gravity) shall fall within the base, and, in walking, shall be brought at each step within the area of support, or so near it that any tendency to fall may be checked at the next step. A necessary result is that if, at each step, the chief stress of support is thrown on the outer side of the foot, the body must be swayed so that the "line of direction" may fall within the outer side of the foot, or close to it; and when the next step is taken it must be similarly swayed in an opposite way, so that the outer side of the other foot may bear the weight. That is to say, the body must oscillate from side to side, or waddle. The movements of a duck when walking or running show what happens when the points of support are wide apart. Clearly this kind of movement conflicts with efficient locomotion. There is a waste of muscular energy in making these lateral movements, and they are at variance with the forward movement. We may infer, then, that the developing man profited by throwing the stress as much as possible on the inner sides of the feet; and was especially led to do this when going fast, which enabled him to abridge the oscillations: as indeed we now see in a drunken man. Thus there was thrown a continually increasing stress upon the inner digits as they progressively developed from the effects of use: until now that the inner digits, so large compared with the others, bear the greater part of the weight, and being relatively near one another, render needless any marked swayings from side to side. But what has meanwhile happened to the outer digits? Evidently as fast as the great toes have come more and more into play and developed, the little toes have gone more and more out of play and have been dwindling for—how long shall we say?—perhaps a hundred thousand years.

So far then am I from feeling that Professor Weismann has here raised a difficulty in the way of the doctrine I hold, that I feel indebted to him for having drawn attention to a very strong evidence in its support. This modification in the form of the foot, which has occurred since arboreal habits have given place to terrestrial habits, shows the effects of use and disuse simultaneously. The inner digits have increased by use while the outer digits have decreased by disuse.

Saying that he will not "pause to refute other apparent proofs of the transmission of acquired characters," Professor Weismann proceeds to deal with the argument which, with various illustrations, I have several times urged—the argument that the natural selection of fortuitously arising variations cannot account for the adjustment of



co-operative parts. Very clearly and very fairly he summarises this argument as used in "The Principles of Biology" in 1864. Admitting that in this case there are "enormous difficulties" in the way of any other interpretation than the inheritance of acquired characters, Professor Weismann before proceeding to assault this "last bulwark of the Lamarckian principle," premises that the inheritance of acquired characters cannot be a cause of change because inactive as well as active parts degenerate when they cease to be of use: instancing the "skin and skin-armature of crabs and insects." On this I may remark in the first place that an argument derived from degeneracy of passive structures scarcely meets the case of development of active structures; and I may remark in the second place that I have never dreamt of denying the efficiency of natural selection as a cause of degeneracy in passive structures when the degeneracy is such as aids the prosperity of the stirp.

Making this parenthetical reply to his parenthetical criticism, I pass to his discussion of this particular argument which he undertakes to dispose of.

His *cheval de bataille* is furnished him by the social insects—not a fresh one, however, as might be supposed from the way in which he mounts it. From time to time it has carried other riders, who have couched their lances with fatal effects as they supposed. But I hope to show that no one of them has unhorsed an antagonist, and that Professor Weismann fails to do this just as completely as his predecessors. I am, indeed, not sorry that he has afforded me the opportunity of criticising the general discussion concerning the peculiarities of these interesting creatures, which it has often seemed to me sets out with illegitimate assumptions. The supposition always is, that the specialities of structures and instincts in the unlike classes of their communities have arisen during the period in which the communities have existed in something like their present forms. This cannot be. It is doubtless true that association without differentiations of classes may pre-exist for co-operative purposes, as among wolves, and as among various insects which swarm under certain circumstances. Hence we may suppose that there arise in some cases permanent swarms—that survival of the fittest will establish these constant swarms where they are advantageous. But admitting this, we have also to admit a gradual rise of the associated state out of the solitary state. Wasps and bees present us with gradations. If then we are to understand how the organised societies have arisen, either out of the solitary state or out of undifferentiated swarms, we must assume that the differences of structure and instinct among the members of them arose little by little, as the social organization arose little by little. Fortunately we are able to trace the greater part of the process in the annually formed communities of the

common wasp; and we shall recognize in it an all-important factor (ignored by Professor Weismann) to which the phenomena, or at any rate the greater part of them, are due.

But before describing the wasp's annual history, let me set down certain observations made when, as a boy, I was given to angling, and, in July or August, sometimes used for bait "wasp-grubs," as they were called. After having had for two or three days the combs or "cakes" of these, full of unfed larvæ in all stages of growth, I often saw some of them devouring the edges of their cells to satisfy their appetites; and saw others, probably the most advanced in growth, which were spinning the little covering caps to their cells, in preparation for assuming the pupa state. It is to be inferred that if, after a certain stage of growth has been reached, the food-supply becomes inadequate or is stopped altogether, the larva undergoes its transformation prematurely; and, as we shall presently see, this premature transformation has several natural sequences.

Let us return now to the wasp's family history. In the spring, a queen-wasp, or mother-wasp, which has survived the winter, begins to make a small nest containing four or more cells in which she lays eggs, and as fast as she builds additional cells she lays an egg in each. Presently, to these activities, is added the feeding of the larvæ: one result being that the multiplication of larvæ involves a restriction of the food that can be given to each. If we suppose that the mother-wasp rears no more larvæ than she can fully feed, there will result queens or mothers like herself relatively few in number. But if we suppose that, laying more numerous eggs, she produces more larvæ than she can fully feed, the result will be that, when these have reached a certain stage of growth, inadequate supply of food will be followed by premature retirement and transformation into pupæ. What will be the characters of the developed insects? The first effect of arrested nutrition will be smaller size. This we find. A second effect will be defective development of parts that are latest formed and least important for the survival of the individual. Hence we may look for arrested development of the reproductive organs—non-essential to individual life. And this expectation is in accord with what we see in animal development at large; for (passing over entirely sexless individuals) we see that though the reproductive organs may be marked out early in the course of development, they are not made fit for action until after the structures for carrying on individual life are nearly complete. The implication is, then, that an inadequately fed and small larva will become a sterile imago. Having noted this, let us pass to a remarkable concomitant. In the course of development organs are formed not alone in the order of their original succession, but partly in the order of importance and the share they have to take in adult activities—a change of order

called by Haeckel "heterochrony." Hence the fact that we often see the maternal instinct precede the sexual instinct. Every little girl with her doll shows us that the one may become alive while the other remains dormant. In the case of wasps, then, premature arrest of development may result in incompleteness of the sexual traits, along with incompleteness of the maternal traits. What happens? Leave out the laying of eggs, and the energies of the mother-wasp are spent wholly in building cells and feeding larvae, and the worker-wasp forthwith begins to spend its life in building cells and feeding larvae. Thus interpreting the facts, we have no occasion to assume any constitutional difference between the eggs of worker-wasps and the eggs of queens; and that their eggs are not different we see, first, in the fact that occasionally the worker-wasp is fertile and lays drone-producing eggs; and we see secondly that (if in this respect they are like the bees, of which, however, we have no evidence) the larva of a worker-wasp can be changed into the larva of a queen-wasp by special feeding. But be this as it may, we have good evidence that the feeding determines everything. Says Dr. Ormerod in his "British Social Wasps":

"When the swarm is strong and food plentiful . . . the well-fed larvae develop into females, full, large, and overflowing with fat. There are all gradations of size, from the large fat female to the smallest worker. . . . The larger the wasp, the larger and better developed, as the rule, are the female organs, in all their details. In the largest wasps, which are to be the queens of another year, the ovaries differ to all appearances in nothing but their size from those of the larger worker wasps. . . . Small feeble swarms produce few or no perfect females, but in large strong swarms they are found by the score" (pp. 243-9).

To this evidence add the further evidence that queens and workers pass through certain parallel stages in respect of their maternal activities. At first the queen, besides laying eggs, builds cells and feeds larvae, but after a time ceases to build cells, and feeds larvae only, and eventually doing neither one nor the other, only lays eggs, and is supplied with food by the workers. So it is in part with the workers. While the members of each successive brood, when in full vigour, build cells and feed larvae, by-and-by they cease to build cells, and only feed larvae: the maternal activities and instincts undergo analogous changes. In this case, then, we are not obliged to assume that only by a process of natural selection can the differences of structure and instinct between queens and workers be produced. The only way in which natural selection here comes into play is in the better survival of the families of those queens which made as many cells, and laid as many eggs, as resulted in the best number of half-fed larvae, producing workers; since by a rapid multiplication of workers the family is advantaged, and the ultimate production of more queens surviving into the next year ensured.

The differentiation of classes does not go far among the wasps, because the cycle of processes is limited to a year, or rather to the few months of the summer. It goes further among the hive-bees, which, by storing food, survive from one year into the next. Unlike the queen-wasp, the queen-bee neither builds cells nor gathers food, but is fed by the workers: egg-laying has become her sole business. On the other hand the workers, occupied exclusively in building and nursing, have the reproductive organs more dwarfed than they are in wasps. Still we see that the worker-bee occasionally lays drone-producing eggs, and that, by giving extra nutriment and the required extra space, a worker-larva can be developed into a queen-larva. In respect to the leading traits, therefore, the same interpretation holds. Doubtless there are subsidiary instincts which are apparently not thus interpretable. But before it can be assumed that an interpretation of another kind is necessary, it must be shown that these instincts cannot be traced back to those pre-social types and semi-social types which must have preceded the social types we now see. For unquestionably existing bees must have brought with them from the pre-social state an extensive endowment of instincts, and, acquiring other instincts during the unorganized social state, must have brought these into the present organized social state. It is clear, for instance, that the cell-building instinct in all its elaboration was mainly developed in the pre-social stage; for the transition from species building solitary cells to those building combs is traceable. We are similarly enabled to account for swarming as being an inheritance from remote ancestral types. For just in the same way that, with under-feeding of larvæ, there result individuals with imperfectly developed reproductive systems, so there will result individuals with imperfect sexual instincts; and just as the imperfect reproductive system partially operates upon occasion, so will the imperfect sexual instinct. Whence it will result that on the event which causes a queen to undertake a nuptial flight, which is effectual, the workers may take abortive nuptial flights: so causing a swarm.

And here, before going further, let us note an instructive class of facts related to the class of facts above set forth. Summing up, in a chapter on "The Determination of Sex," an induction from many cases, Professor Geddes and Mr. Thompson remark that "such conditions as deficient or abnormal food," and others causing "preponderance of waste over repair" . . . tend to result in production of males; while "abundant and rich nutrition" and other conditions which "favour constructive processes . . . result in the production of females."\* Among such evidences of this as immediately concern us are these: J. H. Fabre found that in the nests of *Osmia tricornis*,

eggs at the bottom, first laid, and accompanied by much food, produced females, while those at the top, last laid, and accompanied by one-half or one-third the quantity of food, produced males.\* Huber's observations on egg-laying by the honey-bee show that in the normal course of things the queen lays eggs of workers for eleven months, and only then lays eggs of drones: that is, when declining nutrition or exhaustion has set in. Further, we have the above-named fact, shown by wasps and bees, that when workers lay eggs these produce drones only.† Special evidence, harmonizing with general evidence, thus proves that among these social insects the sex is determined by degree of nutrition while the egg is being formed. See then how congruous this evidence is with the conclusion above drawn; for it is proved that after an egg, predetermined as a female, has been laid, the character of the produced insect as a perfect female or imperfect female is determined by the nutrition of the larva. *That is, one set of differences in structures and instincts is determined by nutrition before the egg is laid, and a further set of differences in structures and instincts is determined by nutrition after the egg is laid.*

We come now to the extreme case-- that of the ants. Is it not probable that the process of differentiation has been similar? There are sundry reasons for thinking so. With ants as with wasps and bees—the workers occasionally lay eggs; and an ant-community can, like a bee-community, when need be, produce queens out of worker-larvæ: presumably in the same manner by extra feeding. But here we have to add special evidence of great significance. For observe that the very facts concerning ants, which Professor Weissman names as exemplifying the formation of the worker type by selection, serve, as in the case of wasps, to exemplify its formation by arrested nutrition. He says that in several species the egg-tubes in the ovaries show progressive decrease in number; and this, like the different degrees of arrest in the ovaries of the worker-wasps, indicates arrest of larva-feeding at different stages. He gives cases showing that, in different degrees, the eyes of workers are less developed in the number of their facets than those of the perfect insects; and he also refers to the wings of workers as not being developed: remarking, however, that the rudiments of their wings show that the ancestral forms had wings. Are not these traits also results of arrested nutrition? Generally among insects the larvæ are either blind or have but rudimentary eyes; that is to say, visual organs are among the latest organs to arise in the genesis of the perfect organism. Hence early arrest of nutrition will stop formation of these, while various more ancient structures have become tolerably complete. Similarly with wings. Wings are late organs in insect phylogeny, and there-

\* "Souvenir, Entomologiques," 3<sup>me</sup> Série, p. 328.

† "Natural History of Bees," new ed. p. 33.

fore will be among those most likely to abort where development is prematurely arrested. And both these traits will, for the same reason, naturally go along with arrested development of the reproductive system. Even more significant, however, is some evidence assigned by Mr. Darwin respecting the caste-gradations among the driver-ants of West Africa. He says :

“ But the most important fact for us is, that, though the workers can be grouped into castes of different sizes, yet they graduate insensibly into each other, as does the widely different structure of their jaws.” \*

“ Graduate insensibly,” he says ; implying that there are very numerous intermediate forms. This is exactly what is to be expected if arrest of nutrition be the cause ; for unless the ants have definite measures, enabling them to stop feeding at just the same stages, it must happen that the stoppage of feeding will be indefinite ; and that, therefore, there will be all gradations between the extreme forms—“ insensible gradations,” both in size and in jaw-structure.

In contrast with this interpretation, consider now that of Professor Weismann. From whichever of the two possible suppositions he sets out, the result is equally fatal. If he is consistent, he must say that each of these intermediate forms of workers must have its special set of “ determinants,” causing its special set of modifications of organs ; for he cannot assume that while perfect females and the extreme types of workers have their different sets of determinants, the intermediate types of workers have not. Hence we are introduced to the strange conclusion that besides the markedly distinguished sets of determinants there must be, to produce these intermediate forms, many other sets slightly distinguished from one another—a score or more kinds of germ-plasm in addition to the four chief kinds. Next comes an introduction to the still stranger conclusion, that these numerous kinds of germ-plasm, producing these numerous intermediate forms, are not simply needless but injurious—produce forms not well fitted for either of the functions discharged by the extreme forms : the implication being that natural selection has originated these disadvantageous forms. If to escape from this necessity for suicide, Professor Weismann adopts the inference that the differences among these numerous intermediate forms are caused by arrested feeding of the larvæ at different stages, then he is bound to admit that the differences between the extreme forms, and between these and perfect females, are similarly caused. But if he does this, what becomes of his hypothesis that the several castes are constitutionally distinct, and result from the operation of natural selection ? Observe, too, that his theory does not even allow him to make this choice ; for we have clear proof that unlikenesses among the forms of the same

\* “ Origin of Species,” 6th ed. p. 232.

species cannot be determined this way or that way by differences of nutrition. English greyhounds and Scotch greyhounds do not differ from one another so much as do the Amazon-workers from the inferior workers, or the workers from the queens. But no matter how a pregnant Scotch greyhound is fed, or her pups after they are born, they cannot be changed into English greyhounds: the different germ-plasms assert themselves spite of all treatment. But in these social insects the different structures of queens and workers are determinable by differences of feeding. Therefore, the production of their various castes does not result from the natural selection of varying germ-plasm.

Before dealing with Professor Weismann's crucial case—that co-adaptation of parts, which, in the soldier-ants, has, he thinks, arisen without inheritance of acquired characters let me deal with an ancillary case which he puts forward as explicable by “panmixia alone.” This is the “degeneration, in the warlike Amazon-ants, of the instinct to search for food.” Let us first ask what have been the probable antecedents of these Amazon-ants; for, as I have above said, it is absurd to speculate about the structures and instincts the species possesses in its existing organized social state without asking what structures and instincts it brought with it from its original solitary state and its unorganized social state. From the outset these ants were predatory. Some variety of them led to swarm—probably at the sexual season—did not again disperse so soon as other varieties. Those which thus kept together derived advantages from making simultaneous attacks on prey, and prospered accordingly. Of descendants the varieties which carried on longest the associated state prospered most; until, at length, the associated state became permanent. All which social progress took place while there existed only perfect males and females. What was the next step? Ants utilize other insects, and, among other ways of doing this, sometimes make their nests where there are useful insects ready to be utilized. Giving an account of certain New Zealand species of *Tribamorium*, Mr. W. W. Smith says they seek out underground places where there are “root-feeding aphides and coccids,” which they begin to treat as domestic animals; and further he says that when, after the pairing season, new nests are being formed, there are “a few ants of both sexes . . . from two up to eight or ten.” † Carrying with us this fact as a key, let us ask what habits will be fallen into by the conquering species of ants. They, too, will seek places where there are creatures to be utilized; and, finding it profitable, will invade the habitations not of defenceless creatures only, but of creatures whose powers of defence are inadequate—weaker species of their

\* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, September 1893, p. 333.

† *The Entomologist's Monthly Magazine*, March 1892, p. 61.

own order. A very small modification will affiliate their habits on habits of their prototypes. Instead of being supplied with sweet substance excreted by the aphides, they are supplied with sweet substance by the ants among which they parasitically settle themselves. How easily the subjugated ants may fall into the habit of feeding them, we shall see on remembering that already they feed not only larvæ but adults—individuals bigger than themselves. And that attentions kindred to these paid to parasitic ants may be established without difficulty, is shown us by the small birds which continue to feed a young cuckoo in their nest when it has outgrown them. This advanced form of parasitism grow up while there were yet only perfect males and females, as happens in the initial stage with these New Zealand ants. What further modifications of habits were probably then acquired? From the practice of settling themselves where there already exist colonies of aphides, which they carry about to suitable places in the nest, like *Tetramorium*, other ants pass to the practice of making excursions to get aphides, and putting them in better feeding places where they become more productive of saccharine matter. By a parallel step these soldier-ants pass from the stage of settling themselves among other ants which feed them, to the stage of fetching the pupæ of such ants to the nest: a transition like that which occurs among slave-making human beings. Thus by processes analogous to those we see going on, these communities of slave-making ants may be formed. And since the transition from an unorganized social state to a social state characterized by castes must have been gradual, there must have been a long interval during which the perfect males and females of these conquering ants could acquire habits and transmit them to progeny. A small modification accounts for that seemingly strange habit which Professor Weismann signalises. For if, as is observed, those ants which keep aphides solicit them to excrete a supply of ant-food by stroking them with the antennæ, they come very near to doing that which Professor Weismann says the soldier-ants do towards a worker—"they come to it and beg for food": the food being put into their mouths in this last case as almost or quite in the first. And evidently this habit of passively receiving food, continued through many generations of perfect males and females, may result in such disuse of the power of self-feeding that this is eventually lost. The behaviour of young birds during, and after, their nest-life gives us the clue. For a week or more after they are full-grown and fly about with their parents, they may be seen begging for food and making no efforts to recognise and pick up food for themselves. If, generation after generation, feeding of them in full measure continued, they would not learn to feed themselves: the perceptions and instincts implied in self-feeding would be later and later developed, until, with entire disuse of them,



they would disappear altogether by inheritance. Thus self-feeding may readily have ceased among these soldier-ants before the caste-organization arose among them.

With this interpretation compare the interpretation of Professor Weismann. I have before protested against arguing in abstracts without descending to concretes. Here let us ask what are the particular changes which the alleged explanation by survival of the fittest involves. Suppose we make the very liberal supposition that an ant's central ganglion bears to its body the same ratio as the human brain bears to the human body—say, one-fortieth of its weight. Assuming this, what shall we assume to be the weight of those ganglion-cells and fibres in which are localized the perceptions of food and the suggestion to take it? Shall we say that these amount to one-tenth of the central ganglion? This is a high estimate considering all the impressions which this ganglion has to receive and all the operations which it has to direct. Still we will say one-tenth. Then it follows that this portion of nervous substance is one-400th of the weight of its body. By what series of variations shall we say that it is reduced from full power to entire incapacity? Shall we say five? This is a small number to assume. Nevertheless we will assume it. What results? That the economy of nerve-substance achieved by each of these five variations will amount to one-2000th of the entire mass. Making these highly favourable assumptions, what follows? The queen-ant lays eggs that give origin to individuals in each of which there is achieved an economy in nerve-substance of one-2000th of its weight; and the implication of the hypothesis is that such an economy will so advantage this ant-community that in the competition with other ant-communities it will conquer. For here let me recall the truth before insisted upon, that natural selection can operate only on those variations which appreciably benefit the stirp. Bearing in mind this requirement, is any one now prepared to say that survival of the fittest can cause this decline of the self-feeding faculty? \*

Not limiting himself to the Darwinian interpretation, however, Professor Weismann says that this degradation may be accounted for by "panmixia alone." Here I will not discuss the adequacy of this supposed cause, but will leave it to be dealt with by implication a few pages in advance, where the general hypothesis of panmixia will be reconsidered.

\* Perhaps it will be alleged that nerve-matter is costly, and that this minute economy might be of importance. Any one who thinks this will no longer think it after contemplating a litter of half a dozen young rabbits (in the wild rabbit the number varies from four to eight); and on remembering that the nerve-matter contained in their brains and spinal cords, as well as the materials for building up the bones, muscles, and viscera of their bodies, has been supplied by the doe in the space of a month; at the same time that she has sustained herself and carried on her activities: all this being done on relatively poor food. Nerve-matter cannot be so very costly then.

And now, at length, we are prepared for dealing with Professor Weismann's crucial case,—with his alleged disproof that co-adaptation of co-operative parts results from inheritance of acquired characters, because, in the case of the Amazon-ants, it has arisen where the inheritance of acquired characters is impossible. For after what has been said, it will be manifest that the whole question is begged when it is assumed that this co-adaptation has arisen since there existed among these ants an organized social state. Unquestionably this organized social state presupposes a series of modifications through which it has been reached. It follows, then, that there can be no rational interpretation without a preceding inquiry concerning that earlier state in which there were no castes, but only males and females. What kinds of individuals were the ancestral ants—at first solitary and then semi-social? They must have had marked powers of offence and defence. Of predacious creatures, it is the more powerful which form societies, not the weaker. Instance human races. Nations originate from the relatively warlike tribes, not from the relatively peaceful tribes. Among the several types of individuals forming the existing ant-community, to which, then, did the ancestral ants bear the greatest resemblance? They could not have been like the queens, for these, now devoted to egg-laying, are unfitted for conquest. They could not have been like the inferior class of workers, for these, too, are inadequately armed and lack strength. Hence they must have been most like these Amazon-ants or soldier-ants, which now make predatory excursions—which now do, in fact, what their remote ancestors did. What follows? Their co-adapted parts have not been produced by the selection of variations within the ant-community, such as we now see it. They have been inherited from the pre-social and early social types of ants, in which the co-adaptation of parts had been effected by inheritance of acquired characters. It is not that the soldier-ants have gained these traits; it is that the other castes have lost them. Early arrest of development causes absence of them in the inferior workers; and from the queens they have slowly disappeared by inheritance of the effects of disuse. For, in conformity with ordinary facts of development, we may conclude that in a larva which is being so fed as that the development of the reproductive organs is becoming pronounced, there will simultaneously commence arrest in the development of those organs which are not to be used. There are abundant proofs that along with rapid growth of some organs others abort. And if these inferences are true, then Professor Weismann's argument falls to the ground. Nay, it falls to the ground even if conclusions so definite as these be not insisted upon; for before he can get a basis for his argument he must give good reasons for concluding that these traits of the Amazon-ants have *not* been inherited from remote ancestors.

One more step remains. Let us grant him his basis, and let us pass from the above negative criticism to a positive criticism. As before, I decline to follow the practice of talking in abstracts instead of in concretes, and contend that, difficult as it may be to see how natural selection has in all cases operated, we ought, at any rate, to trace out its operation whenever we can, and see where the hypothesis lands us. According to Professor Weismann's admission, for production of the Amazon-ant by natural selection "*many parts must have varied simultaneously and in harmony with one another*";\* and he names as such, larger jaws, muscles to move them, larger head, and thicker chitin for it, bigger nerves for the muscles, bigger motor centres in the brain, and, for the support of the big head, strengthening of the thorax, limbs, and skeleton generally. As he admits, all these parts must have varied simultaneously in due proportion to one another. What must have been the proximate causes of their variations? They must have been variations in what he calls the "determinants." He says:

"We have, however, to deal with the transmission of parts which are *variable*, and this necessitates the assumption that just as many independent and variable parts exist in the germ-plasm as are present in the fully formed organism."<sup>†</sup>

Consequently to produce simultaneously these many variations of parts, adjusted in their sizes and shapes, there must have simultaneously arisen a set of corresponding variations in the "determinants" composing the germ-plasm. What made them simultaneously vary in the requisite ways? Professor Weismann will not say that there was somewhere a foregone intention. This would imply supernatural agency. He makes no attempt to assign a physical cause for these simultaneous appropriate variations in the determinants: an adequate physical cause being inconceivable. What, then, remains as the only possible interpretation? Nothing but a *fortuitous concurrence of excitations*; reminding us of the old "fortuitous concurrence of atoms." Nay, indeed, it is the very same thing. For each of the "determinants," made up of "biophors," and these again of protein-molecules, and these again of simpler chemical molecules, must have had its molecular constitution changed in the required way; and the molecular constitutions of all the "determinants," severally modified differently, but in adjustment to one another, must have been thus modified by "a fortuitous concurrence of atoms." Now if this is an allowable supposition in respect of the "determinants," and the varying organs arising from them, why is it not an allowable supposition in respect of the organism as a whole? Why not assume "a fortuitous

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 318.

† "The Germ-Plasm," p. 54.

concourse of atoms" in its broad, simple form? Nay, indeed, would not this be much the easier? For observe, this co-adaptation of numerous co-operative parts is not achieved by one set of variations, but is achieved gradually by a series of such sets. That is to say, the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" must have occurred time after time in appropriate ways. We have not one miracle, but a series of miracles!

Of the two remaining points, in Professor Weismann's first article which demand notice, one concerns his reply to my argument drawn from the distribution of tactual discriminativeness. In what way does he treat this argument? He meets it by an argument derived from hypothetical evidence—not actual evidence. Taking the case of the tongue-tip, I have carefully inquired whether its extreme power of tactual discrimination can give any life-saving advantage in moving about the food during mastication, in detecting foreign bodies in it, or for purposes of speech; and have, I think, shown that the ability to distinguish between points one twenty-fourth of an inch apart is useless for such purposes. Professor Weismann thinks he disposes of this by observing that among the apes the tongue is used as an organ of touch. But surely, a counter-argument equivalent in weight to mine should have given a case in which power to discriminate between points one twenty-fourth of an inch apart instead of one-twentieth of an inch apart (a variation of one-sixth) had a life-saving efficacy; or, at any rate, should have suggested such a case. Nothing of the kind is done or even attempted. But now note that his reply, accepted even as it stands, is suicidal. For what has the trusted process of panmixia been doing ever since the human being began to evolve from the ape. Why during thousands of generations has not the nervous structure giving this extreme discriminativeness dwindled away? Even supposing it had been proved of life-saving efficacy to our simian ancestors, it ought, according to Professor Weismann's own hypothesis, to have disappeared in us. Either there was none of the assumed special capacity in the ape's tongue, in which case his reply fails, or panmixia has not operated, in which case his theory of degeneracy fails.

All this, however, is but preface to the chief answer. The argument drawn from the case of the tongue-tip, with which alone Professor Weismann deals, is but a small part of my argument, the remainder of which he does not attempt to touch—does not even mention. Had I never referred to the tongue-tip at all, the various contrasts in discriminativeness which I have named, between the one extreme of the fore-finger-tip and the other extreme of the middle of the back, would have abundantly sufficed to establish my case—would have sufficed to show the inadequacy of natural selection as a key and the adequacy of the inheritance of acquired characters.

It seems to me, then, that judgment must go against him by default. Practically he leaves the matter standing just where it did.\*

The other remaining point concerns the vexed question of panmixia. Confirming the statement of Dr. Romanes, Professor Weismann says that I have misunderstood him. Already (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, May 1893, p. 758, and Reprint, p. 66) I have quoted passages which appeared to justify my interpretation, arrived at after much seeking. Already, too, in this Review (July 1893, p. 51) I have said why I did not hit upon the interpretation now said to be the true one: I never supposed that any one would assume, without assigned cause, that (apart from excluded influence of disuse) the *minus* variations of a disused organ are greater than the *plus* variations. This was a tacit challenge to produce reasons for the assumption. Professor Weismann does not accept the challenge, but simply says: "In my opinion all organs are maintained at the height of their development only through uninterrupted selection" (p. 332): in the absence of which they decline. Now it is doubtless true that as a naturalist he may claim for his "opinion" a relatively great weight. Still, in pursuance of the methods of science, it seems to me that

\* Though Professor Weismann has not dealt with my argument derived from the distribution of discriminativeness on the skin, it has been criticised by Mr. McKee Cattell, in the last number of *Mind* (October 1893). His general argument, vitiated by extreme mis-conceptions, I need not deal with. He says: "Whether changes acquired by the individual are hereditary, and if so, to what extent, is a question of great interest for ethics no less than for biology. But Mr. Spencer's application of this doctrine to account for the origin of species [!] simply begs the question. He assumes useful variations [!] whether of structure or habit is immaterial without attempting to explain their origin." The only part of Mr. Cattell's criticism requiring reply is that which concerns the "sensation-areas" on the skin. He implies that since Weber, experimental psychologists have practically set aside the theory of sensation-areas, showing, among other things, that relatively great accuracy of discrimination can be quickly acquired by "increased interest and attention. . . . Practice for a few minutes will double the accuracy of discrimination, and practice on one side of the body is carried over to the other." To me it seems manifest that "increased interest and attention" will not enable a patient to discriminate two points where a few minutes before he could perceive only one. That which he can really do in this short time is to learn to discriminate between the *massiveness of a sensation* produced by two points and the *massiveness of that produced by one, and to infer one point or two-points accordingly*. Respecting the existence of sensation-areas marked off from one another, I may, in the first place, remark that since the eye originates as a dermal sac, and since its retina is a highly developed part of one sensitive surface at large and since the discriminative power of the retina depends on the division of it into numerous rods and cones, each of which gives a separate sensation-area, it would be strange were the discriminative power of the skin at large achieved by mechanism fundamentally different. In the second place, I may remark that if Mr. Cattell will refer to Professor Karl Retzius's *Biologische Untersuchungen*, New Series, vol. iv. (Stockholm, 1892), he will see elaborate diagrams of superficial nerve-endings in various animals showing many degrees of separateness. I guarded myself against being supposed to think that the sensation-areas are sharply marked off from one another; and suggested, contrariwise, that probably the branching nerve-terminations intruded among the branches of adjacent nerve-terminations. Here let me add that the intrusion may vary greatly in extent; and that where the intruding fibres run far among those of adjacent areas, the discriminativeness will be but small, while it will be great in proportion as each set of branching fibres is restricted more nearly to its own area. All the facts are explicable on this supposition.

something more than an opinion is required as the basis of a far-reaching theory.\*

Though the counter-opinion of one who is not a naturalist (as Professor Weismann points out) may be of relatively small value, yet I must here again give it along with a final reason for it. And this reason shall be exhibited, not in a qualitative form, but in a quantitative form. Let us quantify the terms of the hypothesis by weight; and let us take as our test case the rudimentary hind-limbs of the whale. Zoologists are agreed that the whale has been evolved from a mammal which took to aquatic habits, and that its disused hind-limbs have gradually disappeared. When they ceased to be used in swimming, natural selection played a part—probably an important part—in decreasing them; since, being then impediments to movement through the water, they diminished the attainable speed. It may be, too, that for a period after disappearance of the limbs beneath the skin, survival of the fittest had still some effect. But during the latter stages of the process it had no effect; since the rudiments caused no inconvenience and entailed no appreciable cost. Here, therefore, the cause, if Professor Weismann is right, must have been panmixia. Dr. Struthers, Professor of Anatomy at Aberdeen, whose various publications show him to be a high, if not the highest, authority on the anatomy of these great cetaceans, has kindly taken much trouble in furnishing me with the needful data, based upon direct weighing and measuring and estimation of specific gravity. In the Black Whale (*Balaenoptera borealis*) there are no rudiments of hind-limbs whatever: rudiments of the pelvic bones only remain. A sample of the Greenland Right Whale, estimated to weigh 14,800 lbs., had femurs weighing together 3½ ozs.; while a sample of the Razor-

Though Professor Weismann does not take up the challenge, Dr. Romanes does. He says, "When selection is withdrawn, there will be no excessive *plus* variations, because so long as selection was present the efficiency of the organ was maintained at its highest level; it was only the *minus* variations which were then eliminated" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, p. 611). In the first place, it seems to me that the phrases used in this sentence beg the question. It says that "the efficiency of the organ was maintained at its highest level"; which implies that the highest level is the best, and that the tendency is to fall below it. This is the very thing I ask proof of. Suppose I invert the idea and say that the organ is maintained at its right size by natural selection, because this prevents increase beyond the size which is best for the organism. Every organ should be in due proportion, and the welfare of the creature as a whole is interfered with by excess as well as by defect. It may be directly interfered with—as, for instance, by too big an eyelid; and it may be indirectly interfered with, where the organ is large, by needless weight and cost of nutrition. In the second place, the question which here concerns us is not what natural selection will do with variations. We are concerned with the previous question—What variations will arise? An organ varies in all ways, and, unless reason to the contrary is shown, the assumption must be that variations in the direction of increase are as frequent and as great as those in the direction of decrease. Take the case of the tongue. Certainly there are tongues inconveniently large, and probably tongues inconveniently small. What reason have we for assuming that the inconveniently small tongues occur more frequently than the inconveniently large ones? None that I can see. Dr. Romanes has not shown that when natural selection ceases to act on an organ the *minus* variations in each new generation will exceed the *plus* variations. But if they are equal the alleged process of panmixia has no place

back Whale (*Balenoptera musculus*), 50 feet long and estimated to weigh 56,000 lbs., had rudimentary femurs weighing together one ounce; so that these vanishing remnants of hind-limbs weighed but one-896,000th part of the animal. Now, in considering the alleged degeneration by panmixia, we have first to ask why these femurs must be supposed to have varied in the direction of decrease rather than in the direction of increase. During its evolution from the original land-mammal, the whale has grown enormously, implying habitual excess of nutrition. Alike in the embryo and in the growing animal, there must have been a chronic plethora. Why, then, should we suppose these rudiments to have become smaller? Why should they not have enlarged by deposit in them of superfluous materials? But let us grant the unwarranted assumption of predominant *minus* variations. Let us say that the last variation was a reduction of one-half—that in some individuals the joint weight of the femurs was suddenly reduced from two ounces to one ounce—a reduction of one-900,000th of the creature's weight. By inter-crossing with those inheriting the variation, the reduction, or a part of the reduction, was made a trait of the species. Now, in the first place, a necessary implication is that this *minus* variation was maintained in posterity. So far from having reason to suppose this, we have reason to suppose the contrary. As before quoted, Mr. Darwin says that "unless carefully preserved by man," "any particular variation would generally be lost by crossing, reversion, and the accidental destruction of the varying individuals."\* And Mr. Galton, in his essay on "Regression towards Mediocrity," † contends that not only do deviations of the whole organism from the mean size tend to thus disappear, but that deviations in its components do so. Hence the chances are against such *minus* variation being so preserved as to affect the species by panmixia. In the second place, supposing it to be preserved, may we reasonably assume that, by inter-crossing, this decrease, amounting to about a millionth part of the creature's weight, will gradually affect the constitutions of all Razor-back Whales distributed over the Arctic seas and the North Atlantic Ocean, from Greenland to the Equator? Is this a credible conclusion? For three reasons, then, the hypothesis must be rejected.

Thus, the only reasonable interpretation is the inheritance of acquired characters. If the effects of use and disuse, which are known causes of change in each individual, influence succeeding individuals—if functionally produced modifications of structure are transmissible, as well as modifications of structure otherwise arising, then this reduction of the whale's hind-limbs to minute rudiments is

\* "The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication" Vol. II p. 292.

† *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1885, p. 253.











